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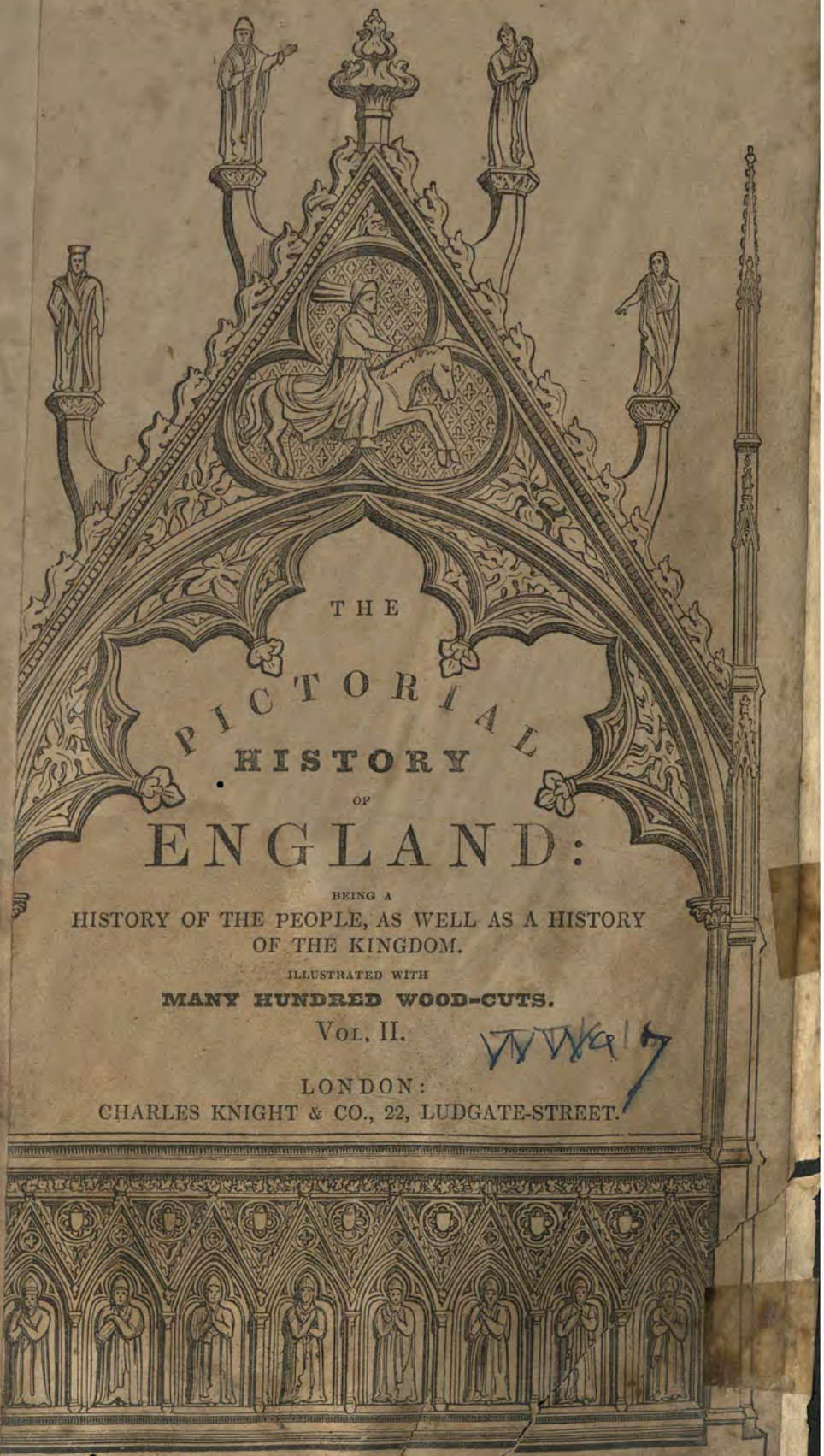

THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

BEING A

HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE, AS WELL AS A HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

MANY HUNDRED WOOD-CUTS.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT & CO., 22, LUDGATE-STREET.

THE

PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

BEING

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OF

ONUMENTAL RECORDS; COINS; CIVIL AND MILITARY COSTUME; DOMESTIC BUILDINGS, FURNITURE, AND ORNAMENTS; CATHEDRALS AND OTHER GREAT WORKS OF ARCHITECTURE; SPORTS AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS OF MANNERS; MECHANICAL INVENTIONS; PORTRAITS OF THE KINGS AND QUEENS; AND REMARKABLE HISTORICAL SCENES.

VOLUME II.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

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A.D. 1399—1485.

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1483 Edward V.	1474 Isabella and Ferdinand.	1447 Nicholas V.
1483 Richard III.	GERMANY.	1455 Callixtus III.
SCOTLAND.	1400 Rupert	1458 Pius II.
1406 James I.	1411 Sigismund.	1464 Paul II.
1437 James II.	1438 Albert II.	1471 Sixtus IV.
1460 James III.	1440 Frederick III.	1484 Innocent VIII.

*** An opportunity ha

Henry IV. From the Tomb at Canterbury.

Queen Joan of Navarre, Second Wife of Henry IV. From the Tomb at Canterbury.

CHAPTER I.

NARRATIVE OF CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

Henry IV., surnamed Bolingbroke.

HAVING been seated on the throne of England by the Archbishop, on Tuesday, the Feast of St. Jerome the Doctor, the 30th of September, 1399, Henry immediately proceeded to exercise the royal authority, and to fill those offices which had become vacant by the removal of Richard. By that event the power of the justices, sheriffs, and other officers ceased, "and, therefore," in the language of parliament, "lest justice might be delayed, to the grievance of the people, the present king named and appointed his principal officers and justices, who took the usual oaths." But the authority of the parliament itself, which had been summoned in the name of King Richard, also expired with his deposition; and at this critical moment it was alike indispensable for Henry that he should have a parliament assembled, and that it should be composed of his friends. He therefore contrived that the present members should be retained, by not allowing sufficient time for the election and return of fresh members. He forthwith directed writs to be issued returnable in six days, and proclamation to be made at the same time for the parliament to meet for business on the sixth day; assigning as a plausible reason for the shortness of this summons, that it was only for "the profit of the kingdom, and especially to spare the fatigues and expenses of his lieges, and in order that the grievances of the people might have the more speedy remedy." He declared, however, that this step was not meant to prejudice the states of his kingdom, or to be made a precedent for the calling of future parliaments.*

The king then rose from his throne, and "be-

* Rot. Parl.

GREAT SEAL OF HENRY IV.

holding the people with a cheerful countenance," he departed, and on the same day he gave a splendid banquet in the Whitehall to the nobles and the clergy, who attended in great numbers. On the following day, the 1st of October, a deputation waited upon Richard, late king, in the Tower, and there William Thyrning, justiciary, for himself and fellow procurators, in the name of the states and all the people, notified to Richard the acceptance of his resignation, and the cause and form of his deposition, and then renounced all homage and fealty to him. The forlorn king is said to have behaved with great composure, merely expressing a hope that his cousin Henry would be "a good lord" to him. The parliament met on Monday, the 6th; and the representatives of the commons seem to have been to a man the same individuals that had been summoned six weeks before in the name of Richard. On the Monday following, October the 13th, the Feast of St. Edward the Confessor, and the anniversary of the day on which he had gone into exile, Henry was crowned with the usual ceremonies in Westminster Abbey. During the procession the Earl of Northumberland, to whose assistance he was so greatly indebted, walked by his side, carrying the sword which Henry wore when he landed at Ravenspur. All the great nobles who held hereditary offices performed their duties without demur.*

The parliament was in the best of humours, and the commons more especially went hand in hand with the new king. Many of the obnoxious acts of the late reign were instantly repealed, and the attainders of the earls of Arundel and Warwick were reversed. In the lords the most violent altercations soon ensued. The peers who had appealed to the Duke of Gloucester were called to account; but these chivalrous lords were not ashamed to take up the same plea which had been used by the judges in the preceding reign: they said they acted through fear, and sealed that deed under compulsion of Richard. This was not very honourable in men who were sworn, as knights, to know no fear: but what followed was pretty true; they added, that they were not more guilty in prosecuting Gloucester than the rest of the house was in condemning him on their appeal. There was scarcely a lord present but had been involved in the inexplicable intrigues of the last twelve years. There was plenty of ground for recrimination, and the opportunity was not lost; the terms liar and traitor resounded from every corner of the house; forty gauntlets were thrown upon the floor, as the pledges of battles in the lists. A timid or an unreflecting king would have been lost in this perilous storm, which the firm and crafty Henry managed to subdue. The appellants were let off with the forfeiture of the titles and estates they had received from Richard as a reward for their services against his uncle Gloucester; and thus the dukes of Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter, the Marquess of Dorset, and the Earl of Gloucester, descended to their former ranks, and became earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, and Somerset, and Lord le Despencer, under which names they will presently re-appear in plots and conspiracies. Several excellent statutes were enacted in this first parliament: treason was again reduced to the limits prescribed under Edward III.; appeals of treason in parliament, of which such an abuse had been made, were abolished, it being decreed that persons laying such accusations should proceed by means of the ordinary courts of law. Another great measure was the establishing a law, that the power of parliament should in no case be delegated to a standing commission. An attempt was made to

* Rot. Parl.—Rymer.

put an end to the shameful abuse, noticed in the preceding Book, of giving liveries or badges, by which the nobility gathered around them a host of vagabonds, who usually did no service and received no pay, being only called upon in times of trouble and confusion to strengthen the turbulent lord whose badge they wore, and who, on his side, bound himself to protect them against the ordinary officers of the crown or law: but this abuse lasted long after the passing of the act, and we find traces of it as late as the time of Charles I.

On the 23rd day of October the Earl of Northumberland presented himself in the lords to deliver a royal message, and then the Archbishop of Canterbury rose, and charged the lords spiritual and temporal to keep whatever resolution they should adopt on this present message a profound and solemn secret. After this Northumberland spoke: he requested their advice as to the mode in which Richard should be treated in time to come; for his master Henry, he said, was resolved that, happen what might, the life of the deposed sovereign should be preserved—and we believe that he here expressed Henry's real wish. The lords answered unanimously that Richard ought to be carried *secretly* to some castle; there to be placed in custody of trusty officers, who should prevent his holding any communication with his former friends and servants. This was the sanction Henry required; and his cousin was privately removed from the Tower accordingly. In the first instance he was conveyed to Leeds Castle, in Kent; but it appears that he was subsequently removed by night from one castle to another, as had been practised with his great-grandfather, Edward II.*

In the course of this same parliament Henry's eldest son was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Guienne, Lancaster, and Cornwall, and Earl of Chester; and he was declared heir-apparent to the throne of England. The cautious Bolingbroke introduced no act of settlement of the crown, probably thinking that such a measure would only cast doubt on the title of right which he had advanced. If right of birth had decided the question, the claim of Henry, as opposed to that of the young Earl of March, was a glaring absurdity; for scarcely a person in the kingdom could have been deceived by Henry's impudent assertion that he was heir by right line of descent, inasmuch as Edmund of Lancaster was the elder brother of Edward I. From the important consequences which arose out of it we must sketch the genealogy of an otherwise quiet and unimportant personage. Young March was sprung from the Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Gaunt, Henry's father. Lionel, the said Duke of Clarence, died without issue male, and his possessions and pretensions fell to his daughter Philippa, who married Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, the representative of the paramour of Isabella of France, and the murderer of Edward II., the great-grandfather of this bride Philippa. Many years after the execution and attainder of the notorious Mortimer, his honours and estates were restored to his son by Edward III., and from that period they had remained in the family. From the marriage of Philippa of Clarence proceeded another Roger Mortimer, who was lord-lieutenant of Ireland during a part of Richard's reign, and who had been killed in that country. This last Roger left two sons, of whom Edmund, the elder of the two, was indisputably heir to the crown by right descent at the time of the deposition of Richard. But this Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, &c., was only eight or nine years of age:—the persons most attached to legitimacy would pause in those times, and in the circumstances of the country, ere they declared for such a child, escorted and surrounded by the horrors of a long minority. In fact, his right was scarcely allowed the weight of a feather: not only was it not discussed, but the very existence of the boy was passed over in silence by lords, commons, priests, and lawyers; and if it occurred to any of the people at that time, the fact is not mentioned. A story, indeed, is told of Edmund Mortimer jesting to his friends on Henry's claim as *heir male* of Edward I., which he translated *hæres malus* (false heir); but this pun, poor as it is, is more likely to have been made for the child than by him. Henry had got possession both of Edmund Mortimer and his younger brother, and he lodged them in Windsor Castle. Some years later the name of Edmund was for the first time brought forward by the insurgents in the north. In other hands the lives of these two captives might have been in danger; but Henry treated them both with great kindness, although they remained in honourable prison till the day of his death. When the claim of the Mortimers is again revived, it is as transmitted by Anne, the sister of this Edmund, who, by espousing Richard Earl of Cambridge, the second son of Edmund Duke of York, gave rise to the claims of the House of York, and was the innocent cause of the dreadful wars of the Roses.

Henry, on ascending the throne, was the idol of the people, but he soon found that he had desperate enemies among the nobility. The lords appellants, as they are called, who had been but slightly punished in parliament (one of them, the Earl of Salisbury, was not punished at all), resolved to take a fearful vengeance. During the sitting of parliament they held secret meetings in the apartments of the Abbot of Westminster, and there, it appears, they formed a plot for restoring Richard and murdering Henry. About a month after the dissolution, they proclaimed a tournament to be held at Oxford on the 3rd day of January, and the Earl of Huntingdon, brother-in-law to Henry, invited the king to attend. The invitation was accepted, and then a band of desperate men were leagued to make a rush on the king, and kill him and his sons during the jousts. The king had kept his Christmas in Windsor Castle; the conspirators were at Oxford: no suspicion was excited

* Rot. Parl.

—the blow seemed certain; but on the appointed day one of their number, the Earl of Rutland, eldest son of the Duke of York and first cousin to Henry, who had had the principal hand in the plot, was missing. The day of the tournament wore away, and, as neither Rutland nor the king appeared, they were forced to conclude that they had been betrayed. At this juncture, however, they yet hoped to retrieve themselves by a bold and rapid movement. They knew that Henry had been living at Windsor with only a feeble guard, and that very evening they set out from Oxford, with five hundred horse, to surprise him in the castle. The castle, indeed, they surprised early the next morning, but Henry was not there; receiving timely warning, he had gone to London, where he had already issued writs for their apprehension as traitors, and was at that moment collecting troops to crush them. Stupified by their double disappointment, the conspirators lingered about Windsor doing nothing; but the next day, the approach of Henry at the head of an immense force, chiefly composed of volunteers from the city of London, roused them from their lethargy, and then they fled to arm their several retainers. The Earl of Huntingdon rode for Essex and the Fens, but the other chiefs retired towards the west, proclaiming King Richard in all the towns through which they passed. But the popular feeling was everywhere against them, and they were destroyed to a man, without any co-operation of the king or the forces he had raised. Summoned and directed by their mayor, the burghers of Cirencester, with the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, captured the earls of Kent and Salisbury, and struck off their heads. The lords Le Despencer and Lumley, who had ridden as far as Bristol, were taken and beheaded by the citizens there. The Earl of Huntingdon was caught on the confines of Essex, and carried to Pleshy, the seat of the great Duke of Gloucester, where the tenants and servants of that prince tortured him and tore his body to pieces in savage vengeance for the wrongs he had done their master. In this manner the spontaneous rage of the people relieved Henry from the trouble and from the odium which generally attend state trials when they are at all prolonged. He, however, ordered that a few prisoners of inferior rank should be tried by the common courts. Ferriby and Mandelein, two monks or priests, who had been chaplains to Richard, were executed in London; and two knights, Thomas Blount and Bennet Sely, were executed at Oxford. Here Henry stopped the red hand of the law and of private vengeance; for he declared that man a traitor that should put another to death in this quarrel. Two bishops were arrested, and one of them, Thomas Merks,* was convicted by a special commission; yet both escaped, and were afterwards allowed to hold church preferments.†

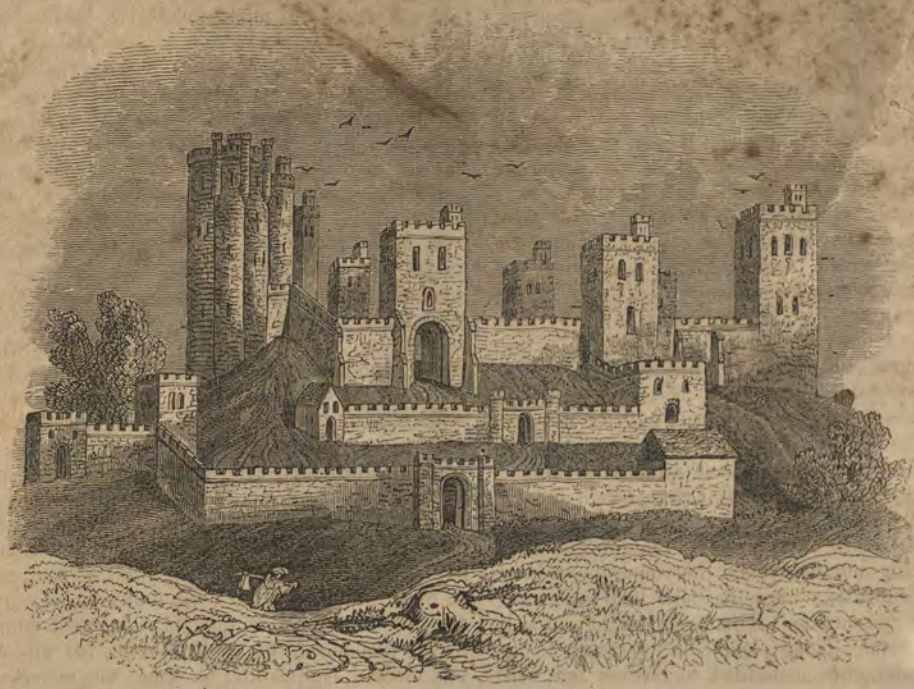
* The Bishop of Carlisle, who *is said* to have spoken manfully in parliament against the measures for deposing Richard II.—See vol. i. p. 799.

† Rot. Parl.—Walsingham.

But the greatest of the victims sacrificed by this furious attempt of the lords appellants was the ex-king himself. About three weeks after that day on which it had been arranged that Henry should be murdered at Oxford, it was known that Richard had died at Pontefract. Even more than the usual mystery is heaped upon this horrid transaction; and, after all that has been said and written upon the subject, little positive information can be added to what is said by the attached dependant and friend of his family—old Froissart. "How Richard died, and by what means, I could not tell when I wrote this chronicle."* The least horrible supposition is, that by order of Henry and those who acted with him,—that is to say, the greatest nobles and prelates in the land,—he was despatched by assassins: the most horrible, and which, we grieve to say, is the more probable, is, that he was starved to death. The old writers, however, who give this account, in general represent his starvation as voluntary. The notion that he escaped from the sure keeping of his cousin, though it has been supported by some ingenuity and more pertinacity, seems devoid of all reasonable foundation.

The wife of Richard was too young and innocent—she was now only ten years old—to have any enemies in England; and in France a lively feeling was excited in her favour, and, through her, a deep regret for the fate of her husband, who, for some years, was almost worshipped in France as a saint and martyr. The first news of his deposition was carried to Paris by some Flemish merchants; but soon after, the Dame de Courcy, who, together with all the French attendants, had been discharged from Queen Isabella's service, returned to her home, and gave a full account of all that had happened to Richard. The details were repeated to King Charles, and they so deeply affected him, that they brought on a fit of insanity—the worst of all maladies, to which he had been liable at intervals for more than six years. This king's greatest anxiety was for his young daughter—dethroned and left defenceless in a foreign country; but his uncles, who, owing to his frequent maladies, had much more power than he, and his ministers and courtiers generally, seem to have rejoiced at the opportunity afforded of falling upon the English possessions. The Duke of Burgundy thought that, at all events, the French ought to attempt to derive some profit out of what had happened; and, without announcement to the *de facto* government of England—which it suited the project in hand to consider as a usurpation—he fell upon that frag-

* Froissart suddenly breaks off his narrative immediately after the death of Richard. Some of his last words concerning the unhappy monarch are very naïve and touching. He contrasts his former splendour with his miserable fall. Never, he says, had king of England spent so much money in keeping up a splendid household: "and I, John Froissart, canon and treasurer of Chimay, saw it, and considered it; and I lived in it a quarter of a year; and good cheer did he give me, forasmuch as I in my youth had been clerk and familiar to the noble King Edward his grandfather, and to Madame Philippa of Hainault, Queen of England, his grandmother; and when I departed from him (it was at Windsor) on my leave-taking, he gave me a silver goblet, gilt, and having within 100 nobles; * * * therefore am I much bound to pray God for him."



PONTEFRACT CASTLE, as it appeared before its Destruction in the time of Charles II.

ment of Guienne where the English flag still floated; and the Duke of Bourbon at the same time marched with an army as far as Agen, whence he issued manifestos promising the most favourable conditions to such of the "good towns" as would voluntarily unite with the kingdom of France. None of these towns were so important as Bordeaux, the birth-place of Richard; and there, at first, a sympathy for the unfortunate sovereign seemed likely to second the views of the French. In a spirit of exaggeration, natural to their warm imagination, the people of Bordeaux swore by the Lord, that Richard was the best man in his kingdom, and that the Londoners had traitorously worked his ruin. They added, that such things were not to be borne; but their ardour cooled when they came to consider the propositions of the Duke of Bourbon; and their interests made them prefer the government of the destroyer of Richard to that of the beggared and rapacious king of France with his merciless uncles. They saw how the French people were vexed and molested with all kinds of taxes, how they were oppressed and impoverished by arbitrary tallages, which were often repeated two or even three times in the course of one year; and the contrast which they drew was certainly most favourable to the recent government of the English. "We are not accustomed to such a system," said the men of Bordeaux; "and it would be too hard for us. If the French were our masters, they would treat us like the rest: it is better that we remain with the English, who respect our franchises and liberties. The Londoners, it is true, have deposed King Richard, and crowned King Henry, but, after all, what is that to us? Have we not always a king? He will soon send his ministers to explain. And, besides, have we not a great trade with the English, in wine, wool, and cloth? Oh! yes, we have more to get by them than by the French." The Bordelais also preferred the pope acknowledged by England (for the schism still continued) to the pope acknowledged in France. And, besides, the principal nobles of the country, who, at the close of the reign of Edward III., had been so malcontent, were all good and loyal English—so greatly had men's minds changed since the time of the wise King Charles V., when all Guienne wished to become French. The great enterprise of the Duke of Burgundy, and the march of the Duke of Bourbon failed completely.* France was not in a condition to declare war: she had been drained of her money; the king's council was nothing but a scene of discord; and Charles, who had recovered his senses for a season, would not permit hostilities while his daughter was yet in England. The new king of England, on his side, was anxious to avoid a war until he should be more firmly seated on his throne: he sent an embassy to France soon after his coronation, and he

* A. Thierry, Hist. de Guyenne.—Barante, Hist. Ducs de Bourgogne.—Froissart.

gave the most flattering reception to the Bishop of Meaux, the Sire de Hugueville, and Masle Blanchet, who came over as ambassadors from Charles, to request the restoration of his daughter, together with all her jewels, and the sum of 200,000 francs of gold, which had been remitted to Richard in part payment of her dower. Henry attempted to remove all demands and difficulties, by proposing a marriage between Isabella and his eldest son; but Charles rejected this alliance. The great difficulty on this side did not so much regard the young lady as the money: Henry was poor, and did not like to risk his necessary popularity by demanding grants from parliament, and he consulted the Universities, to know whether, by law, the personal obligations of Richard were binding on his successor. The reply of the learned was not such as he expected; but still with the 200,000 francs of gold he could not or would not part, and the French ambassadors returned with the assurance, that the existing truce should be respected, and that Madame Isabella should be restored, but without either the money or the jewels. These negotiations lasted many months, nor did the young queen leave England until long after Richard had been murdered in his prison. That event might naturally alarm a tender father, and Charles, eager to get back his daughter, consented to receive her with only her jewels (if the French are correct Henry kept part of these), and to reserve the question of the money for some future discussion. Isabella was carried over to Calais and delivered with great formality to the Duke of Burgundy, who went to meet her with five hundred knights. As soon as she was safe at Paris, the Duke of Orleans, forgetting the embarrassed state of the government, would have declared war to avenge her wrongs; but the Duke of Burgundy, who was then the more powerful of the two, would not consent to this dangerous measure. Hence there arose a furious quarrel between the rival dukes, and the fearful tragedy which soon followed in France, was probably, in part, owing to this altercation. The French people, who had suffered so cruelly, prayed for peace above all things; but many poor knights, and some rich ones, longed for the renewal of the war with England, deeming repose inglorious, and hoping to gain fame and fortune. At times, with the consent of the government, and at others without it, these restless men made inroads on the English possessions in the south, and even attempted descents on our coast; but the court of France never declared war, and all the transactions with the French during the reign of Henry were of very subordinate interest.

Henry well knew that the unpopularity of Richard had been in part owing to the conviction of a warlike people, that he dreaded the dangers and hated the fatigues of the field. The conquest of Scotland was still a popular idea, and the king determined to illustrate the beginning of his reign by an expedition into that country. He was, no doubt, greatly encouraged by the distracted state of affairs at the Scottish court. King Robert was old and weak; his eldest son David, Earl of Rothsay, though brave, and not without abilities, was dissipated, imprudent, and reckless; he had offended some of the greatest of the nobles, and the Duke of Albany, his uncle, who acted as regent during the king's sickness, aspired to the crown, and was known to be a desperate and remorseless man, who would hesitate at no crime to obtain it. Henry's great difficulty, however, was again about money. Popular as the war might be, he dreaded imposing new taxes for its expenses. He preferred having recourse to the old system of feudal service, which, though long out of use, had never been formally abolished. With the consent of a great council, composed exclusively of the lords, spiritual and temporal, it was resolved that the great churchmen should contribute a tenth of their incomes, and that the lay lords should march with their retainers, and serve at their own charges. Henry next summoned all persons enjoying fees or pensions granted by Edward III., by his son, the Black Prince, by Richard II., or by his own father, the Duke of Lancaster, to meet him in arms at York, under the penalty of forfeiture. Whatever may have been the amount of the attendance, this return to the old practices of collecting and feeding an army was remarkably unsuccessful. Henry, however, began with a high tone, despatching heralds to command King Robert and the great barons of Scotland to meet him at Edinburgh, and there do him homage for that crown and for the estates they held. The Duke of Rothsay went to Edinburgh, but it was to fight, not to make submission; and Henry was completely foiled in his attempt to take the castle. He soon found that his unpaid army was very badly supplied with provisions; and, in the end, he was forced by absolute famine to make a rapid retreat from the neighbourhood of Edinburgh to the borders. Yet in this losing campaign Henry gained a rare glory; he mitigated the horrors of war during his stay in Scotland; he protected the weak and defenceless inhabitants, and prevented that plundering and burning of villages which had been so common for ages.*

During his absence in the north, a most formidable insurrection—one which was never wholly subdued during his vigorous reign—broke out in the west under the guidance of the famous Owen Glendower, the most remarkable man of that age. Owen had been an esquire in the household of Richard II., and he retained an affectionate recollection of his old master. After the revolution which swept away the entire court, he retired to his native district of Glendourdy, and there his loyalty was quickened by an attack made on his property. His small estate lay near to that of the great Lord Grey de Ruthyn, who, availing himself of his neighbour's weakness, unjustly despoiled him of a part of his inheritance. The proceedings of the Welshman, who was well acquainted with legal

* Rymer. Fordun.

forms, were exceedingly moderate: he petitioned parliament for redress, and induced an influential member of the House of Lords to take up his cause. But when his petition, though warmly supported by the Bishop of St. Asaph, was rudely rejected, he resolved to take the law into his own hands, and, casting aside the pen, he grasped the sword. He pretended to be lineally descended from the last of the native princes of Wales; and none of the Welsh disputed his claim to an honour which gave him a wonderful degree of influence, as soon as he quitted the shades of obscurity to begin the dangerous career of a patriot. To this ascendancy was added another influence probably quite as powerful on the minds of the superstitious mountaineers. Before becoming a courtly squire, Owen had studied in the English universities, and had afterwards lived in the inns of court as an "apprentice of the law." With the extent of his literary and scientific acquirements we are not acquainted; it was probably not inconsiderable for those times; it was certainly quite enough to make a great impression among the Welsh: nor was it very extraordinary at a period when great book-learning was pretty generally associated with ideas of magic, that those poor peasants should set down Owen Glendower as a magician, or as one having intercourse with the invisible world of spirits. Availing himself of this opportunity afforded by the king's absence in Scotland, Owen collected a brave band, drove the intruders from his property, and took some of Lord Grey de Ruthyn's people prisoners. When Henry returned, he declared Owen an outlaw; and then Owen, speaking no longer about a few acres of land, boldly declared himself the lawful sovereign of all Wales. Nor was his a vain-glorious or idle assumption of dignity; he had felt the pulse of the people, and knew that it still beat high at the thoughts of liberty and independence. According to an old English writer, who only viewed the subject in the light of a rebellion, "he so inveigled, enticed, and allured the wild and indiscreet Welshmen, that they took him as their prince, and made to him an oath of allegiance and subjection."* Without criticising his genealogy or right, nearly every Welshman in England, whether in the capital or in the provinces, threw up his business and occupations, and returned to his native mountains. In the month of February following (A.D. 1401), the commons of England went before the king, and showed how the Welsh scholars at Oxford and Cambridge had left their universities for their own country; and how the Welsh labourers in different parts of the kingdom had suddenly returned into Wales provided with armoury, arrows, bows, and swords.† Henry, who was never wanting in decision and activity, immediately marched with an army into Wales, confidently hoping to crush the insurrection at once; but the clerk and esquire displayed the abilities of a general: he avoided an action, led the English long marches through the most difficult and most desolate parts of the country, and when Henry was obliged to retire (as it appears, from want of provisions), his fame and the confidence of the people were greatly heightened. The king returned in a few months, but with no better success; and a third campaign, made in the following year, was a complete failure.‡

A.D. 1402. Henry's mind, however, was at this time irritated by many insults proceeding from very different quarters; and his attention was distracted by plots and rumours in England, and hostile demonstrations in Scotland and in France.

Walleran of Luxemburgh, Count of Ligny and St. Pol, who had married a sister or half-sister† of the deposed Richard, was not strong enough to be very formidable; but he pursued a course well calculated to vex and even to degrade King Henry. Pretending that it was his especial duty to avenge the death of his brother-in-law, he sent his heralds into England with a strange defiance. After stating his titles to the most high and mighty Prince Henry, Duke of Lancaster (for he would not call him king), and the affinity, love, and confederation which existed between him and Richard—of whose death it was notorious that he, Henry, was accused—he told him that he gave him to know that in every manner in his power he would do him harm, and offer every kind of injury by himself, his relations, his men, and his subjects, both by sea and land, "without the kingdom of France—and all this, for his own personal reasons, and not on account of any war between the King of France and the realm of England."‡ This curious document—the defiance of a petty prince, who assumed the double character of vassal of France, and independent prince of the empire—was dated the 10th of February, 1402; but his limited means prevented for some time his acting upon his threat, and when he took the sea, his operations resembled those of a pirate.

In England, reports were industriously circulated that Richard was still alive, and that, having escaped into Scotland, he was about to return at the head of an army to assert his rights. Associations were formed in various parts of the kingdom to welcome his return, and to co-operate with this force; for many powerful individuals regretted the change from the lavish generosity of Richard to the strict economy and order of his cousin, and the minds of the people were excited by various tales of cruelty and horror. When a notion of this sort once gains ground, it is proof even against ocular demonstration. We are of opinion that few or none of the leaders were ever deceived, but it appears certain that many of the people really believed that Richard was alive. Henry issued

* Holinshed.

† Rot. Parl.

* Walsingham.—Rymer.

† All that is known of this lady is, that the count, her husband, in his challenge to King Henry, calls her a sister of Richard:—"Considerant l'affinité, amour, et confederation, que j'avoye par devers tres haut et puissant Prince Richard, Roy d'Angleterre, du quel j'ay eu la sœur en espouse."—MONSTRELET.

‡ Monstrelet.

several successive proclamations against the fabricators of false reports; and in the spring of 1402, Sir Roger Clarendon, a natural son of the Black Prince, nine Franciscan friars, and several other persons, were executed as traitors, for asserting that the late king was living. This severity only strengthened the popular belief. In the month of June, the Scottish army, indeed, crossed the borders; but there was no Richard with it, nor did the Scots pretend that he was coming. After doing considerable mischief, this army was defeated at Nesbit Moor: Hepburn of Hales, its general, was slain with many of his companions, and nearly all the rest of the knights were taken prisoners. The victorious commander on this occasion was not an Englishman, but a disaffected Scot. The imprudent Duke of Rothsay, heir-apparent to the Scottish throne, had been contracted in marriage to Elizabeth, the daughter of George of Dunbar, the great Earl of March, whose estates and commands lay near the borders: in spite of his solemn engagement, the prince not only refused the damsel, but married Mariell, the daughter of the Earl of Douglas, the hereditary enemy of the Earls of March. Robert, the poor, infirm old king, had well foreseen the consequence of acts which he had not been able to prevent: the Earl of March withdrew to his almost impregnable castle of Dunbar, gave up his fealty, did homage to the King of England, and joined in the closest confederacy with the Percies of Northumberland. By his means the road to Edinburgh had been laid open to Henry in 1400, and now, after having assisted the Percies in several inroads or forays they had made into Scotland, he defeated the Scottish force at Nesbit Moor. Earl Douglas, who had got a grant of the estates of the Earl of March, immediately prepared to drive him to his ruin, and to revenge the loss of Nesbit Moor; and he was supported by the Duke of Albany, who still usurped all the power which could be said to belong to a distracted government. Ten thousand warriors, the best of Scotland, followed the banner of the Douglas, which flew like a meteor from the Lothians to the Tweed, from the Tweed to the Tyne; but the earl, whom the Scots surnamed "Tyne-man," or "Lose-man," from his repeated defeats and failures, with all the personal valour of his race, enjoyed so small a portion of their sagacity as to be unable to learn military experience from reiterated calamity. Having carried terror and devastation as far as the walls of Newcastle, without finding any force to oppose him, he turned back loaded with plunder, and marched in a careless manner towards the Tweed. During his ill-calculated advance to the south, the Earl of Northumberland and his son, the Hotspur Percy, with his deadly enemy the Earl of March, gathered a numerous army in his rear. Douglas, hampered by his spoil, came suddenly upon this force, which was posted near Milfield, in the northern part of Northumberland. He perceived a strong position between the two armies called Homildon Hill, and he had the good sense to seize it. The English, with the people of the Earl of March, occupied the ridges of a neighbouring hill, but they left it to advance to the assault; and Harry Percy (or Hotspur) was about to charge up the hill of Homildon, when March caught his bridle, and advised him to stay where he was, and begin the fight with his archers, not with his horse. The advice was taken: the English bowmen advanced to the roots of the hill, and shot upwards with wonderful force and correct aim. Instead of charging at first, as Bruce did the English archers at Bannockburn, Douglas did nothing, but left his people drawn up in ranks on the face of the hill, where they presented one general mark to the enemy. Scarcely an English arrow flew in vain; the Scots fell in heaps without fighting. At last Douglas made up his mind to charge down the hill, or, as it is related by Fordun, Swinton, a spirited knight, induced this movement by exclaiming—"Oh! my brave fellow-soldiers, what fascinates you to-day, that you stand like deer and fawns in a park to be shot, instead of showing your ancient valour, and meeting your foes hand-to-hand? Let those who will, descend with me, and, in the name of the Lord, we will break that host and conquer, or, if not, at least die with honour, like soldiers." As Douglas descended the English bowmen retired a little, but they pulled their bows as they withdrew, and, presently halting again, they sent a flight of arrows so "sharp and strong," that no armour could withstand it; and as he was spurring forward, the Douglas himself, whose armour was of the most perfect temper, was wounded, though not mortally, in five different places. He fell from his horse,—was made prisoner,—and then a complete rout of the Scots ensued. Eight hundred of them remained on the field, and five hundred, it is said, were drowned in the Tweed. Besides Douglas, whose principal wound deprived him of an eye, Murdach, the son of the Duke of Albany, the earls of Moray and Angus, two barons, eighty knights (among whom were some Frenchmen), and many other persons of rank, were made prisoners by the Percies. Swinton, Gordon, Livingston of Calendar, Ramsay of Dalhousie, Walter Sinclair, Roger Gordon, and Walter Scott, were in the number of the more illustrious slain. The English men-at-arms, knights, and squires, never drew the sword or couched the lance, the whole affair being decided by the archers.

Such was the famous battle of Homildon Hill, which was fought on Holyrood-day, the 14th of September, 1402.* While it was fighting Henry himself was engaged much less successfully in Wales, where Owen Glendower had recently gained two splendid victories,—one on the banks of the Vurnwye, where he took his old enemy, the Lord Grey, prisoner; the other near Knyghton, in Radnorshire, where he captured Sir Edmund Mortimer. In the end of September the king advanced from Shrewsbury; but though he divided

* Rot. Parl.—Rymer.—Fordun.—Otterbourne.

his forces into three separate armies, which poured into Wales from three different points, he could never find his active and cunning enemy. It seemed as if Glendower had taken refuge in the clouds, and thence waged war by commanding the elements. Incessant rains distressed the English, inundated the valleys, and made the mountain-torrents impassable. The king's tent was swept away by a tempest; and Henry at last withdrew, convinced, it is said, that Owen Glendower was a mighty necromancer. On his retreat, Owen marched in triumph through the country, where all true Welshmen now acknowledged him as their legitimate sovereign, the worthy descendant of the Llewellyns and of other princes who reigned ere Saxon or Norman trod the soil of Britain.*

Nor was this failure the only annoyance which Henry was now suffering. In the month of August of this same year he received a challenge from the Duke of Orleans, the brother of the French king, and uncle of the lady Isabella. This prince had formerly been the bosom friend and sworn brother of Henry of Bolingbroke: during his exile in France, when Henry aspired to the hand of a princess of the blood royal, a daughter of the Duke of Berri, Orleans did his utmost to promote that match; and though he failed on that occasion, he gave Henry all the aid he could for his expedition into England, and encouraged him to dethrone Richard, the husband of his niece. But the Duke of Orleans then acted rather out of spite and jealousy of his uncle, the Duke of Burgundy, the *de facto* regent of France, than from any steady affection for Henry; and he was a man accustomed to change principles and systems almost as often as his clothes. His first challenge did not state any grievance whatever: he merely said that he deplored the state of inactivity and neglect of the use of arms, to which he and other princes of France were condemned,—that he was anxious to gain honour and good renown,—and that, therefore, he wanted to fight, with a hundred French knights armed with lance, battle-axe, sword, and dagger, but without any bodkins, hooks, points, bearded darts, razors, needles, or poisoned points, against King Henry and a hundred English knights.† The King of England received the heralds in what was considered a very scurvy manner; and, contrary to the noble usages of chivalry, he made them no presents. His answer, which was not returned till the 1st of January, 1403, expressed astonishment at the receipt of such a challenge during a time of truce, and from a sworn brother: he told the duke that he annulled his letters of alliance and brotherhood; and reminded him that he, as a king, was not bound to answer any such challenge except from kings. "As to the idleness of which you complain," said Henry, with a tone of solemnity which looks, however, very like mockery, "it is true that we are less employed in arms and in seeking honour than our noble ancestors: but God is great; and, when it pleases him, we shall follow their footsteps." In another clause he made a most rational assertion, which probably gained him little honour among knights: "It seems to us," said he, "that a prince-king ought only to fight for the honour of God, the common benefit of Christendom, or for the good of his kingdom, and not for vain-glory or an ambition wholly temporal." At the end of his answer he said that he should go to the continent when he pleased, or when the affairs of his people required; and that he should take with him such knights as he pleased, and that *then*, if he chose, his adversary might come and meet him; he, on his part, hoping, by the "aid of God, our Lady, and my Lord St. George," not to let him depart without a sufficient answer. And he told the duke that, if he wished his champions to be *sans reproche*, he ought to keep his own promises and respect his own seal and signature better than he had hitherto done. Stung to the quick by the whole tone of this letter, the Duke of Orleans made a most intemperate reply, in which he taxed Henry with the high crimes of rebellion, usurpation, and murder; and he now stated what he chose to consider his personal grievance. "How could you suffer my much redoubted lady, madam the Queen of England, to return to our country desolate by the loss of her lord, despoiled of her dower, and of all the property she carried hence on her marriage? He who seeks to gain honour must support her cause. Are not noble knights bound in all circumstances to defend the rights of widows and virgins of a virtuous life, such as my niece was known to lead? And as I am so nearly related to her, acquitting myself towards God and towards her as a relation, I reply that, to spare the effusion of human blood, I will gladly meet you in single combat, or with any number you may please." The sarcasms, also, of the English king were retorted; and Henry was told that the French knights thanked him for having more care of their healths than he had had of that of his sovereign and liege lord. This curious letter was dated in March, 1403; and Henry, though occupied by much more critical affairs, was provoked to return an answer almost immediately. After expressing an anxiety for his own honour, he accused the duke of taking a frivolous turn,—of wishing for a war of words, a contest worthy of minstrels,—and of defaming his royal person. "In regard to the dignity we hold," wrote Henry, "it appears that you do not approve of the manner in which we have obtained it. Certes, we are greatly astonished at this, for we made you fully acquainted with our designs before we departed out of France; at which time you approved of our voyage, and promised us your assistance, if we required it, against our very dear lord and cousin, the King Richard, whom God absolve! We wanted not your assistance; and we hold your approbation or disapprobation in no account, since God and our people, the free inhabitants of this kingdom, have approved of our right: this is a sufficient reply to such as would

* Walsing.—Otterb. † Monstrelet.

question our right." The charge of murder he repelled with the most indignant language. "With regard to that passage in your letter where you speak of the death of our very dear cousin and lord, whom God absolve! saying 'God knows how it happened, and *by whom* that death was done,' we know not with what intent such words are used; but if you mean to say that his death was caused by our order, or with our consent, we say that you lie, and will lie foully as often as you shall say so; as the true God knows, whom we call to witness: offering, as a loyal prince ought, our body against yours in single combat, if you will or dare to prove it." This very long letter alluded more or less openly to all the treachery and disloyalty which the popular voice in France accused Orleans of practising against his unfortunate brother the king, and his uncle the Duke of Burgundy. The quarrel rested here: the King of England and the Duke of Orleans never met; and the latter appears to have been completely defeated in this war of words. Henry, however, thought fit to complain of this challenge, and sent ambassadors to the French court, who stated that it was a breaking of the existing truce. That court was a scene of intrigue and anarchy, and the government could neither declare war nor check such provoking ebullitions on the part of its subjects. It replied that the King of France and his council had never broken the truce, and would never break their engagements; and that this was the only reply that could be returned. At the same time the French made a fresh demand for the two hundred thousand francs, the money which had been paid with the Princess Isabella; but the English envoys met this demand by claiming five hundred thousand crowns, in liquidation of the ransom of King John, who had been taken at the battle of Poictiers, nearly half a century before.*

But while the Duke of Orleans had been Gasconading in France, the Percies of Northumberland, who more than other men had contributed to place him on the throne, raised their banner against Henry, and did their best to dethrone him. For services such as the Earl of Northumberland had rendered a high price is always expected, and that chieftain seems to have set no limit to his demands. Henry, on the other side, was not of a very yielding nature, and he was far too wary and politic to give any great increase of power to a warlike family which was already but too powerful. His rewards, however, had neither been few nor inconsiderable, and he seems to have counted on the gratitude and fidelity of the Percies. The greatest of our poets, and the historians he followed, err in attributing the insurrection to their resentment at the king's order forbidding them to set at liberty or put to ransom the prisoners taken in the battle of Homildon Hill. Such orders had not been unusual, and had been issued by no king more frequently than by Edward III., who was not improperly quoted as an authority in all matters of war. Henry reserved to the captors all the rights of ransom; and, as a reward for his services at Homildon Hill, granted to the Earl of Northumberland several broad manors, together with most of the lands in England which had belonged to his captive the Earl of Douglas.* The Percies, however, really felt themselves aggrieved, not because they were not allowed to dispose of the captives they had in their own hands, but because they were not permitted to ransom a friend who was in the hands of one who was, at least for the time, an enemy. Sir Edmund Mortimer, who had been taken by Owen Glendower at the battle of Knyghton, was uncle to the young Earl of March, who, as far as the right of birth went, was lawful King of England. Henry, who kept the nephew in close custody, was supposed to bear no good-will to the uncle; and when Mortimer's relations requested permission to ransom him by the payment of a sum of money to Glendower, he refused, although he had previously permitted the friends of the Lord Grey of Ruthyn, who had been taken in the other battle in Wales, to redeem him by paying the Welshman ten thousand marks. Henry Percy showed great irritation at the king's harsh refusal, for the sister of Sir Edmund Mortimer was *his* wife; and his father, the Earl of Northumberland, and his uncle, the Earl of Worcester, took up his quarrel on this head. Scroop, the Archbishop of York (a brother of the favourite minister of Richard II.), who hated Henry, advised these disaffected nobles to treat the king as an usurper, and to draw their swords for the rightful heir,—that is, for the boy, the Earl of March. A formidable conspiracy ensued; and the conspirators, who certainly were actuated by no patriotic or high motives of any kind, did not scruple to call in the assistance of the enemies of their country. They formed a close league with Owen Glendower, who thereupon gave his daughter in marriage to his prisoner Mortimer, and promised to co-operate with twelve thousand Welsh: they liberated Earl Douglas without ransom, on condition of his joining them with all his vassals: they sent ambassadors to the kings of France and Scotland, to solicit their aid. It appears, also, that Hotspur sent a letter to the Duke of Orleans, whose challenge must then have been the subject of continual conversation.

Douglas, true to his engagement, crossed the borders with a considerable force. The Earl of Northumberland being "sore sick," Hotspur took the command of the army, and marched towards North Wales, where he expected to be joined by Glendower. On his road, his uncle, the Earl of Worcester, joined him, with a great body of archers from Cheshire. The plan of his campaign was excellent; but he had to do with an enemy quite as active, and much more skilful. Expecting the insurgents would make the country near the borders the scene of the war, Henry marched to the north as far as Burton-upon-Trent; but there he learned the direction Hotspur was taking,

* Monstrelet.—Monk of St. Denis.—Rymer.

* Rymer.

and, striking off to the west, he so pressed his march, that he reached Shrewsbury, and threw himself between the Welsh and the men of the North—it being his aim to prevent their junction. Glendower did not appear, but the king was scarcely in the town, when his scouts informed him that the earls, with banners displayed, were close to Shrewsbury, and that their light horse were already skirmishing with part of his forces. Enraged, but not disheartened, at finding the Welsh had not come up, Hotspur halted not far from the king's army, which issued out and encamped beyond the eastern gate of the town.* By this time night was approaching, and it was resolved to defer the battle till the morrow. In the course of the night the confederates sent the king their defiance. This instrument ran in the names of the Percies and of none others: taking the Lord Jesus Christ to witness, they pronounced Henry, Duke of Lancaster, to be unjustly named King of England, "without title of right, but only of his guile and perjury, and by force of his fautors:" they alleged that when, after his exile, he entered England, he swore upon the Holy Gospels, that he would claim nothing but his own proper inheritance, and the inheritance of his wife, and that Richard should reign during the term of his life, governed by the good advice of the lords spiritual and temporal; and yet they said he had imprisoned the same sovereign lord and king, until he had, for fear of death, resigned his kingdoms of England and France; and under colour of that resignation, by the counsel of his friends and accomplices, and by "the noising of the rascal people," he had crowned himself king of the realms aforesaid. Wherefore he was false and perjured. The next head of accusation was, that he had sworn upon the same Gospel at the same place and time, that he would not suffer any tenths to be levied on the clergy, or any fifteenths on the people, nor any other tallages or taxes whatsoever, without the previous consent of the Parliament, except for great need, in causes of importance, or for the resistance of the enemy only, and not otherwise; and yet contrary to this oath, he had frequently caused tenths and fifteenths, and other impositions and tallages, as well on the clergy and commonalty of the realm of England as on the merchants, to be levied by arbitrary power, and through fear of his majesty royal. Wherefore was he perjured, and false. In the third clause they said that he had also sworn that Richard, their king and *his*, should, as long as he lived, enjoy every royal prerogative and dignity; and yet had caused him traitorously, without consent or judgment of the lords of the realm, to be kept for the space of fifteen days and nights in the castle of Pontefract, without meat, or drink, or fire, whereof he perished of hunger, thirst, and cold. Wherefore was he perjured and false. In the fourth clause they, for the first time, publicly set forth the hereditary rights of the young Earl of March, accusing Henry of usurping, after the murder of Richard, and of keeping possession of the crown, which belonged to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, then the next and direct heir. Wherefore was he perjured and false. Fifthly, they alleged, that in spite of his oath to govern according to law and the good customs of the realm, he had treacherously, and against the law, controlled the elections, and caused his own creatures to be chosen by almost all the shires in England as their representatives in Parliament; and of this they said they had oftentimes complained, without obtaining redress; and here they called to witness Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Richard Scroop, Archbishop of York. In the last place, they accused him of his conduct with regard to Sir Edmund Mortimer, and asserted that he had published and declared the Percies traitors, and had craftily purposed and conspired their utter destruction, because they had negotiated with Owen Glendower for the release of their kinsman Mortimer without the royal consent. "For which causes," they concluded, "we do mortally defy thee, thy fautors and accomplices, as common traitors and destroyers of the realm, and invaders, oppressors, and confounders of the very true and right heir to the crown of England and France; and we intend to prove it this day by force of arms, Almighty God blessing us."*

The king could use his pen almost as well as his sword; but he did not think the present a proper time for argument and refutation. Before matters had come to this crisis, he had offered the Percies a safe conduct to meet him at his court, where he was ready to discuss all questions with them; but this offer they had treated with contempt; and he now told them that he had no time to lose in writing, but that he would, "by dint of sword and fierce battle," prove that their quarrel was false and feigned; and he added, that he doubted not that God would give him the victory over false and foresworn traitors. At an early hour on the following day—which was the vigil of St. Mary Magdalen, the 21st of July—Hotspur drew up his men in front of the king. The two armies were nearly equal, consisting each of about 14,000 men. Many years had passed since England had seen her sons thus arrayed against each other; and there was now a short pause, as if the combatants felt this. Henry even sent the Abbot of Shrewsbury to propose an amicable arrangement; but his opponents rejected these offers Then suddenly he bade the trumpets blow: those on the king's side cried, "Saint George for us!" their adversaries cried, "Esperance, Percy!" and then the armies joined battle. The first charge was led by Hotspur and Douglas, two old rivals for military glory, and who were esteemed two of the best lances in Christendom. This charge was

* Walsing.—Otterb.—Rymer.

* This defiance is given at length by Hall, who, however, has confounded Sir Edmund Mortimer with the Earl of March, in which mistake he has been followed by Shakspeare, and even by some modern historians: for example, by Bishop Kennett, in his 'Complete History.' The most correct copy of the document is that given in Sir H. Ellis's edition of Fardyng's Chronicle, from the Harleian MS. 42.

irresistible; a part of the king's guards were dispersed; the Earl of Stafford, Sir Walter Blount, and two other knights, who wore the royal arms to deceive the enemy, were slain; the royal standard was cast down, and Henry of Monmouth, the young Prince of Wales, was sorely wounded in the face—notwithstanding which he never ceased to fight where the battle was strongest, or to encourage his men when their hearts were faintest. The brilliant charge of the Percy and the Douglas was not well supported; they could nowhere find the king, who fought in plain armour: the royal lines, through which they had broken, formed again, and closed in their rear; and when they turned to cut through them again, they found them immovable as a wall, and they were assailed on all sides by murderous flights of arrows. During the battle, which lasted altogether about three hours, some bodies of Welsh arrived, but the main body of the confederates could not rescue its van. Hotspur, after fighting against fearful odds, was struck by a random arrow, which pierced his brain, and when his death was known, his followers lost heart and fled on all sides. Henry raised the cry of "Victory and Saint George!" Douglas, in his flight, fell over a precipice, and being much hurt, was made prisoner. There were also taken Hotspur's uncle, the Earl of Worcester, the Baron of Kinderton, Sir Richard Vernon, and many others of inferior consequence. Douglas was treated as a foreign knight, and kindly entertained; but Worcester, Kinderton, and Vernon were considered as rebels, and their heads were struck off on the field of battle. The numbers that fell in actual combat were prodigious; but there is probably some exaggeration in the accounts, which state the entire loss on both sides to have exceeded ten thousand men.*

Dearly as it was bought, the great victory of Shrewsbury was probably a blessing to the country, which would inevitably have been involved in a long series of civil wars and horrors of all kinds, if the confederates had succeeded in their enterprise. In the name of the young Earl of March, the Percies would have usurped all the power of government; and during the boy's minority England would have been a prey to fierce and lawless factions. Old Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, who had recovered from his sickness, was marching with a considerable force to join the insurgent army, when the sad tidings were brought him of the death of his darling son, Hotspur, and his brother Worcester, upon which he turned back in despair, dismissed his retainers, and shut himself up in the castle of Warkworth. He was obliged, however, to surrender himself into the king's hands; and this he did, meanly asserting that his son had acted all along contrary to his wishes and to his express commands. Henry was only cruel on certain great occasions: he acted mildly with Northumberland, who, after presenting a petition to Parliament, was pardoned and dismissed, without any fines or penalties.*

Soon after the battle of Shrewsbury, Prince Henry was sent into Wales against Owen Glendower, whom he defeated in one or two skirmishes. During this season of difficulties, the conduct of the French was at once paltry and dishonourable: they not only attacked Guienne, but made frequent descents on our coast, and plundered every English ship they could surprise at sea. They captured a whole fleet of merchantmen; they took the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, and they made a descent near Plymouth, at the critical moment when Henry was occupied by the Percies. On learning the result of the battle of Shrewsbury, they retired to their ships, but not before burning the town of Plymouth, and plundering the whole neighbourhood. In this expedition three princes of the house of Bourbon took part; but all this while no war was declared, and the French court pretended that everything of the sort was against their will and orders—that they, above all things, were anxious for the religious observance of the truce. In this same year, Waleran de St. Pol took the sea with a few ships, making as much noise and parade as if he were leading a vast armada to the sure conquest of all England. He landed on the Isle of Wight, but he was repulsed by the inhabitants alone, and he then sailed away with all speed, lest he should be taken by an English fleet. Reprisals were made on the French coast; the English sailors associated as they had done in the time of Edward I., and, without any direct commission, carried on war on their own account, capturing ships on the high seas, burning the towns on the coast, and not unfrequently penetrating far into the interior of France. In this manner several fleets of ships, loaded with wine and other valuable commodities, were brought into the English ports; Pennareh and St. Mahé were burnt to the ground, and incalculable mischief was done to the French. On some occasions, however, the king issued what we now call "letters of marque;" and a year or two later, he himself sent out a fleet under his second son, the Lord Thomas, afterwards Duke of Clarence: for, incited by his old enemy, the Duke of Orleans, many Flemings and Easterlings were cruising against the English in great ships, and committing atrocious cruelties. The king's son was instructed to revenge those injuries either by battle or depopulation of their sea-coast; and it appears that he executed his commission in an effective manner, by firing ships, burning towns, and destroying people without favour or mercy. On the whole, this most irregular and most sanguinary warfare was in favour of the English; but Henry had never that complete command of the sea which would have enabled him to protect his coasts from all insult.†

A.D. 1404.—"It is most strange," says an old historian, "that King Richard was not suffered to

* Otterb.—Hall.—Rymer.

* Rot. Parl.

† Monstrelet.—Hall.

be dead after he had so long a time been buried."* One Serlo, or Serle, who had been a gentleman of the bedchamber to King Richard, and who, according to some, had been engaged in the mysterious murder of the Duke of Gloucester, was tempted over from France by a report that his old master had escaped, and was living in Scotland. Instead of Richard, it appears that he found the court-fool,—a certain Ward,—who bore some resemblance to the unfortunate king, and that he (Serle) persuaded the poor buffoon to personate Richard. Serle's next performance was to counterfeit Richard's privy seal, and to despatch letters to many of the late king's friends in England, assuring them that he was indeed alive, and shortly would come to show himself openly to the world. These "forged inventions" produced the desired effect on many people. The old Countess of Oxford, the mother of Robert de Vere, the unfortunate Duke of Ireland, either credited the story or was a party to the imposition: she caused certain of her servants, and "other such as she could trust," to publish and bruit abroad, through all parts of Essex, that King Richard was coming; and she distributed a great number of hearts, made of gold and silver, such as King Richard was accustomed to give to his knights and household to wear as cognizances. The story gained ground, and many simple people firmly believed that the late king was about to cross the borders with a great power of French and Scots. The vigilant and suspicious Henry soon learned these reports, and he succeeded in arresting Serle's secret messenger, who gave up the names of the parties with whom he had communicated. A number of monks were immediately arrested; the old countess was shut up in close prison; and her secretary, who had gone about the country affirming that he had *spoken* with King Richard, was drawn and hanged. Shortly after Serle himself was secured through the craft of Sir William Clifford, governor of Berwick, and carried to the king at Pontefract Castle. It is said that he not only revealed everything connected with the ridiculous masquerade, but also confessed that he had had a guilty hand in the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, at Calais: he was drawn on a sledge through every good town between Pontefract and London, where he was executed as a traitor. He showed such moving signs of contrition and repentance, that many pitied his case, and promised to hire priests to sing masses for his soul at their own cost and charges.†

Henry had been exceedingly cautious in demanding grants and aids from his parliament; and on one or two occasions, when he passed the line beyond which the commons were not inclined to go, he retraced his steps the very instant he discovered his mistake. By these means he had obtained the affection and confidence of the more popular part of the representatives in an unusual degree. He was now greatly in want of money to meet the charges of the war in Wales, which was again in full activity, and of the fleets which he was obliged to equip to defend the coast and the trade of the kingdom. He endeavoured, however, to escape from the necessity of applying for an aid by a proposition in which he was eagerly seconded by the commons, that he should be allowed to resume all the former grants,—that he should be prohibited from alienating the ancient inheritance of the crown without consent of parliament,—and that he should *forthwith* appropriate to himself certain portions of the property of the church, so that the commons might be eased of taxes and the king live upon his own.* If this blow had taken effect probably half of the property of the members of the upper house would have been in jeopardy. The clergy took fire, and the Archbishop of Canterbury taxed the commons with irreligion, and the impious desire of removing the burden from their own shoulders by plundering their betters. Henry ceded at once; and, to conciliate the churchmen, he assured the archbishop that it was his intention and wish to leave the church in a better state than that in which he had found it. The demonstration, however, made a bad impression, and many persons were irritated by the suppression of certain pensions granted by Edward III. and the late king,—a measure which was carried during the session. It is said that, in the writs of summons to this parliament, which met at Coventry on the 6th of October, 1404, the king had commanded the sheriffs and mayors to return no lawyers, or, according to another account, no persons possessed of any kind of learning; whence it afterwards came to be known by the name of the *parliamentum indoctorum*, or the lack-learning parliament.†

A.D. 1405.—In the beginning of this year the widow of the Lord Spencer, one of Richard's favourites who had suffered at Bristol, ingeniously contrived to liberate the young Earl of March and his brother from Windsor Castle. The intention was to convey these boys to Wales, and to proclaim the elder King of England; but they were immediately retaken, and then the lady accused her own brother, the ill-famed Earl of Rutland, now Duke of York, of being privy to this attempt, as also to conspiracies against Henry's life. York was immediately seized, and his estates were sequestrated to the king's use without any trial; but, as that of a traitor to all parties, his fate excited no interest. After lingering three or four years in prison, he

* Speed. † Walsing.—Otterb.—Holinshed.—Rot. Parl.

* Rot. Parl.

† Our historians of the times of Elizabeth and James are very eloquent on this subject, assuming as positive that where there were no lawyers there could be no learning. John Speed surpasses himself on the occasion. He says that it was called the *lack-learning* parliament either for the *unlearnedness* of the members, or for their malice to learned men; but that "their motion vanished to nothing save the infamous memory of the attempters." "With great reason, therefore," he continues, "did our forefathers distinguish the people into the *learned* and the *lewd*,—inferring, truly, that such commonly were *lewd* who were not learned, and that *lewd* and *wicked* were but two words of one signification; as in *this* parliament well appeared, whose *commons* might enter *common* with their cattle for any virtue which they had more than brute creatures." It may be proper to observe that anciently the word *lewd* meant merely ignorant or unlearned. "For lewed people loven tales old," says Chaucer.

was released in mercy or in contempt. The king called two great councils of the nobility and clergy at London and St. Albans; but such was their ill-humour towards him, that they refused to satisfy any of his requests; and more than one of the barons went straight from St. Albans to the north, where a fresh and formidable insurrection was organizing under the guidance of old Percy, Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Nottingham, Scroop the Archbishop of York, Sir John Falconberg, and others. The archbishop, who had given his advice on the former occasion, took up arms on this. Sir John Falconberg and three other knights, who were the first to appear in the field, were beaten and dispersed by the young prince John, Henry's third son, and the Earl of Westmoreland. A few weeks later the archbishop took the field with the Earl of Nottingham, and posted himself at Shipton-on-the-Moor at the head of eight thousand men. Prince John, with the Earl of Westmoreland, came suddenly upon them. The archbishop did not fight, but, by some means which are not explained (though the royalist party are suspected of employing delusive promises and treachery), both he and the earl, his companion, were carried prisoners to the king at Pontefract Castle. Henry intimated to the chief-justice Gascoigne that he must pass sentence upon them as rebels and traitors taken in arms; but that upright judge refused, because the prelate's life was exempt from the jurisdiction of lay courts, and because both he and the earl had a right to a trial by their peers. One Fulthorp, a knight, and probably a lawyer, was less scrupulous, and without any form of trial he condemned both prelate and earl to be beheaded. Bishops had been loaded with chains, thrown into noisome dungeons, starved or tortured to death, before now; but the axe of the executioner had never yet publicly severed a mitred head in England. But Henry had made up his iron mind to this startling novelty, and the archbishop was executed immediately. Scroop died like a brave man, protesting to the last that he had merely wanted a redress of grievances, and that he had never intended evil "against the *person* of King Henry."* The pope, without naming any one, issued a general sentence of excommunication against all men concerned in the death of that prelate; but Henry sent in a justification of his conduct;—the Church of Rome was not in a condition to take vengeance, and the sentence was revoked.

Having punished the city of York with fines and the temporary suspension of its charters,—for it had been up in arms on the archbishop's side,—Henry marched northward with an army of thirty-seven thousand men. The Earl of Northumberland fled to Berwick, and implored the assistance of the Regent of Scotland. At Durham Henry caused the Lord Hastings, the Lord Falconbridge, and two knights, to be tried for treason, and, on their conviction, to be beheaded. On the king's approach to Berwick old Percy gave up the town to some Scots, and fled with the Lord Bardolf to Edinburgh, where he was kindly received. When the English came before Berwick the Scots set fire to the town and fled. The castle, however, was garrisoned, and the governor refused to surrender. Upon this Henry brought up an enormous cannon, and planted it against one of the towers: the first shot took such effect that it knocked down part of the tower, upon which the garrison, in a panic, threw open the gates. Henry put to death the governor, a son of the Baron of Graystock, with four or five of his principal officers. He did not continue his march into Scotland, but turned back into Northumberland, where he took Alnwick, Prudhoe, Cockermouth, and all the castles belonging to the great earl. Then, from the north, he rapidly marched to Wales, where his gallant son, after achieving several victories, was hard pressed by a superior force. Prince Henry had been almost constantly engaged ever since the battle of Shrewsbury against Owen Glendower, the most active and trying of enemies. In the month of March of this same year (1405) he had defeated the Welsh in a great battle at Grosmont, in Monmouthshire, and taken prisoner Griffith, the son of Glendower; and soon after he reduced the strong castle of Lampeter, in Cardiganshire. But now his career was checked by the successful issue of Glendower's foreign negotiations. In the preceding year the clerk, necromancer, or devil, applied for assistance to the French: according to some foreign writers, he went in person to France, and was received there with the consideration due to his royal descent and heroic bravery. Properly speaking, there was no government in France,—the king was still alternating between the two conditions of idiotcy and frenzy,—his uncle Philip, the great Duke of Burgundy, was dead, and such authority as the court possessed was monopolized by one of the king's brothers and the queen, who were living together openly in an incestuous adultery. This precious brother was the Duke of Orleans, Henry's old and bitter enemy. Still without any declaration of war, it was resolved to equip a great fleet at Brest, and to send over to Wales eight thousand men-at-arms,

* Unless Scroop amused his mind with a quibble about "*persona*, evil," he could not fancy that his conduct would bear out his dying assertions. He had notoriously advised the Percys to take up arms against Henry: every probability is in favour of the commonly received opinion that he drew up the articles of accusation sent in by Hotspur; and if we relieve Scroop from the responsibility of that composition, it is difficult to conceive that he had nothing to do with the ten articles, which, just before his taking the field at Shipton-on-the-Moor, had been stuck upon all the church doors of York and the neighbourhood. In this document, which ran in the names of A, B, C, D, proctors of the Commonwealth of England, Henry was accused of perjury, rebellion, usurpation, murder, irreligion, rapine, and all kinds of lawless violence. It may be that the archbishop had no fixed plan of putting Henry to death; but could he imagine for a moment that Henry's life would be respected by a party called together by such a ferocious manifesto? Or could he think that his closest ally, the Earl of Nottingham, who was taken with him at Shipton, and who was son of Henry's old enemy, Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, was not anxious for a deadly revenge? Scroop's whole family had been under great obligations to Richard; and he has read the whole story of these fierce times in vain who can believe that churchmen did not partake in all the strong feelings and passions of other men. Dr. Lingard, however, seems to wish to make his readers believe that Scroop really contemplated nothing more than a gentle reform of abuses.

under the command of James of Bourbon, Count of La Marche. The fleet and most of the knights assembled at Brest, but the young Bourbon prince was so well amused by the fêtes of the court,—so occupied by cards and dice,—that he kept the expedition waiting, so that many of the knights, having spent all their money, returned to their homes. At last the count went to Brest, but it was in the stormy month of November: most of the ships refused to put to sea, and the expedition ended, for that year, in a petty attack on the poor people near Falmouth. The Duke of Orleans, however, had the project at heart, and another expedition was prepared in the course of the following spring. After some fresh delays, 12,000 men in 120 ships (we believe that the chronicler exaggerates numbers) appeared in Milford Haven under the command of Montmorency, Marshal of Rieux, and the Sire de Hugueville, Grand Master of the Arbalisters. This force landed in safety; but most of their horses had perished during the voyage, and the troops had scarcely left the ships ere the fleet of the Cinque Ports sailed into Milford Haven and burnt fifteen of them. Soon after, the same fleet captured fourteen French ships that were bringing over ammunition and stores for the expedition, and it continued to do its duty so well that the invaders could never receive supplies. The French marched upon Haverford West, where they burnt the town, but were repulsed with loss in an attempt to take the castle. Burning and destroying, they marched to Carmarthen, which they took, and being joined in that neighbourhood by Owen Glendower, with ten thousand combatants, they penetrated almost to the gates of Worcester, obliging Prince Henry to keep aloof. But at Worcester the king came up to the assistance of his son, and the French and Welsh retreated a little, and took possession of a high hill. The king followed them, and for eight days encamped his forces on a height opposite, with a deep valley between him and the enemy. Neither army would quit its position to risk a general battle; but there were many skirmishes, in which, among others, a brother of the French marshal and two other great lords were slain. At last hunger compelled the allies to quit their hill and fall back upon Wales. The king followed them in their retreat; but it should appear that, engaging somewhat rashly among the defiles, the woods and marshes, he suffered a severe check at the hands of the Welsh. According to the English account, he retreated from want of provisions, but it is evident that his retreat was rapid and disorderly, and that he lost some fifty of his baggage-waggons. By this time, however, the French, heartily sick of the poor entertainment they found in Wales, and dreading the approach of a fresh English army, got back to their ships and sailed away for France, leaving their dear cousin Owen to abide the storm as best he could.*

Prince Henry remained to carry on the war: as a mere boy, he had shown great constancy and confidence in his own resources; and among the mountains and morasses of Wales, and from dealing with an active enemy, he improved himself in that destructive art which a few years later was so fatal to France. He subdued the whole of South Wales, and made gradual advances in the north; but for a while he scarcely gained a rood of ground without fighting for it; and even to the end, Owen Glendower kept him on the alert, prolonging a struggle for independence with a spirit and an ability which have rarely been surpassed. We can dimly trace his retreat in the north of Wales, from one stronghold to another. Some three or four years after the departure of his French allies, Owen, finding himself gradually forsaken by the disheartened people, and pinched in his supplies, sent a part of his army, under the command of his son-in-law, Scudamore, and Rhees-ap-Dhu, to ravage Shropshire. The Welsh were cut to pieces in this expedition, and their leaders, Rhees and Scudamore, were taken and executed as rebels. From this time Glendower's history is involved in doubt: that he was fain to go up and down, disguised in a shepherd's habit, to his daughters' and other friends' houses for a time is very probable, but it is still more certain that his unconquerable spirit was not subdued by misfortune,—that he again took up arms,—and that he died at last a free man among his native mountains several years after the accession of Henry V. These facts are proved by official documents which have been preserved by Rymer, and in the rolls of the English parliament. In the year 1411, he was excepted in an amnesty granted by Henry; in 1412, he is mentioned in connexion with a prisoner he had made; in 1416, three months before the battle of Agincourt, Henry V. commissioned Sir Gilbert Talbot to treat with Meredith, the son of Glendower, concerning the pacification of his father and the other unconquered insurgents in Wales, if they wished it; and three months after that great victory, the same celebrated captain was again empowered to negotiate with the patriot. It is indeed consolatory to all lovers of their own country to see the champion of his people thus preserve his dignity to the last glimpse of his glorious character which history can perceive.* Owen Glendower's countrymen were ungrateful to the fame of their greatest hero, or, it may be, that their records were destroyed in the horrors which followed subsequent insurrections. It is neither clear where or when he died, nor where he was buried. One tradition says that he was interred at Mornington, in Herefordshire, the seat of one of his sons-in-law; another tradition states, with still less probability, that he was buried in the cathedral of Bangor, where a grave, under the great window in the south isle wall, is still shown to strangers as the place of his interment.†

Every obstacle seemed to yield to the bravery,

* Walsing.—Monstrelet.—Barante

* Sir J. Mackintosh.
† Coxe's Monmouthshire.

address, and good fortune of King Henry, who, in the same year (1405) in which he expelled the French from Wales and drove the Earl of Northumberland into Scotland, got possession (by no very honourable means) of the person of the heir-apparent to the Scottish throne. The milder vices were comparatively absent, but in other crimes,—in cruelty, political intrigue, and an infernal treachery—the Scottish court almost afforded a parallel to that of France. The poor, weak, old King Robert, after being driven from one abbey to another, took refuge from persecution in the Isle of Bute; his eldest son, the brave but imprudent Duke of Rothsay was thrown into the castle of Falkland (March, 1402), and there, it was rumoured, starved to death by orders of his uncle the regent, Duke of Albany. After this fearful tragedy, the helpless king, trembling for the life of his second son, James, sent him on board a ship which immediately sailed for France. The young James was accompanied by the Earl of the Orkneys, who bore letters tenderly recommending the prince to the French court. As the vessel was coasting along to get into the Channel, she was taken off Flamborough Head (30th of March, 1405) by some English cruisers, and, in spite of a truce, carried as a fair prize into an English port. Henry, overjoyed at this lucky accident, shut the prince up in Pevensey Castle. The news of his captivity broke the heart of King Robert, who died about a year after (4th of April, 1406); and Albany retained his power by doing the will of the English king, who could always bring him to abject submission by threatening to liberate his nephew. James, who was only twelve years old when he was captured, remained nineteen years a prisoner in England; but, notwithstanding his captive condition, these were probably by far the happiest years of his life. He was treated with much kindness; his love of study was encouraged; he was allowed masters, and books, and occasionally the society of the most refined people in England. His favourite study was poetry; and forming himself on the model of the immortal Chaucer, he became the best poet of his age. But we shall have more to say of the amiable character of this truly elegant and accomplished prince, and of the romantic incidents which attended his biding in Windsor Castle, when we come to relate his enlargement and restoration to the throne of Scotland, which did not happen till the reign of Henry VI.

Ambitious, powerful, adroit, and not very scrupulous as was Henry, he continued generally to respect the wishes of his parliament, and the cause of constitutional liberty made great strides during his reign. At the end of 1407, however, the debates took rather a stormy character, and many discontents were awakened by the demand of subsidies.* The Earl of Northumberland vainly hoped that these circumstances would favour his great enterprise, of not only recovering his estates and honours, but of dethroning the king. Ever since his expulsion he had been wandering about the world, and labouring like another Hannibal, to raise up enemies against Henry. Finding that the Duke of Albany was averse to his project, and had even, it is said, listened to proposals from Henry to give him up together with other English fugitives, the old Percy went into Wales to concert measures with Owen Glendower; he afterwards crossed over to France, and from France he passed to Flanders. His principal refuge and support were found, however, among some nobles on the Scottish border, who opposed the schemes, and were strong enough to despise the authority, of the Duke of Albany. With a force consisting chiefly of Scots, he and his friend Bardolf appeared suddenly in Northumberland at the beginning of the year 1408, and surprised several castles. Many of his vassals joined their old lord, but all besides regarded his proceedings with disgust: the people, even in the north, were not with him, but stood rather for the government. The hardy warrior, however, penetrated as far south as Knaresborough, where he was joined by a few friends of the late Archbishop of York; but on the 28th of February he was defeated by Sir Thomas Rokeby, at Branham Moor, near Tadcaster. The old man was fortunate enough to die in the battle; his friend Bardolf was taken, but he too expired of his wounds. Their quarters were distributed as usual in such cases; and those who had joined them were imprisoned and heavily fined.*

A.D. 1409. With the exception of occasional troubles in the Welsh marshes, England now enjoyed perfect tranquillity for many years; but a fierce warfare was carried on, irregularly, at sea, in which the French were for some time assisted by the galleys of Castile, under the command of the famous Martin Ruiz and Pero Nino. The French also attacked the English possessions on the continent, nor could Henry ever obtain money enough from his parliament to equip any great expedition for their defence. Nothing but the vices and frivolities of those who ruled at court prevented the French from acquiring possession of the whole of Gascony and Guienne. By the beginning of the year 1406 the Count of Armagnac and the Constable of France had taken sixty fortresses and castles in Guienne and Saintonge: the English expected reinforcements, but none arrived, and they were almost reduced to despair. At this crisis it was resolved that the Duke of Orleans should take the command in those parts; but the duke, like the English reinforcements, did not appear, and the Counts of Clermont and d'Alençon left the army that they might join in his amusements at Paris. The fêtes which were celebrating possess some interest; for they were given on the occasion of the marriage of Isabella, the widow of our King Richard, with her cousin Charles, Count of Angoulême, the eldest son of the Duke of Orleans. Isabella was much older than this

* Rot. Parl.

* Walsing.—Otterb.—Rymer.—Rot. Parl.

second husband, who was only a child: she wept much during the ceremonial, but her tears were attributed merely to her grief at losing the title of queen.* After this marriage, Orleans set out for Guienne; but the season was far advanced, his unpaid troops suffered cruelly from want of provisions and from the inclemency of the weather; and after gambling away all the money which had been destined for the pay of the soldiers, and doing absolutely nothing else, he rode away to Paris followed by the curses of the miserable remnant of his army.† At the same time, his cousin and rival, John Sans-peur, or the Fearless, the present Duke of Burgundy, was sent to drive the English out of Calais. Wonders were expected from the emulation of these two princes; but Burgundy's failure was as complete as that of Orleans. As his father, the Duke Philip, had done when bent on the same siege three or four years before, he cut down a whole forest to make machines and towers: he got together two hundred pieces of cannon, but he never fired one of them against the English: it appears that he never even sate down before Calais. When he had spent all the money which he had obtained by taxing his own vassals, he returned to Paris, and laid the blame of his miscarriage on the preference shown to the Duke of Orleans, who had emptied the coffers of the state, to carry money into Guienne; and he claimed from the treasurer, who had nothing, immediate payment of his own expenses, and of an enormous debt owing to his father.‡ Though they hated both, the French people, of two evils, rather preferred the Duke of Burgundy; but the queen and her paramour, Orleans, retained their power; and John Sans-peur retired to his states in Flanders, breathing vengeance against his cousin. At this time so frightful was the disorder, even in Paris, that the wretched king had scarcely bread to eat except such as was taken by open force from the bakers and dealers; and all the princes and great lords helped themselves to provisions in the same manner.

The Duke of Berri, uncle to both the rivals, endeavoured, with some good men, to reconcile the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy; for it was seen that their enmity was ruining the country. The latter returned to Paris, to all seeming in a heavenly disposition. He visited his cousin Orleans, who was suffering from a temporary indisposition, and testified a truly fraternal affection. The well-intentioned Duke of Berri was overjoyed at the success of his mediation; and when the Duke of Orleans recovered, he took both his nephews to hear mass in the church of the Augustines. After mass, the two rivals, the better to attest their holy reconciliation, took the sacrament together. All this passed on Sunday, the 20th of November, 1407; and on the Wednesday following, the Duke of Orleans was massacred in the streets of Paris, by eighteen or twenty men employed by his loving cousin the Duke of Burgundy, who openly avowed the fact a few days later. According to a report current at the time, particularly in Flanders, John Sans-peur only anticipated his cousin, who had engaged assassins to murder him. The wretched king, who had a glimpse of reason at the time, wept for the loss of his only brother, and he promised the Duchess of Orleans that he would have justice done. But Charles was powerless, and Burgundy very powerful. Accompanied by his vassals and friends, and a thousand men-at-arms, the duke, who withdrew for a short time, returned to Paris, where there was nothing to oppose him, and where the people received him with shouts of "Long live the Duke of Burgundy." He had held out hopes that he would reform the government, and reduce the frightful amount of taxes and arbitrary imposts; and on such conditions the suffering Parisians were but too glad to forget his crime. But soon after, both lawyers and priests publicly justified the deed of the duke, who, it was alleged, in killing Orleans, had only rid France of a tyrant, traitor, and monster, who aimed at the crown, and who had practised on his brother the king's reason and life, by sorcery and other atrocious means. In a word, the Duke of Burgundy became absolute master of the government, and began to do everything as he list.*

The queen, whose grief for Orleans was greater than that usually shown for the loss of a brother-in-law, retired from Paris to Melun, where she remained brooding over her revenge. In the month of June, 1408, the Duke of Burgundy was obliged, by the revolt of his subjects, to go into Flanders; and then the queen, hoping to profit by his absence, returned to Paris, took the reins of government into her own hands, and, acting in the name of her son, the Dauphin Louis, who was now twelve years old, and being supported by some of the princes of the blood, she declared the Duke of Burgundy an enemy of the state, and ordered that troops should be employed on all sides to fall upon him. But Burgundy having gained a famous victory over his vassals at Hasbain, prepared to return at the head of a formidable army; upon which the faction of the Orleanists dispersed, and the queen fled to Tours, carrying with her her helpless husband. On the 28th of November, the duke entered with six thousand men into Paris, where he was again received with acclamations, the people saluting him as if he were their king. Yielding to necessity, the queen and her party spoke of a reconciliation, upon which the widow of Orleans died of spite and vexation. An apparent reconciliation, however, took place, and the children of Orleans were obliged to embrace the murderer of their father. All this was done in the month of March, 1409, in the good town of Chartres, where the princes and the other great lords swore as usual upon the cross and the Evangelists. The thoughtless people of Paris

* Isabella was first cousin and godmother to her husband; but a dispensation was easily obtained from the pope.

† Monstrelet.—Monk of St. Denis.

‡ Barante, Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne.

* Monstrelet.—Juvenal des Ursins.—Pierre de Fenin.—Barante.

were overjoyed at this family peace, which lasted about four months. Then the Orleanists took up arms to drive the Duke of Burgundy from power, and, if possible, to death. Isabella, the ex-queen of England, and the wife of the present Duke of Orleans, had died the preceding year in child-bed, and now the young duke took for his second wife Bona of Armagnac, daughter of Bernard, Count of Armagnac, and grand-daughter of the Duke of Berri. The Count of Armagnac was a man of great power, courage, and activity; and hence, from the youth and inexperience of his son-in-law, he became the real as well as nominal chief of the Orleanists, who were thence called the Armagnacs—a name memorable in French history. The Duke of Berri, the Duke of Brittany, and the Count d'Alençon, took up arms, and joined the Count of Armagnac, with all the nobles of the Orleans' faction. The Duke of Burgundy was obliged to conclude a convention, and to retire from Paris, and then the young Duke of Orleans, with a naked sword in his hand, demanded justice for the death of his father. At this crisis the Duke of Burgundy applied for assistance to the King of England; and Henry immediately sent over eight hundred lances and one thousand of his best bowmen. This force, small as it was, enabled the Bourguignons, or Burgundians, to drive the Armagnacs from Paris; and in the month of October, 1411, John Sans-peur again entered the capital, where he was received as the deliverer of France. He used his means, without mercy, as far as imprisonment, fines, and forfeitures, were concerned, but he shed no blood—for he professed to have a great horror of blood. In flying from Paris, the Orleanists had made free with a treasure which the queen had deposited in the abbey of St. Denis; and from this moment Isabella cooled in her zeal for the party. Though expelled from the capital, the Armagnacs made head in the provinces on the upper Loire. The Duke of Burgundy, taking with him the poor king and the dauphin, marched against them; and, after a short campaign, laid seige to Bourges, which had become the centre of the party. John Sans-peur had not been very grateful for the opportune aid he had received from England; and it was, besides, no part of Henry's plan that one party should crush the other, or, at least, not until he had reaped his harvest out of their mad discord. The late Duke of Orleans had, indeed, been his personal enemy; but that weak man had gone to his account, and the cool-headed Bolingbroke seldom permitted any of his passions to interfere with his deep-laid schemes. The Armagnacs, who had decried that measure in the opposite faction as the extremity of baseness, now, in their turn, applied to England for assistance; and Henry listened with a ready ear to their proposals. As their condition was desperate, he drove a good bargain. In the month of May, 1412, the contracting parties—the Dukes of Berri, Orleans, and Bourbon, with the Count of Alençon (the Count of Armagnac did not appear by name), agreed to acknowledge Henry as lawful Duke of Acquitaine, to assist him to recover all the rights and appurtenances of that duchy, to hold of him by homage all the lands they possessed within its limits, and to give security that the counties of Poictou and Angoulême should be restored to him on the deaths of the present possessors. Henry, on his part, agreed to assist them, as his faithful vassals, in every just quarrel; to enter into no treaty whatever with the Duke of Burgundy or any of his family without their consent, and to send to their assistance one thousand men-at-arms, and three thousand archers, to serve for three months, they paying the proper wages.* The news of this treaty could not be kept secret, for Henry's part of it was carried into almost immediate execution. Both among the Armagnacs and the Burgundians there were still many individuals of note not devoid of patriotism—wise men who saw the inevitable consequences of introducing an English army into the heart of France. Meetings and consultations were held, and, at last, a conference was agreed upon. The Duke of Burgundy met his uncle, the Duke of Berri, at a place secured by barricades outside the walls of Bourges: great precautions had been taken on either side to prevent surprise and assassination; and so the uncle and nephew embraced each other tenderly over a barrier. After a long conference, the Duke of Berri agreed that the Armagnacs would submit to the royal authority: Burgundy, in the name of the king, engaged that the past should be forgotten. It was mutually agreed that the party names of Armagnacs and Bourguignons should never again be pronounced; and that, without any distinction, all Frenchmen should enjoy their liberties and their property in the peace which God had sent them. The young Duke of Orleans was absent; but he soon after attended a family meeting, and swore, with the Duke of Burgundy and the rest of the princes, to be true to the peace of Bourges. It was further agreed that the Duke of Burgundy should give one of his daughters in marriage to the Count of Vertus, a younger son of the man he had murdered. To show their perfect reconciliation and brotherly intimacy, the two Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans rode together mounted on the same horse. The simple people, at this touching sight, shouted with joy, and sang "*Gloria in excelsis;*" but, adds the chronicler, evil tongues were not sparing of them behind their backs, but loudly spoke their minds about this reconciliation.†

Matters were at this point when news arrived that an English army, under the command of the Duke of Clarence, Henry's second son, had landed in Normandy, where the Count of Alençon and some other nobles had joined it. The first condition of the recent peace was, that the Armagnacs or Orleanists should break off all league and confederacy with the English. This they were ready

* Rymer. † Monstrelet.

enough to do; and they forthwith sent a deputation to inform the Duke of Clarence that they had made their peace, and that he might return home, as they no longer wanted his assistance. The young duke demanded payment of the expenses of the expedition; and his troops, finding no proper provision made for them, began to plunder the country. An attempt was made, by promises of payments, to gain time, in order to collect an army; but, in fact, the money was the least of the objects of the young duke's consideration; and he marched on through Normandy into Maine, while another English division, issuing from Calais, occupied a great part of Artois. There was a sounding of trumpets through the whole kingdom, and every warrior in France was summoned to join the royal standard at Chartres; but the summons was not well attended to, and it was thought better really to pay the English the money they demanded. The exchequer had no means, and the Burgundians said that the English ought to be paid by those who had invited them. This was a good argument, but it certainly would not have been acted upon had it not been for this little circumstance;—from Maine the Duke of Clarence had marched through Anjou, and was now threatening to overrun in an hostile manner the whole of the duchy of Orleans. Seeing this, the Duke of Orleans hastened to the head-quarters of the English, carrying with him all the money he could raise. The Duke of Clarence received him very courteously; and it was arranged that the French prince should take upon himself the payment of the whole cost of the expedition, and place his young brother, the Duke of Angoulême, in the hands of the English as security. When this was done it was expected that Clarence would return; but this prince had no such intentions: he marched on for Guienne, and, being joined on the road by a few old friends of the English, he traversed the whole of France with an army which did not exceed eight thousand men, and got safely to Bordeaux. From the moment of concluding the agreement with the Duke of Orleans he made his soldiers cease their depredations; but as they went along, in tolerable order, the English could not help telling the French that they would soon return to carry on war in the name of their own king, Henry.* Such were the last foreign operations of this reign, which was now drawing rapidly to its close.

Although Henry had overcome every obstacle except the wholesome opposition of his parliament, and had humbled or destroyed all his enemies, his last years were far from being the happiest of his life. His able but remorseless career,—his successes, even more than his misfortunes,—had proved to him the insecurity and hollowness of men's hearts: whatever relying faith he had in earlier life was all gone, and he felt that worst species of unhappiness which arises from a confirmed doubt as to the existence of human worth and disinterested affection. In his busy years, when surrounded with actual dangers of all kinds, he was cheerful and communicative, and fond of talking and mixing with the people; but in his later days he became gloomy, solitary, and suspicious. It is very probable that he felt some pangs of remorse, but bad health may have been the disposing cause; for, as long as he was well, he considered that he had only done what was best for his country, and that his constant success was a proof that he had acted under the favour and inspiration of Heaven. Both body and mind had been overworked: he became prematurely old, was afflicted by a cutaneous disorder, which some called the leprosy, and was subject to epileptic fits. His devotion assumed a gloomy cast. Before his accession he was suspected of being no friend to the church, and of leaning towards the doctrines of Wickliffe, as his father, John of Gaunt, had done before him. It was essentially necessary to his success that he should remove this suspicion; and hence probably, for a mere reason of state, he passed in the first year of his reign, with the hearty concurrence of both lords and commons, the detestable statute for the burning of heretics; and caused penal fires, for matters of religion, to be lighted for the first time in England. But it seems to have been from a more inward conviction that, in the tenth year of his reign, he pronounced the severest sentences against all Wickliffe's writings; and that in the following year he rejected a petition for the revocation or qualification of his statute against heretics or Lollards, and told the commons that the punishment should be made more rigorous and sharp.* It appears pretty evident that, in his latter years, he entertained a jealousy of the popularity of his own son and heir; but this is so common a feeling with kings of all times and all countries, as scarcely to deserve notice as anything remarkable in his case. It is also generally stated that the wild and dissolute conduct of the Prince of Wales was the cause of much uneasiness; but the many virtues of that prince were almost invidiously eulogized, in the latter part of this reign, by the very parliaments that treated his father most harshly; and it has been concluded by an excellent writer, that these records of parliament ought to be taken as a strong presumption that some early petulance or riot has been much exaggerated by the old chroniclers whom Shakspeare has followed with such dramatic effect.† Allowing, however, the proper weight to this reflection, we should bear in mind the difference of the worship paid to the rising and the setting sun; we should remember that it has been a not unusual practice with popular bodies to contrast the untried heir-apparent with the old king, concealing the vices and making an idol of the former; and we shall be much mistaken if we allow too much to the simplicity and honesty of the age that produced Henry of Bolingbroke. Men were as capable of pitting the son against the father at the beginning of the fifteenth as they

* Monstrelet.—Juvenal des Ursins.—Pierre de Fenin.—Villaret.—Barante.

* Rot. Parl.

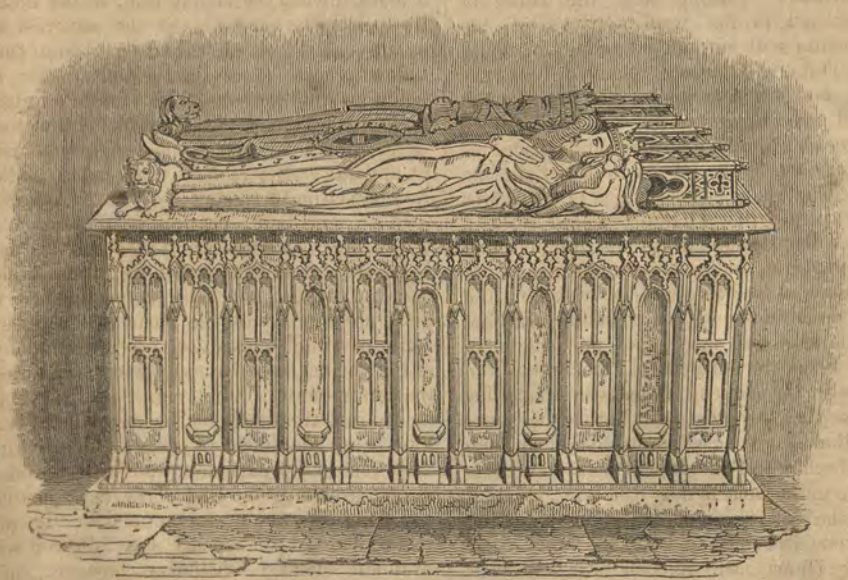
† Hallam, Middle Ages.

were at the end of the eighteenth century. But still, with every allowance for policy and party feeling, Henry may still, in the words of another judicious writer,* have been "in the number of those aspiring youths that had mixed pleasure with ambition;" and the popular tales of his youthful freaks may not be wholly without foundation. The stories usually inserted in our histories do not rest on any contemporary authority, but seem to have been first told by Hall and Stowe, who wrote in the time of Elizabeth and James I., and who probably took up their accounts from popular tradition, with the embellishments incident to such stories transmitted through many ages. The jealousy entertained by Henry of the ambition and popularity of his son has great probability in its favour; but here, again, the story of the Prince of Wales taking away the crown during one of the king's fits, with Henry's anger on the occasion, followed by his misgivings as to his right to the crown of England, rests on the authority of Monstrelet, a foreign writer, not very well acquainted with English affairs, and who, in this very anecdote, quotes an English custom which never existed.

* Mackintosh.

King Henry was praying before the shrine of St. Edward, in Westminster Abbey, when he was seized with his last fit. They carried him into the apartments of the abbot, and there he lay down to die in the Jerusalem chamber; the name of which is said to have recalled an old prophecy, with the notion he had once entertained of making a crusade for the recovery of the holy city.* He expired on the 20th of March, 1413, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign. His body was conveyed by water to Feversham, and from thence by land to Canterbury Cathedral, where he was buried by the side of the Lady Mary de Bohun, his first wife, and the mother of all his children.

* The prophecy was that he should die in Jerusalem. It is probable that the visit paid to him, in the early part of his reign, by Manuel Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople, who came to implore the aid of the English and the other nations of the West, against Bajazet and the Turks, may have had the effect of occasionally turning the active mind of Henry towards the then almost forgotten East.



TOMB OF HENRY IV. AND HIS QUEEN, at Canterbury Cathedral.

HENRY V. SURNAMED OF MONMOUTH.

HENRY V. IN HIS YOUTH. From an illumination in a copy of Bonaventura's 'Golden Book,' Library of Christ Church College, Cambridge.

GREAT SEAL OF HENRY V.

A.D. 1413.—If Henry of Bolingbroke had died unregretted, the accession of Henry of Monmouth was hailed with universal and most enthusiastic joy. Not a breath was raised in favour of Edmund Mortimer, the Earl of March, who had now grown up to man's estate, nor against the right of Henry, whose peace was proclaimed the day after his father's death, and who was crowned on the 9th of April following.* His magnanimous conduct

* Sir Harris Nicolas, Chronol. of Hist.

deepened the favourable impressions his character had previously made. He immediately ordered that the body of Richard II. should be removed from its obscure tomb in the Friars' Church at Langly, and brought with funeral pomp to London, there to be interred among the kings of England. This was done; and after solemn obsequies, the remains of Richard were buried in Westminster Abbey, close by those of his first wife, the 'Good Queen Anne,' as he himself in his life had desired. A dead king could do no mischief; but it might have been otherwise with a living prince, whose right to the crown had been formerly proclaimed by a powerful party in the state; yet Henry released the Earl of March from the captivity in which he had been kept by his cautious predecessor, and allowed him to enjoy the estates of his father. Not long after he recalled the son of the gallant Hotspur from his long exile in Scotland, and restored to him the hereditary honours and lands of the Percies. He pursued the same generous course with other individuals, and the effect was seen in the devoted affection of men who had hitherto been most inimical to the house of Lancaster.*

The first year of the new reign was, however, disturbed by a popular commotion in London, in which religious feelings were mixed up with political aspirations. During the sitting of Henry's first parliament, placards were stuck up by night on the church doors of London, stating that there were a hundred thousand men ready to assert their rights by force of arms if needful. This announcement was attributed to the religious innovators called Lollards, of whose tenets we shall have occasion to speak more at length in the next chapter. Their leader, or he on whose strength and talent they most relied, was Sir John Oldcastle, commonly called, in right of his wife, the Lord Cobham. He was "a strong man, and a metely good man of war," and he had been the intimate associate and friend of Henry when Prince of Wales. Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was a man of action, but probably not more of a persecutor than the majority of the clergy, accused Oldcastle to the king, at the moment, it appears, when he was incensed at the threats of the Lollards. Henry, however, was not in a mind to deliver up a man he esteemed to the tender mercies of an inquisition: he told the archbishop that he himself would talk with Oldcastle and try to bring him to the right way. As Henry had studied at Oxford, he was probably not unacquainted with the divinity of the schools; but his arguments failed to convince his old associate, and then Henry, like other controversialists, grew angry. A polemic and a king, backed by a bench of bishops, by an army, and by the great mass of the people, were fearful odds against a subject stout and able as he might be. Henry began to threaten and to enforce his arguments by references to the statute *de heretico comburendo*, upon which Sir John withdrew from Windsor to his manor of Cowling, in Kent. Upon this, Henry gave up his old friend to Archbishop Arundel, and issued a severe proclamation against the whole body of the sectarians, listeners as well as preachers, and the archbishop cited Oldcastle to appear in his court. Sir John would not suffer any man to serve the summons upon him, and he derided the authority of the church. Pressed by the clergy, Henry sent out an armed force, to which Oldcastle surrendered. He was carried a prisoner to the Tower, but neither captivity nor the formidable front of his accusers and judges could damp his ardour in the cause of religious reform. Alone and unsupported, he pleaded two whole days in the synod of prelates and abbots, who, however, convicted him of incorrigible heresy. He was delivered over to the secular arm, or, in other words, sentenced to the flames; but the king granted a respite for fifty days, and, before that term elapsed, Sir John contrived, or was permitted, to escape from the Tower. It is quite certain, after the lengths to which they had gone against him, that the clergy would never have permitted him to live in peace; and Oldcastle, who was a gallant and experienced soldier, may have relied on the co-operation of those who had embraced the same opinions, and may have hoped to obtain security for property and life by force of arms. It is said that he collected a great host of enthusiasts, and made an attempt to surprise the king at Eltham Palace, and that, failing in this enterprise, he ordered the Lollards from various quarters to march towards London, and assemble suddenly in St. Giles's Fields, "above Holborn," on the day after the Epiphany or Twelfth Day. The king was warned of the plot, and during the preceding day, the Mayor of London arrested several suspicious persons in the city: among others, a squire belonging to Sir John Oldcastle was seized "at the sign of the Ark, without Bishopgate." Every alderman was ordered to keep great watch in his ward; and a little after midnight, on January 7, 1414, Henry went out of London with a great force, commanding all the gates of the city to be closed, and well guarded, which was done in order to prevent the Lollards within the walls from joining those without. In the pastoral meadows of St. Giles, where it was rumoured that 25,000 insurgents were to meet under the orders of Sir John Oldcastle, he found only some fourscore men; but these, it is said, had arms upon them, and, it is added, that some of the number who were caught confessed that they had come thither to meet Sir John Oldcastle. Henry then sent detachments along several roads; but the only assemblage of any consequence surprised was one at Harengay Park, where certain lords took many Lollards, and, among them, one William Murle, a rich maltman or brewer, of Dunstable, who had his two horses, trapped with gold, following him, and a pair of gilt spurs in his bosom, for he thought to have been made a knight on the morrow by the hands of

* Walsing. Henry attended as chief mourner in the funeral procession of Richard.

Sir John Oldcastle. Oldcastle himself was nowhere seen, and though the king, by proclamation, offered immense rewards for his apprehension, there was not a man found that would betray him, so greatly was he beloved. Little mercy was shown to the poor Lollards who were captured, and no great pains could have been taken with their trial, for, on the 13th of January, thirty of them were executed in St. Giles's Fields, being drawn and hanged as traitors, and then burnt, gallows and all, as heretics. No great reliance can be placed on confessions extorted from these unhappy men, but the parliament, as well as the king, seem to have believed that the state had been in danger. The Commons, in their address, stated that the Lollards had sought to destroy religion, the king, the lords, the bishops, the whole body of the clergy, and all manner of good law; and Henry echoed these sounding charges in his proclamation, wherein, moreover, it was stated that the insurgents had meant to divide England into federal republics, and to appoint Sir John Oldcastle their president. It is a pity that the Lollards had no historians. In the absence of their testimony, we can only venture to suspect that their designs have been exaggerated by the fears and the malice of their enemies. Persecution did not stop short at the wholesale execution in St. Giles's. Sir Roger Acton, a friend of Oldcastle, was taken, drawn, and hanged on the 10th of February. Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, died on the 28th of that same month; but his successor, Chicheley, was not a whit more tolerant. It was enacted in parliament that all judges and magistrates should have power to arrest any individual suspected of Lollardism,—that, besides suffering capital punishment, every individual convicted of that atrocious crime should forfeit his lands, goods, and chattels to the king as in cases of felony; and that the chancellor, treasurer, justices of the two benches, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and all the chief magistrates, should bind themselves by oath to do their utmost for the rooting up of heresy. The prisons of London were crammed with captives, but hanging and burning were not frequently resorted to.*

In the summer of this year, when he had been little more than twelve months on the throne of England, Henry suddenly demanded the crown of France, as the representative of Isabella, the wife of the second Edward, in whose right Edward III. had founded his absurd pretensions.† But the claims of Henry V. exceeded *his* in absurdity; for, according to the only admissible construction of that hereditary right on which he rested his claim, the crown of France belonged, not to him, but to Edward Mortimer, the Earl of March. No one, however, acquainted with Henry's love of war, with the spirit of the English people, and with the wretched condition of France, could be much surprised at the project of conquest, which, be it said, was most warmly encouraged by the church and by both houses of parliament.

* Elmham, Vit. Hen. V.—Rymer.—Stow. † See Vol. i. p. 757.

The solemn reconciliation between the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans did not last three months. The father-in-law of the latter prince, the Count of Armagnac, never laid down his arms; and the Duke of Orleans kept away from Paris, where his cousin of Burgundy, who had formed a suitable alliance with the fraternity of butchers in that capital, misgoverned the state.

The Dauphin Louis, who was now approaching the age of manhood, quarrelled with the Duke of Burgundy, and increased the general confusion by intrigues of his own, in which neither his unhappy father nor his mother was respected. The origin of the unnatural feeling probably dated from an earlier period, but from this moment the queen-mother betrayed a deadly hatred of her own son. From instruments and subordinate agents, the butchers of Paris soon became masters; they massacred many individuals; they assumed the "white hood" as a revolutionary distinction; they allied themselves with the turbulent men of Ghent; they sent deputies to all the good towns of France, to induce the people to adopt their device; they forced white hoods on the heads of the Dukes of Burgundy and Berri,—on the Dauphin,—on the king himself,—and compelled them all to wear them in sign of their love for the people and the good city of Paris. After this the lords of the council, the members of the courts of justice and parliament, the professors and scholars of the university, the clergy, the monks, could not show themselves in public without the fantastic appendage. In all these transactions, the ludicrous was mixed up largely with the horrible. They threw the richest citizens into prison, and kept them there, in fear of their lives, till they paid heavy ransoms; they broke into the palace and carried off the Duke Louis of Bavaria, the queen's brother, and thirteen ladies of rank attached to the service of the queen or the Duchess of Aquitaine. (These *belles-dâmes* were mounted, two by two, on horses, and carried off to the tower of the Louvre.) They murdered, in prison, the Sire de la Rivière, one of the most accomplished and learned men in France; and every atrocity they committed, they said was "for the good of France." The more respectable burghers were soon disgusted with the domination of these butchers, or "Cabochiens," as they were called, after one of their chiefs; and their resistance was roused when the Duke of Berri employed the master butchers to levy a tax by force for the expenses of a war against the English and the Armagnacs. The latter faction were committing much greater crimes than those of the butchers in some of the provinces: they had made an alliance with some English adventurers; and the Count of Armagnac publicly wore the red cross of England over his armour. The Parisians had hitherto been warm Bourguignons, but now they opened communications with the Armagnacs: some priests of the university took courage to preach publicly against the butchers; but it was the rival fraternity of carpenters that humbled their pride.

"We will soon see," said Guillaume Cirasse, "whether there be not as many carpenters as butchers in Paris, and as good men!" The populace were divided, but it was soon seen that the carpenters were getting the largest party. On the 1st of July, 1413, the butchers beheaded the provost of Paris. This was the last act of their authority: after assembling in the Place de Grêve —the scene of more deplorable tragedies in a later revolution—and making a vain show of resistance, they were driven out of Paris a few days after the execution of the provost. The power of the Duke of Burgundy fell with that of the butchers: in the month of August, he quitted Paris and withdrew in haste to his states of Flanders, having failed in an attempt to carry off the king. On his departure, the Duke of Orleans became master of the government; all the officers, ministers, and magistrates were changed, and, notwithstanding solemn promises to the contrary, the Bourguignons were persecuted, imprisoned, or driven into exile. The white hoods and the colours of the Duke of Burgundy disappeared, as if by magic; and all Paris, even to the images of the saints, wore the white scarf, the device of the Duke of Orleans. If the queen and her son had agreed in anything, they might have checked the tyranny of the Armagnacs; but they were engaged in constant quarrels. As early as the month of December, the Dauphin, who before had intrigued with the Armagnacs, wrote an imploring letter to his father-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, telling him that he was little better than a prisoner in Paris, and imploring him to come in force to his deliverance. Early in the following year (1414), the duke marched from Flanders with a great army of Flemings, Burgundians, and Picards: he met no resistance until he came before the walls of Paris, but he found that capital well defended by the Count of Armagnac, who kept down the numerous partisans of the duke by threatening them with the gallows. Jean Sans-peur was obliged to retreat into Flanders, and after this failure no consideration was shown to him. The Armagnacs made the king sign a proclamation in which he was charged with the "damnable murder" of the Duke of Orleans, and with other crimes and treasons: the forfeiture of all his states was pronounced, and the ban and arrier-ban were summoned to execute the sentence. The Armagnacs took the field in great force, and carried the king with them to give weight to their proceedings. They took the duke's town of Compeigne, and then proceeded to lay siege to Soissons. Here the valiant De Bournonville made a firm resistance: he had with him a body of English archers, who defended one of the gates so well that none of the assailants would approach it; but the Armagnacs also had some English, or men of Bordeaux, in their army, and these fellow-subjects opened a friendly communication with each other, the result of which was that the English gate was left open to the besiegers, who entered with the fury of wild beasts. Men, women, and children were massacred, and—which appeared a greater crime—the churches were broken open, the ornaments of the altar pillaged, and the relics of saints, nay, even the consecrated wafers, were trodden under foot. "Never, in the memory of man, had a Christian army, commanded by such great princes and composed of so many noble knights, committed such horrors." The day after the assault, by command of the king, they struck off the head of the brave De Bournonville; and, by the same royal orders, his execution was followed by that of five other knights and some of the principal citizens. About two hundred English archers were hanged on the walls; twenty-five gentlemen of the place were sent to Paris, where most of them were hanged or beheaded. It is said that the king was perfectly sane when he ordered these bloody executions,—if such were the case, his insanity was little to be regretted. From Soissons the Armagnacs marched to Arras, and laid siege to that city. But Arras was a strong place, and Jean Sans-peur, though reduced to great distress, was enabled to furnish it with plenty of provisions and an excellent garrison. The besiegers were soon in want of provisions; sickness broke out in their camp, many deserted, and the Count of Armagnac at last recommended that the siege should be raised.

At this moment intelligence was received of the mighty preparations making in England for the invasion of France, and a new treaty of peace and reconciliation was concluded between the Bourguignons and the Armagnacs. Before the latter withdrew from Arras, either by accident or design, the house where the king lodged was set on fire, and he narrowly escaped being burnt to death. On his return to Paris, in the month of October, he was again declared to be mad; and the Dauphin, who was nominally placed at the head of affairs, concerted a plot to render himself really master of the capital, by expelling both Bourguignons and Armagnacs, together with his own mother. At a given hour the tocsin was to sound from the church of St. Eustace, and the rabble of Paris were to rise in the prince's name, and slay all that opposed him. The plot, however, was discovered; and then the Dauphin fled to Bourges, leaving Paris to the power of the Armagnacs, who made a new proscription of the Bourguignons, and drove the wives and children of the exiles out of the city. Soon after, however (in the month of April, 1415), the Dauphin, by some cunning manœuvres, made himself master of the capital. Professing an anxious wish to be reconciled to his mother, to the Duke of Orleans, and other princes of the blood, he proposed a family conference to be held at Melun: the princes accepted the invitation,—left Paris,—and then the Dauphin, instead of going to Melun, stole into the capital, raised the bridge of Charenton, closed the gates, and sent orders to all the princes, with the exception of the Duke of Berri, who had embraced his party, to retire to their respective estates in the provinces. His first operation was to seize all the money which his

mother had deposited for safety in some of the churches. He then promised the people a speedy redress of the grievances under which they had so long laboured; and his chancellor laid the blame of the misfortunes of France upon the queen his mother, the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, and the other princes of the blood, who had all robbed or shamefully wasted the revenue of the state. The accusation was just; but the Dauphin soon showed that he was as rapacious, prodigal, and dissipated as the worst of those he denounced. He surrounded himself with headstrong and depraved young men, who squandered all the money he could give them, and forced him into illegal courses to get more. Even in Paris, which had long been accustomed to an immoral court, his vulgar dissoluteness excited disgust. Not satisfied with publicly entertaining a servant of the palace as his mistress, he shut up his young and beautiful wife in a chateau at St. Germain-en-Laye. This was a fresh injury to the Duke of Burgundy, who was father of the dauphiness, and it was instantly resented: the states of Flanders, taking up the quarrel of the duke, told the insensate young man that, unless he immediately redressed this and other injuries, the duke would not ratify the treaty of Arras; and that neither he nor his vassals, or any of his subjects, would take up arms to defend the dauphin or France from the attack of the English. Before this the duke had gone from Flanders into his states of Burgundy, where he assembled Caboche, Legoix, and the other chiefs of the Parisian fraternity of butchers. The Count of Armagnac at the same time was carrying on a private war in the south, the Count of St. Pol was doing the same in the north, and peace and good order existed nowhere.

Such was the hapless condition of France when Henry proposed to conquer it. In the immediate presence of danger attempts were made to reconcile the factions, and oaths were interchanged in abundance; but the animosities were too deeply rooted to allow of a sincere co-operation; the execrable misgovernment of twenty years could not be repaired in a day: the people were already exhausted by taxes, civil wars, and military executions; and they had fallen into that worst of all states of mind, where the independence of one's country is no longer paramount and sacred. "What can the English do to us worse than the things we suffer at the hands of our own princes?" was a common exclamation among the poor people of France.*

Before arming, the King of England negotiated at some length; but we may pass lightly over the hollow diplomacy which, on the part of France, did not emanate from any established government having either the right or the power to contract obligations. To the peremptory demand of the crown of France no answer was returned. About a month later (in August, 1414) Henry intimated that he would be satisfied with the fulfilment of Edward III.'s treaty of Bretigny, and the addition of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine, and some territory in Provence, together with the hand of Charles's daughter Catherine, with a marriage portion of two millions of crowns. It was replied for Charles, that he would restore the whole of the ancient duchy of Aquitaine, and give his daughter with a portion of six hundred thousand crowns. Henry rejected these proposals with disdain, and recalled his ambassadors. In the month of November he asked aids from a willing parliament, who immediately voted a supply of two-tenths and two-fifteenths; not, however, expressly for the purposes for which the money was asked, but "for the defence of the kingdom of England and the safety of the seas." On this occasion Henry's uncle, Beaufort, bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England, opened the proceedings in parliament with a speech turning upon the words "Dum tempus habemus operemur bonum," (whilst we have time let us work the good work); and the commons chose for their speaker Thomas Chaucer, supposed to have been the son of the great poet. In the beginning of the following year Henry condescended to renew his negotiations, and even lowered his demands so far as to give up his claim to Normandy, Anjou, and Maine; but, though alarmed, the French adhered to their former conditions.*

On the 16th of April a council of fifteen spiritual and twenty-eight temporal peers met at Westminster, and to them Henry announced his firm purpose of making a voyage in his own proper person, by the grace of God, to recover his inheritance. Both bishops and lay-lords enthusiastically applauded this resolution, and assured him of their sincere co-operation. He appointed the Duke of Bedford, one of his brothers, to be regent during his absence; and, having raised the sum of five hundred thousand nobles, he set out to embark at Southampton in the month of July. At Winchester he was met by the Archbishop of Bourges, who had been despatched by the Duke of Berri in the vain hope that the storm might yet be diverted. Henry told this prelate that the crown of France was his right, and that he would win it by the sword. The archbishop, who was a man of spirit worthy to represent a better government, replied that his master, King Charles, had made the most liberal offers, not out of fear, but from his compassion and a love of peace. "If thou makest thy attempt," he continued, "he will call upon the blessed Virgin and all the saints; and then, with their aid, and the support of loyal subjects and faithful allies, thou wilt be driven into the sea, or thou wilt be taken captive or slain." "We shall see," said Henry; and dismissing the archbishop with many rich presents, he continued his road to Southampton.† His fleet rode at anchor in the bay; his knights and soldiers were encamped round the shore; and he had begun to superintend

* Juvenal.—St. Denis.—Monstrelet.—Barante.—Villaret.

* Rymer. He gives the whole negotiation at length.
† Monstrelet.—Walsing.—Elm.

the embarkation, when he was checked by the intelligence of a conspiracy against his life. This bold plot included Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, the Lord Scroop of Masham,—a person who enjoyed Henry's most perfect confidence, and who always slept with the king: but the leader was the king's own cousin Richard, brother to the infamous Rutland (now Duke of York), and recently created Earl of Cambridge. An inquest of twelve jurors of the county found that the Earl of Cambridge and Sir Thomas Grey had treasonably conspired to proclaim the Earl of March, and to call in a Scottish army; and that the Lord Scroop was guilty of misprision of treason. Grey was beheaded: Cambridge and Scroop claimed the privilege of being tried by their peers; this was granted, and all the lords in the army condemned them to the block.*

At last Henry embarked, and set sail from Southampton: his fleet, which consisted in part of ships he had hired from Ireland, Holland, and Friesland, amounted to twelve or fourteen hundred sail of vessels, from twenty to three hundred tons burden; his army to six thousand five hundred horse, and about twenty-four thousand foot, of all kinds.† He anchored in the mouth of the river Seine, three miles from Harfleur, on the 13th of August. On the following day he began to land his troops and stores,—an operation which occupied three whole days; and it is remarkable that it was never interrupted or resisted, although the place of disembarkation presented many natural and artificial obstacles. A proclamation was issued, forbidding, under pain of death, all excesses against the peaceful inhabitants; and it is noted by many contemporary historians, French as well as English, that Henry, with honourable perseverance, enforced the uniform good treatment of the people through whose districts he afterwards passed, and that, too, when suffering the most dreadful privations in his own army. On the 17th he laid siege to Harfleur, a very strong fortress, with a numerous garrison, situated on the left bank of the river. The conduct of the siege was according to the rules laid down by, "Master Giles," the principal military authority of that period.‡ The loss sustained by the besieging army was very great, not so much from the sword and the awkward artillery of those times, as from a frightful dysentery, brought on by the damp, unwholesome nature of the place. The men perished by hundreds, and many of the most eminent captains died of the disease. Seeing, however, no prospect of being relieved, and suffering from the same dysentery, the garrison capitulated, and the town was surrendered on the 22nd of September, after a siege of thirty-six days. Henry then shipped his sick and wounded (among whom was Mortimer, Earl of March) for England, and remained a few days at Harfleur.* While here he sent a chivalrous challenge to the Dauphin, offering to decide the contest in personal combat. The Dauphin, who was fonder of fiddling than of fighting, returned no answer.

With the insignificant force the English king now had, it seemed madness to undertake any great enterprise. The sea was open to him, but he scorned the notion of returning to England with no honour gained save the capture of a single town; and it is exceedingly probable that had he so returned, he would have suffered a dangerous loss of popularity. It is said, however, that a council of war recommended that he should re-embark; but if this opinion were really entertained by the chiefs of the army, they seem to have given it up without demur. "No," said Henry; "we must first see, by God's help, a little more of this good land of France, which is all our own. Our mind is made up to endure every peril rather than they shall be able to reproach us with being afraid of them. We will go, an it please God, without harm or danger; but if they disturb our journey, why, then, we must fight them, and victory and glory will be ours." The forces were drawn out, and prepared to march through the hostile provinces of Normandy, Picardy, and Artois, to Calais. With the reductions made by the casualties of the siege, by sickness, and by leaving a garrison in Harfleur, they did not exceed nine thousand men.† The march began on the 6th of October, when a great force, with the king and dauphin at their head, lay at Rouen, and another, under the Constable of France, in front of the English, in Picardy, whither troops were pouring in all directions. In his passage through Normandy,‡ Henry met with no great resistance; but detachments more numerous than his whole force watched his movements, and cut off stragglers: the country was laid waste before his approach, but that was more owing to the poverty than to the ill-will of the inhabitants; then the people in the towns and villages furnished him with little or no provisions—they were half starving themselves; sickness was reproduced by this want of proper food and the fatigues of the march. At the passage of the river Bresle, beyond Dieppe, the garrison of Eu made a sortie, and fell upon his rear, but the leader of the French was killed, and the rest fled back to the covering of their ramparts. On the 12th of October, he reached the memorable ford of Blanche-Taque, where he hoped to pass like Edward III.; but the French pursued the same plan now that they did then; they resolved to defend the line of the

* The best account of this conspiracy is given in Sir Harris Nicolas's "History of the Battle of Azincourt, and of the Expedition of Henry V. into France." It is said that the conspirators were bribed by the French.

† Included in this number was a strong body of gunners, miners, masons, carpenters, saddlers, bowyers, smiths, and other artisans and labourers.

‡ A beautiful manuscript copy of his work—De Regimine Principum—is preserved in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum.

* Monstrelet.—Walsing.—Sir H. Nicolas's Hist. of Battle of Azincourt, &c.

† Sir H. Nicolas says, after an impartial consideration, that not more than 9000 *fighting* men could have left Harfleur; and there is "a strong probability" that the force did not much exceed 6000 men.

‡ The line of march he chose was by Fécamp and along the sea-coast, till he came to the river Somme. From Blanche-Taque he was obliged to strike inland.

Somme; and, taught by experience, they had fortified both banks, had driven strong palisades across the ford, and placed troops of archers behind them. Henry retreated to Airennes, the little town where Edward III. had slept two nights before the battle of Blanche-Taque, and there the English army spent this night of the 12th. He had now to seek for a passage up the river, as his great-grandfather had sought for one in descending it. He marched along the left bank to Bailleul, where he slept on the 13th. The Constable of France had fixed his head-quarters at Abbeville. On the opposite side of the river, every bridge was broken down, every ford was fortified, and columns of horse and foot manœuvred along the right bank, keeping in line with him as he proceeded up the left. Many of his people lost heart at being thus foiled in all attempts to cross the Somme, and at seeing that their march was leading them far from the sea-shore. "I, who write," says a chaplain of the army, "and many others looked bitterly up to heaven, and implored the divine mercy and the protection of the Virgin, and of England's saint, St. George, to save us from the imminent perils by which we were surrounded, and enable us to reach Calais in safety."* On the 14th, Henry made an attempt to pass at Pont St. Remy, and was repulsed, as Edward had been at the same place. On the 15th, he tried to force a passage at Ponteau de Mer, but he met with no better success. Still continuing to ascend the river, he tried several other passages in the course of the 16th and 17th; but everywhere insurmountable obstacles presented themselves. It seems astonishing, that while he was losing all this precious time, no attempt was made to fall upon his right flank and his rear. On the night of the 18th, having got above Amiens, he halted at Bainvillers. His troops were suffering every possible discomfort, and were disheartened by their repeated disappointments; but on the morning of the 19th, he was so fortunate as to find a ford between Betencourt and Voyenne, which had not been staked by the people of St. Quentin. The English made a dash across this ford; the van-guard established themselves on the right bank, which they had so long yearned to reach, and the whole army with its baggage got safely across.† Having lost this line of defence, the Constable, quite disconcerted, fell back from the Somme, and marched along the Calais road as far as St. Pol, in Artois. Henry quietly followed by the same road; but while his small force was every hour farther reduced by sickness, that of the constable was continually strengthened; and, in a few days, the whole of the royal army of France was in Artois. On the 20th of October, three heralds arrived from the Constable and the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, to acquaint the king of their resolution to give him battle before he reached Calais. Henry replied that the will of God would be done,—that he did not seek them—but fear of them should never induce him to move out of his way, or to go either slower or faster than he intended: his march was before him, straight on by the road to Calais, and if the French attempted to stop him, it would be at their peril. True to his word, the king of England marched on with the greatest calmness and regularity. From St. Pol, the Constable fell back to the villages of Ruisseauville and Azincourt, and there (having received nearly all the reinforcements he expected) he determined to make his stand. On the 24th, Henry crossed the deep and rapid river of Ternois (a tributary of the Canche) at Blangi; and soon after he came in sight of some of the enemy's columns. Expecting an attack, he formed in order of battle; but the columns he saw withdrew to Azincourt, and towards evening he marched on to Maisoncelles, a large village, which was only a few bow-shots from the enemy's outposts. Some provisions were brought in, and the men refreshed themselves, and took some rest. As soon as the moon arose, officers were sent out to survey the position, and ascertain the nature of the ground occupied by the French. During the whole night the English played on their trumpets and other martial instruments, so that the whole neighbourhood resounded with their music. Notwithstanding they were much fatigued and oppressed by cold and hunger, they kept up a cheerful spirit; but many of them confessed their sins, took the sacrament, and made their wills. These hours of suspense were the most trying of all, but not a man among them spoke of surrender —retreat or flight was impossible.*

On the side of the French there was no want of confidence, but an evident absence of order and discipline. The Constable struck the royal banner into the ground on the Calais road, a little in advance of the village of Ruisseauville; and the Admiral of France, the master of the cross-bows, the princes, barons, and knights, planted their banners round it, with loud acclamations of joy. The Constable ordered them to pass the night where they were, every troop near to its own flag. The night was cold and rainy, but they lit great fires all along their line, and the soldiers, while they warmed themselves, passed round the wine-cup, and calculated the proper ransoms for the king and the great barons of England, whom they made sure of taking on the morrow. The pages and valets of the army rode about looking for hay and straw to lay on the damp ground; horses went and came slipping and floundering in the clayey soil; there was a continual movement and noise; the horsemen were heard afar off shouting to one another: but by some chance, they had scarcely any musical instruments to cheer their hearts; and it was remarked, with astonishment, that very

* This anonymous writer, whom Sir H. Nicolas styles "Chronicler A," was first introduced to the notice of modern readers by this learned and industrious investigator. His accounts, which have never been published, exist in MS., in the Cottonian and Sloane collections, in the library of the British Museum.

† The weighty baggage and waggons had been left behind at Harfleur. On starting from that place, the soldiers had only provisions for eight days.

* Monstrelet.—Barante.—Nicolas.

few of their horses neighed during the night,—which, adds the chronicler, was considered by many as a very bad omen.* Among the leaders of this army were some old officers, not quite so sure of the result. The Duke of Berri, who had fought at the battle of Poictiers sixty years ago, remembered that on that occasion the French had felt confident of victory, and yet his father, King John, had been taken prisoner, and the army destroyed. With these discouraging recollections, the old duke had opposed the plan of giving battle altogether, and had prevented the project of putting Charles in person at the head of his forces. "It is better," said he, "to lose the battle, than to lose the king and the battle."

At early dawn King Henry heard matins and mass with his men; and, for the better accommodation of all, three masses were said, and he then led them to their positions. He formed them, as usual, into three divisions and two wings; but the divisions stood so closely together, that they appeared as one. The archers were placed in advance of the men-at-arms in form of a wedge. In addition to his bow and arrows, his bill-hook, hatchet, or hammer, every archer carried a long stake sharpened at both ends, which he was to fix obliquely before him in the ground, so as to serve as a firm pike against the charge of the enemy's cavalry. These stakes formed together an excellent rampart, partaking of the nature of *chevaux de frise*, and they could be moved and fixed again if a change of position should be deemed necessary. The upper end of the stakes, which projected against the foe, were tipped with iron: this was a new precaution never before used in a war by Christians. The baggage, the priests, the tents, and horses—for this fight, like that of Poictiers and Crecy, was to be fought chiefly on foot—were placed in the rear, near to the village of Maisoncelles, under guard of some men-at-arms and a small body of archers. When these dispositions were made, Henry mounted a small grey horse, and rode along the lines of each division. He wore a helmet of polished steel, surmounted with a crown of gold, set with sparkling gems, and the arms of England and of France were embroidered in gold on his surcoat. But what struck the English more than gold and gems, was the bright lively blue eye of the hero, whose countenance, like that of the great Edward on the like occasion, was serenely cheerful. As he rode from rank to rank he said a few words to each; he recalled to their memories the glorious victories gained by their ancestors with an equal disparity of numbers. He told them that he had made up his own mind to conquer or die there—that England should never have to pay a ransom for *him*. He assured the archers that the French had sworn to cut off the three fingers of their right hand, to unfit them for their craft; and he reminded them of the atrocities committed on their countrymen taken at Soissons. "We have not come," said he, "into our kingdom of France like mortal enemies; we have not burnt towns and villages; we have not outraged women and maidens like our adversaries at Soissons. They are full of sin, and have no fear of God." The allusion to the siege of Soissons had a wonderful effect—for it was well remembered how two hundred brave English bowmen (prisoners of war) had been hanged there like dogs. As the king passed one of the divisions, he heard a brave officer, Walter Hungerford, expressing a wish that some of the gallant knights and stout archers who were living in idleness in merry England could be present on this field. "No!" exclaimed Henry, "I would not have a single man more. If God gives us the victory, the fewer we are the more honour; and, if we lose, the less will be the loss to our country. But we will not lose; fight as you were wont to do, and before night the pride of our numberless enemies shall be humbled to the dust." The disparity of numbers was, indeed, appalling—the French being, at the most moderate calculation, as six to one;* but they had learnt little from experience; their chiefs seemed to be suffering under a moral vertigo,—they had crowded their immense host in fields between two woods, where there was not room for them to deploy or to manœuvre with any facility. From the Seine to the Somme—from the Somme to the spot where they were now crowded and heaped upon one another,—there was scarcely a position more unfavourable; and the rain, which had fallen in torrents, rendered some of the fields almost impassable to horses bearing the weight of men in heavy armour; while to the English foot, most lightly accoutred, no such obstacle presented itself.

A close parallel has been drawn between the fights of Crecy and Azincourt, but in some respects they differed. The French, tutored it may be by the old Duke of Berri, did not begin the action, but waited to be attacked, sitting down on the ground every man near to his own banner. Henry had calculated on the confusion sure to arise at the first movement of such a force in such close and difficult ground, and for some hours he patiently waited their attack. During this time he distributed food and a little wine among his men, who sate down to their breakfast quietly on the ground, even as their forefathers had done at Crecy. While the compact force of Henry was governed by the master-will, the loose multitude of the French was distracted by the conflicting opinions of many presumptuous men. "The Constable," says a great French writer,† who has described the battle with a rare impartiality, "was by right of his office the commander-in-chief of the French army, but there were with him so many princes who had all wills of their own, that it was not easy for him to obtain

* Monstrelet.

* Monstrelet says that the French were, "on a hasty survey, estimated to be *more* than six times the number of the English." According to the English chronicler, who ambitiously calls himself "Titus Livius," they were rather more than seven to one. Another contemporary estimates the French at 100,000, which would be more than ten to one, even admitting that Henry marched from Harfleur with 9000 men, and without counting his losses on the march.

† M. de Barante.

obedience." The Duke of Orleans, the Count of Nevers, and a host of young gentlemen who had just put on their knightly spurs, and had never earned them, wanted to charge the English at once, without any preconcerted plan. The Constable, it appears, would fain have waited the arrival of fresh reinforcements under the Marshal de Loigny and the Duke of Brittany, who were both on their march, and expected in the course of that and the following day. It seemed disgraceful, with such odds, to wait for more; but the Constable prevailed. The entire loss of his authority was not felt till the battle commenced, and he was evidently determined upon delay. As the morning wore away he even sent Messire Guichard Dauphin and the Sire de Helly to the English camp, to negotiate, and to offer Henry a free passage, if he would on his part restore Harfleur, together with all the prisoners he had made, and resign his pretensions to the crown of France. Henry, undismayed by the force before him, would only treat on the same conditions which he had offered in his own capital. He has been lauded for his firmness and his hardihood, but his good policy has been generally overlooked. If he had allowed the Constable to amuse him with these negotiations for a day or two, his army would have been starved outright—a more serious consideration this, than the arrival of reinforcements; for had the Duke of Brittany come up with his six thousand men, he would in all probability have only increased the confusion and the unmanageableness of the French host. Seeing, then, that they would not come to him, Henry prepared to go to them. He despatched two detachments,—the one to lie in ambush on the left flank of the French, the other to their rear, where, when the battle began, they were to set fire to a barn and house belonging to the Priory of St. George, at Hesdin, and so create an alarm. These manœuvres were executed; and the two detachments, being both of archers, got to the posts appointed, and lay in wait without being perceived by the enemy. It was towards the hour of noon when Henry gave the brief but cheering order—"Banners advance!" At the same moment, Sir Thomas Erpingham, the commander of the archers, a knight grown grey with age and honour, threw his truncheon into the air, exclaiming—"Now strike!" The distance between the two armies was short of a quarter of a mile. The English moved on in gallant array until the foremost came within bow-shot of the French: then the archers stuck their stakes in the ground before them, and set up a tremendous shout. Their loud huzzas were instantly echoed by the men that lay concealed on the left flank of the French, who, the next minute, were assailed by a tremendous shower of arrows both in front and flank. The French had few or no bowmen, for that weapon was considered unworthy of knightly hands, and the princes had insolently rejected the service of the burghers and other plebeians, holding that France ought to be defended only by *gentlemen!* Messire Clignet, of Brabant, thought that he could break the English archers with the lance, and he charged with twelve hundred horse, shouting "Mountjoye! St. Denis!" But the ground was soft and slippery; the flight of arrows that met them right in the face was terrific: some were killed; some rolled, horse and horseman, on the field; others turned their horses' heads: and, of the whole twelve hundred, not above seven score followed their chiefs up to the English front, where the archers, instead of wearing steel armour, had even thrown aside their leathern jackets, that they might have a freer use of their nervous arms. But between the defence of the sharp stakes, and the incessant flight of their arrows, very few of the French lances reached those open breasts. Such of the knights as stood their ground, stooped their heads as the arrows went through the visors; they thus scarcely saw what they were doing, and lost the command of their horses, which, wounded in many places, became mad with pain, and galloped back, joining the other fugitives, and breaking the first division of the French army. Only three horsemen penetrated beyond the stakes, and they were instantly slain. Everywhere within reach of the arrows the French horse were seen capering or rushing through the lines, doing great mischief to their own army, and causing the wildest uproar and confusion. But, in fact, all order was already lost there; the columns got mixed; the words of command were disregarded; and while the timid stole to the rear, the brave all rushed to the van, crowding the division that was over-crowded before in that narrow space. It appears, indeed, that more than once they were so huddled together that they had not room to couch their lances. Meanwhile, the English, removing their stakes, came on with still more tremendous huzzas: the French made a slight retrograde movement, and then, so miserably had their ground been chosen, they got into some recently ploughed corn-fields, where their horses sank almost to their saddle-girths, stuck fast, or rolled over with their riders. Seeing that the van-guard was thoroughly disordered and broken, the English archers left their stakes, which it appears they did not use again, and, slinging their bows behind them, rushed with their bill-hooks and hatchets into the midst of the steel-clad knights, they themselves being almost without clothing, and many of them both bare-footed and bare-headed. The Constable of France and many of the most illustrious of the knights were presently killed by these despised plebeians, who, without any assistance from the chivalry of England, dispersed the whole body. Then the second division opened to receive the sad remnants of the first,—a manœuvre attended with fresh disorder. At this moment the Duke Anthony of Brabant, who had just arrived in the field, having in his impatient haste left his reinforcements behind him, headed a fresh charge of horse, but he was instantly slain by the English, who kept advancing, and destroying all that opposed them. The second division of the French, however, closed up, and kept

its ground, though the weight of their armour made them sink knee-deep in the mire. Henry now brought up his men-at-arms, and, calling in his brave bow-men, formed them again in good order. These lightly-equipped troops found little inconvenience from the nature of the soil; they had the free use of their limbs; they were fresh as when they first came into battle; and they again gave a loud huzza when the king led them on to a fresh charge. It was now that the real battle took place, and that Henry's life was repeatedly exposed to great danger. His brother, the Duke of Clarence, was wounded and thrown down, and would have been killed or made prisoner, but for the personal valour of the king, who placed himself beside the body, and beat off the assailants. Soon after he was charged by a band of eighteen knights, bearing the banner of the Lord of Croy, who had bound themselves by an oath to take or kill the King of England. One of these knights struck the king with his mace or battle-axe, and the blow was so violent that Henry staggered and fell on his knees; but his brave men instantly closed round him, and killed every one of the eighteen knights. The Duke of Alençon then charged up, and cut his way to the royal standard of England. With a stroke of his battle-axe he beat the Duke of York to the ground; and when Henry stood forth to defend his unworthy relative, he hit him over the head, and knocked off part of his crown which he wore over his helmet. But this blow was the last Alençon ever struck; the English closed upon him; seeing his danger, he raised his voice to the king, saying,—"I surrender to you; I am the Duke of Alençon." Henry held out his hand, but it was too late,—the duke was dead. His fall ended the battle, for his followers fled in dismay; and the third division of the French army, which had never drawn sword, and which was in itself more than double the number of the whole English force, fell back, and presently began to gallop from the field. Up to this point the English had not embarrassed themselves with prisoners, but they now took them by heaps,—many surrendering, and many more making vain efforts to defend their liberty and honour in the midst of that hopeless confusion. As they took the Frenchmen they removed their helmets from their heads, the better to knock out their brains in case of their giving further trouble. An immense number were thus secured, when Henry heard a dreadful noise in his rear, where the priests of his army were sitting on horseback among the baggage, and he soon saw a hostile force drawn out in that direction. At the same time, the third division of the French, which had been in full retreat, seemed to rally and raise their banners afresh. Henry knew that the Duke of Brittany and other chiefs, with reinforcements, were not far off; and believing himself about to be enveloped, he gave orders that every man should kill the prisoner or prisoners he had taken.* As the ransom of captives of rank was one of the soldiers' best gains, many were unwilling to obey this mandate; but Henry sent two hundred archers, who knocked the French knights on the head without compunction. The extent of this horrible massacre is not known; but it appears that a great number of the noblest knights in France fell in consequence of what, after all, was a mistake. The body in the rear were only some five or six hundred peasants who had entered Maisoncelles, and fallen upon the baggage in hope of obtaining plunder, and driving off some of the English horses; and what appeared a rallying in front was only a momentary pause, the third division continuing to gallop off the field harder than ever. As soon as Henry discovered his mistake he gave orders to stop the carnage and to look after the wounded. Then, attended by his principal barons, he rode over the field, and sent out the heralds, as usual, to examine the coats of arms of the knights and princes that had fallen; and while his people were occupied in stripping the dead, he called to him the herald of the King of France, the king-at-arms, who was named Mountjoye, and with him several other heralds, both English and French, and said to them,—"We have not made this slaughter, but the Almighty, as we believe, for the sins of France." And after this he asked them to whom the honour of the victory was due?—and then Mountjoye answered, "To the King of England; to him ought victory to be given, and not to the King of France." After this the king asked the name of the castle that he saw pretty near to him?—and they answered that it was called Azincourt.—"Then," said Henry, "since all battles ought to be named after the nearest castle, let this battle bear henceforward and lastingly the name of the battle of Azincourt."* This name the English have corrupted into Agincourt.

The loss on the side of the French was frightful: "never had so many and such noble men fallen in one battle." The whole chivalry of France was cropped. Seven near relations of King Charles—the Duke of Brabant, the Count of Nevers, the Duke of Bar, his brother the Count of Marle, his other brother John, the Constable D'Albret, the Duke of Alençon, had all perished. Among the great lords the Count of Dampièrre, the Count of Vaudemont, the lords of Rambure, Helly, and Verchin, and Messire Giuchard Dauphin, met the same fate. In all there perished on the field eight thousand gentlemen, knights, or squires, including one hundred and twenty great lords that had each a banner of his own. Among the most distinguished prisoners, who were far less numerous than the slain of the same class, were the Duke of Orleans, the Count of Richemont, the Marshal Boucicault, the Duke of Bourbon, the counts of Eu and Vendôme, and the lords of Harcourt and Craon. The loss of the English is differently estimated, but at the

* Chronicle A., as quoted by Sir Harris Nicolas.

* Monstrelet.

highest account it was only sixteen hundred men, among whom were the Earl of Suffolk and the Duke of York, who, after his manifold treacheries, met a soldier's death,—a more honourable fate than he deserved.

The Duke of Orleans, who had been dragged out wounded from beneath a heap of the dead, was sorely afflicted at the most unexpected turn that affairs had taken. Henry went to console him. "How fare you, my cousin?" said he, "and why do you refuse to eat and drink?" The duke replied that he was determined to fast. "Not so—make good cheer," said the king, mildly; "if God has given me the grace to win this victory, I acknowledge that it is through no merits of mine own. I believe that God has willed that the French should be punished; and if what I have heard be true, no wonder at it; for they tell me that never were seen such a disorder, such a licence of wickedness, such debauchery, such bad vices as now reign in France. It is pitiful and horrible to hear it all, and certes the wrath of the Lord must have been awakened!" On the following morning, when the English left Maisoncelles, the king and the Duke of Orleans rode side by side, conversing in a friendly manner. As the English crossed the battle-field, they killed a number of the common wounded who were unable to move. They had already stripped them of their armour and of the best clothes they wore; and the moment they were gone, thousands of the French peasantry, women as well as men, hurried to the scene of horror to glean after them. These latter considered nothing beneath their attention, and when they, in their turn, left the ground, more than ten thousand of their unfortunate countrymen lay upon it as naked as they were born. The Count of Charolais, afterwards called Philip the Good, eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy, was at the castle of Aire, not far from the battle, in which he had been prevented taking a part by the strict orders of his father. When he heard the dreadful news, he was inconsolable, and refused all nourishment; but he sent the Bailiff of Aire and the Abbot of Ruisseauville to superintend the burying of the French, while he attended in person the funeral of his two uncles, the Duke of Brabant and the Count of Nevers. The abbot and the bailiff bought twenty-five roods of land: here three immense pits were dug, and five thousand eight hundred men were buried in heaps. Then the Bishop of Guines went down and sprinkled holy water, and blest this vast sepulchre of the aristocracy of France. Many hundreds who had friends at hand were interred with more decency in the churches of the neighbouring country, or conveyed to their own castles. Thousands who had crawled from the field into the villages, or into the neighbouring woods, were buried there, or left a prey to the wolves and the ravens. According to a French account, the English, not having time to bury their own dead, threw them into a barn to which they set fire. It is not in the battle—in the maddening rapture of the fight—but in the after-scenes that the horrors of war appear in their disgusting nakedness.*

Almost sinking under the weight of their booty, the English conquerors marched slowly on towards Calais. On their way they must have learnt that Bardolf, the lieutenant of that fortress, who had news of his sovereign's danger, had sent out three hundred men-at-arms to join him, or make a diversion in his favour, and that these brave men had been defeated, and nearly all made prisoners by the people of Picardy, just before the battle of Azincourt. Immediately on his arriving at Calais, Henry called a council. Sickness still prevailed in his skeleton of an army; famine and disease raged in all the neighbouring provinces of France; he had not only saved his honour, but gained the greatest military glory; he wanted men; he wanted money. All these considerations pointed homeward, and the council determined that the best thing for him to do was to return to England. Accordingly he set sail forthwith, carrying with him a host of royal and noble captives. The people of England were literally mad with joy and triumph. At Dover they rushed into the sea to meet him, and carried him to shore on their shoulders. At Canterbury, at Rochester, at every town he passed or approached, they went out by thousands to meet him and do him honour. At Blackheath, he was met by the lords, commons, and clergy, the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, who conducted him in triumph into the capital, where wine ran like water in the streets,—where every house was decorated, and every voice raised to greet him with a joyous huzza.†

In the first heat of this enthusiasm, parliament voted all the supplies he asked for, and even conferred on him for life the subsidy on wool and leather,‡ a senseless measure, which had been already so bitterly repented of in the case of Richard II. But Henry, with all his fondness for conquests abroad, betrayed no arbitrary inclinations at home; he was satisfied to submit to constitutional restrictions in the government of England, and this, with his victories and his affable and generous temper, caused him always to live in harmony and friendship with his parliament. During his whole reign there was scarcely a complaint raised against him or his ministers—scarcely anything beyond an expression of regret that his operations in France should detain him so long away from his faithful people.

A.D. 1416.—In the spring of this year, Sigismund, King of the Romans and emperor elect, came to England on a visit to Henry, whose fame had gone forth among the nations. The object of Sigismund's visit was to put an end to the schism in the church, where two popes were fiercely contending against each other, and to reconcile, if possible, the kings of France and England. He was followed to the English court by French am-

* Chronicle A.—St. Remi (another eye-witness of the battle)—P. Fenin—Elmham—Monstrelet—Villaret—Barante—Sir H. Nicolas.
† Elm.—Liv.—Stow—Holinsh.
‡ Rot. Parl.

bassadors, and by William of Bavaria, Count of Holland and of Hainault. The mediation between the two kings ended in nothing. Henry, indeed, offered, as a final settlement, the execution, on the part of France, of the treaty of Bretigny; but the French either would not agree to these conditions or revoked their consent after it had been given. The mystery that involves this point is not worth the trouble of clearing up; for still there was no government in France to contract an engagement upon which Henry could have relied.

He made a very favourable impression, however, on the mind of his imperial guest, the effects of which were seen some years later. During Sigismund's visit the French, after losing much valuable time, besieged Henry's new conquest, Harfleur, both by land and water. The Earl of Dorset, the governor, who had but a small and unhealthy garrison, sent to England for succour; and the Duke of Bedford, the king's brother, immediately sailed from Rye with such ships as were ready. On the eve of the "Blessed Assumption of our Lady," the 14th of August, the duke came in sight of the mouth of the Seine, where he found more formidable enemies than he had expected, for the French had procured the assistance of some great carracks from Genoa, and some galleys, balingers, and other large high-decked vessels from Spain, all of which were advantageously posted. The duke lay to for the night, and kept his ships together by displaying a light at his mast-head: most of the captains of his fleet went on board his ship during the night and concerted the plan of the battle. But the imprudence of the French rendered any deep plan unnecessary: on the morning of the 15th they left their good moorings and their allies, the Genoese and Spaniards, and sailed out to attack the English. Two of their best ships were almost instantly taken, and the rest soon found that they had done wrong in committing themselves in the open sea without their friends. The battle, however, was long, and fierce, and perilous, "for," says Old Hall, "battles of the sea be ever desperate, for neither the assailants nor defendants look for any refuge, nor know any back-door how to scape out." When the duke had beaten the French, he made for the Genoese carracks, which stood so high in the water that their decks were a full spear's length above the decks of his ships: in spite of this difficulty, they were all carried by boarding; and, in the end, a most brilliant naval victory was gained. Most of the ships were taken; some were sunk; a few escaped by running up the Seine into shallow water; the land-troops raised the siege and fled. This triumph was purchased at an immense cost of human life; and during the three weeks the duke's fleet lay at Harfleur, the mariners were horrified and alarmed at the ghastly spectacle of troops of dead bodies, which, after the usual time of submersion, rose and floated on the surface of the water all round the ships.* The duke, when he had fully executed his commission, and put Harfleur in a good state of defence, returned to England "with great triumph and glory."†

In the month of September, Henry, with his guests Sigismund and William of Bavaria, went over to Calais, where a sort of congress was held,

* The bodies float among our ships each day;
Full piteous was't, and foul to see them aye.—HARDING.
† Elm.—Monstrelet.—Hall.—Holinshed.

HARFLEUR.

at which the Duke of Burgundy, the irreconcilable enemy of the now prevalent party in France, attended in person, apparently well inclined to forget that two of his brothers had been slain at Azincourt.* John Sans-peur, who was smarting under some recent insults received from Paris, and who was brother-in-law to William of Bavaria, Count of Hainault, whom Henry had completely captivated, spent nine days at Calais in constant interconrse with the king of England and the emperor, and if he did not *then* actually acknowledge Henry's rights to the throne of France, and conclude a treaty (the protocol of which was drawn up and still exists), he certainly accustomed his mind to those ideas.

When the secret congress at Calais broke up, Henry returned to England to raise and organize an army, properly provided with all means of attack. These were operations which required time, for unusual attention was paid to every class and department of this army, intended for a permanent conquest, and many engines were made upon new and improved principles, to facilitate its operations, so that it was the month of August in the following year (1417) before Henry again landed in France.

With the fearful lesson taught them at Azincourt, with nearly two whole years which they had had since to reflect upon it, one might have expected that the French would have learned some wisdom, and that, knowing as they did, that Henry's eye was never off the fertile land their fathers had left them, they would have reconciled themselves with one another, and prepared to defend their country against one who had proved himself so redoubtable an enemy. But, no; this frantic and demoralized aristocracy would not be taught even by misfortune, and in the way of cure the copious blood-letting of Azincourt had been thrown away upon them. At the first news of that memorable day, which put nearly every distinguished family in the kingdom into mourning, feelings of shame and remorse were mingled with grief; but this state of mind did not last, and the old enmities were even increased by the disaster, the blame of which each faction laid upon the other. Many of the Bourguignons even rejoiced that the Armagnacs had been so thoroughly beaten by the English. The people of Paris murmured against the vices and imbecilities of their princes; and some severer moralists affirmed, as the king of England had done, that the monstrous disorders and vices which prevailed in all classes and conditions had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven.

The government seemed to occupy itself much more about the Duke of Burgundy, who was still bent on expelling the Armagnacs, than about the English. They wanted the army which that powerful prince had assembled, but they wanted it without the duke; and while they begged for his troops, they continued to oppress and persecute his partisans in Paris. The Count of Armagnac, father-in-law of the now captive Duke of Orleans, was recalled from the south, and placed at the head of affairs. He insulted the Duke of Burgundy with the offer of a pension and the government of Picardy for his son, forbidding him to approach Paris. The duke marched with his army to Troyes. There he received orders, in the king's name, to disband his troops; but, taking no heed of them, he continued his march upon Paris, proclaiming, as he went along, that he was in arms to punish the English. At the end of November, 1415, he established his head-quarters at Lagny, only six leagues from the capital. He had with him Caboche and the other furious butchers; but his party, and these men's fraternity, were overawed in Paris by the Armagnacs; and the insurrection which he expected in his favour did not take place. While he lay at Lagny, the dauphin fell sick, and died in a few days, regretted by no one. A report was immediately spread that he had been poisoned by the Armagnacs, who dreaded that he would make terms with his father-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy. The duke then demanded his daughter, who was still living in confinement, away from Paris: the Armagnacs sent him the young lady, but they could return neither her dower nor her jewels. The Count of Armagnac, who was now Constable of France, put Paris in such a state of defence that John Sans-peur would not venture to attack it; and, thus foiled a second time, he withdrew his army and went into Flanders in the month of February, 1416. The Armagnacs used their victory without discretion; they imprisoned their opponents or drove them into exile, not sparing even the doctors and professors of the university, of whom more than forty were driven out of the capital: at last they thought of driving the English out of Harfleur; we have seen the result of their expedition. Prince John was now Dauphin of France, and the Duke of Burgundy hoped to be enabled to seize the government in the name of this youth. A plot in his favour was discovered at Paris during the absence of the Count of Armagnac at Harfleur. The objects of the conspirators, if we can believe their enemies, were atrocious. The principal of them that were taken were, Orgemont, a canon of Paris; Belloy, a rich cloth merchant; and Regnaud, a curate and master of arts—a man much esteemed for his virtue and honoured for his learning. Belloy and Regnaud were beheaded, but Orgemont, being claimed by the chapter of the cathedral, after being brought to the scaffold, was sent

* At first, however, John Sans-peur had been very violent, and had even sent Henry his gauntlet, defying him *à feu et à sangue*—for that he had caused the death of his brother, the Duke of Brabant, who *was not* a vassal of France. As for his other brother, the Count of Nevers, who had equally fallen at Azincourt, he said he could have no grudge against Henry on his account, inasmuch as *he* (Nevers) was the King of France's man, had armed for him, and had perished in his quarrel. Such were some of the nice distinctions of feudalism! The truth is, however, that the Duke of Burgundy was not anxious to push a quarrel with Henry on account of anybody: during the whole of this year he had maintained a correspondence with England. In part, no doubt, he was guided by the wishes of his Flemish vassals—the richest and most powerful of his subjects—who wished, above all things, to remain at peace with the English for the sake of their trade. A truce in their favour had been concluded the preceding year before Henry began his campaign; and this truce (in which the duke now got his state of Artois included) was renewed at Calais.

to a dungeon to feed on bread and water for life, and he soon died a most miserable death. The Count of Armagnac returned from his luckless expedition to Harfleur in a savage humour. He deprived the city of most of its privileges, abolished the fraternity of butchers, and adopted precautions which convey a strange notion of the condition of that metropolis. All meetings, whether social or political, were strictly prohibited; no marriage-feast could be held without the permission of the provost; and his permission was to be accompanied by commissaries and serjeants of police to prevent any murmuring against the government. Flower-pots were taken away from the balconies of the houses, and an interdict was passed against bottles and all such things as could be thrown out of window on the heads of the troops. Every citizen that had any arms in his possession was commanded, under pain of death, to deliver them up to be deposited in the Bastille. As blood began to be spilt, the Bourguignons stole out of the city and joined the exiles, who now formed an army, numerous and desperate enough to undertake bold measures. In the summer of 1416, advancing from the frontier of the Duke of Burgundy's state of Artois, they ravaged the whole country as far as the walls of Paris, within which they constantly maintained a secret correspondence. John de Poix, learning that the king was at St. Germain-en-Laye, got, with four hundred men in disguise, into that place, and nearly succeeded in carrying off the king and the chancellor of France. In the month of August, De Solré seized one of the gates of Paris, threw the whole city into consternation, and then burned some of the châteaux in the neighbourhood. At the same time, troops of Savoyards, Lombards, and Germans, who had been brought into France to fight for one or the other faction, finding themselves paid by neither, scoured the country, plundering and destroying, like the companies of adventure after the battle of Poictiers. Even the troops nominally in the pay of government lived at large on the unhappy people; and, in the midst of all these horrors, a set of brigands, called "Begeaux," sprang up and added to the universal disorder by committing all sorts of atrocities. According to a French chronicler, one might have ridden a whole day in the country near Paris without seeing a farmhouse but what had been burnt or pillaged. In some of the provinces many of the finest farms had been left uncultivated and altogether abandoned for upwards of twenty years. An order, which the Constable Armagnac issued in the king's name, only augmented the prevailing cruelty. It authorized every man to pursue the foreign adventurers and the brigands, like wild beasts, and to burn or slaughter them, without any form of trial, or without caring for any after inquisition on the part of the laws. The sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced by the pope against the companies of adventure was renewed, and made to apply by name to some of the chief partisans of the Duke of Burgundy. Indeed, it was made evident, even at this crisis, that the Armagnacs were almost exclusively animated by their desire of vengeance on the rival faction. Raymond de la Guerre, whom the constable sent to Noyon, loaded all the trees in that neighbourhood with noblemen and gentlemen of the Bourguignon party, whom he hanged as fast as he caught them.

Affairs were in this state, when the Duke of Burgundy attended the congress at Calais, where, at the very least, he listened with an attentive ear to the projects of the King of England. Yet, on leaving that conference, he went to Valenciennes, and swore fealty to John, the new dauphin, engaging to assist him against all his enemies, and especially against the English. As the dauphin was detached from the Armagnac party, and had thrown himself, in a manner, into the power of the Bourguignons, the duke was probably sincere in these engagements, as it would be natural for him to prefer obtaining his object in this manner, to a dangerous alliance for the same purpose with the English. There was, however, nothing in his character to remove suspicion of his being anxious to have two strings to his bow. When summoned in the name of his father, by the Armagnacs, to return to Paris, the young dauphin refused, unless he were permitted to bring the Duke of Burgundy and his friends with him. Soon after this, at the beginning of 1417, the dauphin fell suddenly sick, and died at Compiegne. It was given out that his death had been caused by an abscess in the ear and the neck; but nobody believed this report; and, in a fulminating letter which John Sans-peur addressed, in April, to all the good towns of France, he openly charged his enemies with the deed. "One evening," said the duke, "our most redoubtable lord and nephew fell so grievously sick, that he died forthwith; his lips, tongue, and face all swollen, his eyes starting out of his head, which was a piteous sight to see—for so look people that are poisoned." The Dauphin John was succeeded by his brother Charles, who, though not sixteen years of age, and possessed of no abilities of a high order, was exceedingly crafty. Hitherto his mother, Isabella, had shared in the power of the prevailing faction; but great jealousies had arisen between her and the Count of Armagnac; and when Charles put in his claim for a part of the authority, there was none left for the queen. The crazed king, content with his own vulgar mistress, had been perfectly indifferent to the infidelities of his wife. In the events we have now to relate, it is evident that he was directed by other minds; but it is not certain whether the impulse was given by the Count of Armagnac, or by the new Dauphin Charles, or by both. The approach of age had not moderated the tastes of the queen; her court was notorious for looseness and immorality; and, what shocked the people more, it was the constant scene of profusion and extravagant expense, of balls, masquerades, and all kinds

of fêtes, even in the midst of foreign and domestic wars, famine, and pestilence. Wholly separated from her husband, she lived chiefly at Vincennes, where she had a strong guard for her protection, commanded by the Sires de Graville, de Giac, and de Bois-Bourdon—the last being her paramour. Of a sudden, the king complained of these irregularities. Bois-Bourdon was arrested at his order, by the provost of Paris, carried to the Châtelet, and put to the torture. It is said that he confessed many sad crimes; but, questioned in that manner, men generally confess whatever is suggested; and the whole proceeding took place in secret. In the end, the unlucky favourite was thrown into the Seine, sewed up in a leather bag, which bore this inscription:—"Let pass the justice of the king." Many of the queen's servants were arrested or forced to fly, and, a few days after, Isabella herself was seized and conveyed to Tours, where she was kept a prisoner. Some treasure which she had left in Paris and Melun was discovered, and appropriated by the Count of Armagnac and the Dauphin Charles. Ever since the murder of her former lover, the Duke of Orleans, the queen had been the implacable enemy of the murderer, the Duke of Burgundy, and her violent passions had instigated many of the worst persecutions of the Bourguignon party; but now her recent wrongs prevailed over her old injuries, and, though watched by many spies, she found means to open a correspondence with the Duke of Burgundy, in order to avenge herself on the Constable Armagnac and her own son Charles, to whom she always imputed a share in the murder of Bois-Bourdon.

The situation of the Constable now became critical—the fulminating letter of his rival had produced a great effect; and while the Bourguignons were collecting from all sides, he learned that the English had landed. The common report was, that the treaty had really been signed at Calais between Henry and John Sans-peur: this the Constable firmly believed, and circumstances certainly went to confirm this conviction; for, at the moment that Henry had disembarked his army on the coast of Normandy, the duke began his march upon Paris, vowing that he would exterminate the treacherous, poisoning Armagnacs with fire and sword. The Constable showed little wisdom at this crisis; he seized the ornaments of the church and the plate, and melted them down to raise troops to fight—not against the English—but against their own countrymen following the Duke of Burgundy. He adulterated the coinage, and began a fresh persecution of the Bourguignons. More than three hundred of the most respectable citizens, lawyers, members of the parliament, and professors of the university, were driven out of Paris in one day; and five hundred of the students of the university were ordered to do duty as soldiers. The only precaution he took against the English was, to throw some foreign mercenaries into Rouen; and this measure caused a revolt there, for the people hated the foreigners, and said they were able to defend their own town.*

When Henry landed unopposed at Tonque, in the beginning of August, he had with him the finest army that England had ever sent into France There were 16,000 men-at-arms, from 14,000 to 16,000 archers,† a body of artificers of all kinds, and another body of sappers and miners: the army was provided with a train of artillery and military engines, and, with its followers of all kinds, must have amounted to 35,000 men at the least. Tonque, Auvillers, and Villers surrendered after very short sieges; Caen was taken by assault; Bayeux surrendered spontaneously; and l'Aigle, Lisieux, Falaise, and other towns and castles, were reduced in a very short time. As winter set in, Henry betook himself to comfortable quarters; his plan being not to proceed into the interior of France, until he had reduced all the important fortresses in Normandy. The distracted French court sent humbly to propose a peace or truce, but he would grant neither, except on the following conditions:—1. That the Princess Catherine should become his wife. 2. That he should be presently declared regent of France, and successor to the throne upon Charles's death.‡

It was during this winter that Henry's former friend, Sir John Oldcastle, who had been living in safe concealment in Wales, rushed upon his fate. Smarting under persecution, the Lollards, it is said, invited the Scots into England, and engaged to join them. It is certain that the Duke of Albany and Earl Douglas advanced and laid siege to the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh, and that Sir John Oldcastle showed himself about the same time in the neighbourhood of London, where his name was still revered by many. The Scots, however, were obliged to retreat on the approach of the Regent, the Duke of Bedford, with an immense army; and, after this, Oldcastle, flying from St. Alban's, endeavoured to gain his former hiding-place. But he was taken, after a gallant resistance, on the borders of Wales, and arraigned before the House of Lords, who condemned him to be hanged as a rebel and burnt as a heretic. This sentence was executed in the month of December, in St. Giles's Fields. The old soldier, whom persecution had driven into rebellion, died with great courage. The Lollards considered him as a saint and martyr; but so completely had religious bigotry—which, after all, was the real cause of his death—deadened the feelings of humanity, that his fate was a subject of mockery or rejoicing to the great majority of the people. Henry was so far fortunate, that his absence saved him from the odium—perhaps the anguish—of signing the death-warrant of the chosen companion of his early years.§

* Monstrelet.—Juvenal.—P. Henin.—Villaret.—Barante.

† Many of the archers were mounted, as in the preceding campaign, but their horses were rather for the march than the battle. This, indeed, may also be said of the horses of the knights, who, in these wars, almost invariably dismounted and fought on foot.

‡ Rymer.

§ Rot. Parl.—Rymer.—Walsing.—Elm.—Stowe.

A.D. 1418.—Some of Henry's operations of siege or blockade had been prosecuted during the winter; in the spring he received a reinforcement of several thousand men, among whom were a great many Irish, whose singular dress, or *undress*, and whose primitive manners, made a great impression on the French.* He now conducted several sieges at once. Cherbourg on the coast, Damfront in the interior, fell about the same time. Then advancing to the left bank of the Seine, he made himself master of the whole of the lower part of that river from Louviers to the sea, where his conquest of Harfleur was of great advantage to him. He besieged and took the town of Louviers; Pont de l'Arche was obliged to open its gates; and by the beginning of July he was master of the whole of Lower Normandy. Though left entirely to their own resources, the population had made a brave resistance: many of the great lords were glad to make private treaties with the invader, but the people of the towns everywhere did their best to resist him, and maintain the independence of their country. In vain did Henry make them liberal promises,—in vain appeal to the traditions of their ancient glory, and remind them that he was the descendant of the great conqueror—of Rollo, their first duke, who gained them a settlement in France, —that the nobles of England who gathered round his standard had drawn their origin from Normandy. Time and circumstances had broken the strings that used to thrill at these appeals: in the course of three centuries and a half which had elapsed since the Conquest, the old common sympathies were destroyed; and, if the Normans of the continent had not become wholly French, the Normans of the island had become wholly English. They no longer spoke the same language; all their manners and habits were different; and the savage naval warfare which had so long been carried on between the inhabitants of the opposite coasts of the Channel, had begotten a lasting animosity between them. Henry, however, took no savage vengeance on the people of Normandy for their obstinate resistance; on the contrary, he tried to gain their good-will by popular acts of government; he abolished the odious tax upon salt, which the French court had imposed; he put an end to irregular and illegal exactions; and to the towns and the individuals that swore fealty to him he distributed honours and employments. Before crossing the Seine he organized a government in Lower Normandy, and appointed a chancellor and a treasurer. He certainly left this part of France in a more tranquil condition than he found it: but even anarchy is preferable to the peace brought by a foreign conquest.*

After taking Pont de l'Arche, on the left bank of the Seine, Henry carried his main force over that river, and laid siege to Rouen, on its right bank. This was one of the greatest operations of the kind that had been attempted in those ages. Rouen, the capital of Upper Normandy, was strongly fortified: on two of its sides it was washed by the Seine, and on all sides it was walled and defended by towers and batteries. Its fixed population amounted to above a hundred and fifty thousand; but some of these had fled out of fear, and others had been expelled by the magistrates, on the principle that no families should remain excepting such as could lay in provisions for themselves for ten months. But if there had been a reduction of the timid and the poor, there had been an influx of men of bold spirits and better circumstances,—gentlemen who had retired from Lower Normandy, and who were resolute on making a fresh stand against the conqueror behind the walls of Rouen. Fifteen thousand citizens had been well trained to the use of arms; foreign archers had been introduced; reinforcements of regular troops had been gradually accumulating, until there was a garrison of four thousand men-at-arms, besides bowmen, engineers, and sappers. The fortifications had been improved and strengthened, —the suburbs burned,—the neighbouring country reduced to a desert. Perhaps, in a military point of view, Henry's plans are open to criticism; for, if he had proceeded at first against Rouen, instead of spending his time on minor sieges, he might have taken it by a *coup-de-main*; the place having scarcely any regular garrison, and the citizens being then in a state of complete panic and disorder. His fleet and the possession of Harfleur gave him the necessary command of the Seine from the beginning: the fate of those provinces lay in a great measure within the walls of Rouen, and the taking of that city would have broken or weakened the spirit of resistance in the other places. As it was, when he sate down before it (on the 30th of July) he found it fully prepared to receive him; and so high was the spirit of the garrison, that they came forth and made part of his army fight a battle before they could take up positions proper for the siege. He soon perceived that such a strong place, defended by forces nearly as numerous as his own, was not to be taken by assault, but to be reduced by slower means; and these means he adopted with great sagacity and effect. He drew lines round all the land sides of the city; he dug deep ditches all round, so that his camp might be safe, and his men might pass from point to point without any fear of the artillery and arrows from the city walls; he erected wooden towers, and placed batteries of cannon in the most commanding parts of his lines, adopting every precaution against the effect of sorties and bombard-

* In describing the siege of Rouen, Monstrelet says, "The King of England had with him numbers of Irish, mostly men on foot, having only a stocking and shoe on one leg and foot, with the other leg and foot quite naked. They carried targets, short javelins, and a strange sort of knives. Those that had horses had no saddles, but they rode excellently well on small mountain horses. * * * * These Irish did oft-times make excursions during the siege all over Normandy, doing infinite mischief, and bringing back to the camp much spoil and forage. They took men, and even children from the cradle, with beds, furniture, and all, and mounting them on the top of the booty on cows and bullocks, drove them all before them,—for the French often fell in with them riding in this manner." Some of the French reported that they ate the little children—but they only took them for ransom.

* Monstrelet.—Walsing.—Elm.

ment. Before these works were completed,—and they took a long time, as they extended over an irregular line of more than two miles,—many sallies were made by the garrison, and many high deeds of arms were performed on both sides.* But as Henry continued to reinforce his besieging army, and to bring up great numbers of labourers to work in the trenches, the circumvallation proceeded at an accelerated pace; and, when it was finished, the besieged could neither attack with any effect nor receive any provision or succour from the land side. At the same time, to cut off all hope of supply from the upper part of the river, he kept a good garrison at Pont de l'Arche, stationed troops along the banks and on the beautiful green islets of the Seine, drew a triple chain of iron across the stream, and threw over it a bridge of boats well manned with archers just above the town. In the lower part of the river he had two hundred small vessels constantly sailing to and fro, and the mouth of the river was guarded most carefully by the garrison of Harfleur and by a strong fleet, which consisted chiefly of Portuguese ships in his pay. But in order to be still more sure, he drew another triple chain of iron across the river a little below the town. The fort of St. Catherine, situated upon a steep cliff of white chalk above the town, he compelled to surrender; but whenever he spoke of terms of capitulation to the garrison of Rouen, he was boldly assured that they would never yield as long as they had strength in their arms to hold their swords. Nothing could prevail but famine; and this was inevitable.* Instead, however, of following the tedious operations of a blockade, we may now take up the events which had happened at Paris and other parts of France since Henry's first landing.

The Duke of Burgundy, whom we left in full march for the capital, was received in all the towns through which he passed as a deliverer; for he promised to restore peace, and abolish the gabelle and other oppressive taxes. Beyond Paris, Chalon, Troyes, Auxerre, and many other of the principal cities, contracted an alliance with him; but Paris itself, which had been completely purged of Bourguignons, closed its gates and manned its ramparts; and he was told again, that, if the English were to present themselves at one gate, and he (the duke) at another, they would rather open the gate to the English than to him. After taking some castles, and burning all that was left to burn in the neighbourhood, the duke began to besiege Paris; but he was foiled a third time. His party, however, was strengthened in public opinion by the arrival of two embassies to him,—the one from the Emperor Sigismund, who assured him of his friendship; the other from the College of Cardinals, who treated with him as with the real representative of the government of France,—seeing that the king was "too much pre-occupied and hindered" by his malady, the dauphin too young, and the Count of Armagnac schismatic. The moment had also arrived for the execution of a project by which he hoped to strengthen himself still further: he received a message from Queen Isabella, who was still a prisoner at Tours, imploring him, now that he had shut up his enemy, the Count of Armagnac, in Paris, to hasten to her relief. He suddenly left Corbeil, on the Seine, which he was besieging, and rode rapidly across the country to the banks of the Loire, accompanied by his principal lords and knights, and the best mounted of his men-at-arms. He stopped in a wood at the distance of five or six miles from Tours, and sent forward a troop of horse, which lay concealed outside of the town, while a secret messenger went to inform the queen that her deliverers were at hand. Isabella represented to her keepers that she was anxious to hear mass that morning at the Abbey of Marmontier, a very short distance from the city, and, after some slight difficulty, she was permitted to go with three of her keepers. As soon as she entered the abbey the duke's officer rode up to the church door with sixty horsemen. "Fly, madam," cried her guardians, "for here is a great troop of English or Bourguignons!" But the queen advanced with a smiling countenance to the officer, and the duke arriving presently after with his whole force, she saluted him as her "most dear cousin," and placed herself under his protection. They had a joyous dinner together at the abbey; and then the queen sent to tell the people of Tours that they must admit her and the Duke of Burgundy within their walls. The governor, who had received his commission from the Armagnacs, was staggered at this unexpected demand; but, after some hesitation, he was obliged to submit, and both town and castle were put into the hands of the queen and the Bourguignons. From Tours the queen and the duke proceeded in triumph to Chartres, whence, on the 12th of November, Isabella wrote to all the "good towns," telling them that, by the aid of her very dear cousin, she had recovered her power as regent of the kingdom; which power had been, in time past, irrevocably conferred on her by her husband the king, and his council of state. She alluded to the malady of the unfortunate Charles, and said that both he and her son, the dauphin, were prisoners in Paris to the Armagnacs; therefore no attention was to be paid to any ordinances issued in their names. She then caused a great seal to be engraved, and appointed a chancellor and other high officers of state. The duke left her majesty at Chartres, and rode back to the neighbourhood of the capital, where a plot was laid by some of the citizens to open to him the Porte St. Marceau, one of the gates of Paris. This plot, however, was discovered just on the point of execution; and the Bourguignons, who had advanced confidently to the gate, were saluted with a flight of arrows and other missiles, which obliged them to take to flight. John Sans-peur then placed strong garrisons in the towns near Paris, and returned to Chartres to the queen, who, on the 12th

* Monstrel.—Elm.

of January, appointed him governor-general of the whole kingdom. By this time the court of Isabella was crowded with princes and great lords: among these she named the Duke of Lorraine Constable of France, an office which was held on the other side by the Count of Armagnac; and she appointed the Prince of Orange to be governor of Languedoc. Most of the towns, except those that were taken or besieged by the King of England, declared for the queen and the duke: the people rose in many places, and killed the tax-gatherers appointed by the other party, shouting "Long live Burgundy, and no taxes." Vengeance was also taken for past injuries; but in some towns it suited the people to call every rich man an Armagnac, that they might plunder him on patriotic grounds. Thus passed this critical winter and part of the spring, the two factions scarcely bestowing a thought on the progress the English were making in Normandy.*

The Count of Armagnac was not a man to abandon his authority without a struggle; he made a hard one. His captains, Barbazan and Tanneguy-Duchâtel, issued from Paris, and took several towns and castles from the Bourguignons, giving little or no quarter to the garrisons. In the month of April the count himself laid siege to Senlis, but the garrison was opportunely relieved by the Bourguignons; upon which he beheaded all his prisoners. The bastard of Thian, the Bourguignon governor, also killed his prisoners. Such was the cruelty of this accursed war, in which the son fought against the father, the brother against brother,—in which nothing was seen but rapine and murder.†

At last, some persons about the king and dauphin began to speak of the necessity of putting an end to this state of things by a family peace and general reconciliation; and the Bishop of Paris had the courage to open a correspondence with the Duke of Burgundy to that effect. The dauphin, too, who was tired of his servitude under the Armagnacs, sent ambassadors to treat with the agents of the duke and of his mother the queen. For several successive days these envoys met at the village of La Tombe; and their negotiations were facilitated and hastened to a conclusion by the arrival of the cardinals Ursini and St. Mark, who had been despatched by the new pope, Martin V., to act as mediators. On the 23rd of May the negotiators signed a treaty (subject to ratification), the effect of which would have been to place the whole power of the government in the hands of the Duke of Burgundy and the queen. The people of Paris were overjoyed at the news; but not so was the Count of Armagnac, who, relying on the strong garrison he had in the city, resolved to oppose the family peace, which would have deprived him of all authority. He had the idiotic king and the young dauphin in his hands; he had a council of ministers (such as it was) and a chancellor, who, together with several bishops then in Paris, denounced the family peace as highly dishonourable to the *majesty* of Charles, and said that those who had proposed such a treaty were traitors. But, notwithstanding his proscriptions, the count was not safe; for, exasperated by his cruelty, which increased with his difficulties, all the people left in Paris, from fierce Armagnacs, had become Bourguignons. His men-at-arms had long grievously insulted the burghers: a blow given to the son of a rich iron-merchant sealed their doom and that of their master. On the night of the 28th of May a party of young citizens opened the Porte St. Germain-des-Prés to L'Isle-Adam, a devoted partisan of the Duke of Burgundy, who suddenly rushed through the gate with the whole garrison of Pontoise. L'Isle-Adam's force separated into three divisions, and ran through the principal streets shouting "Our Lady of Peace!—Long live Burgundy!—Let those who are for peace take up arms and follow us!" Most of the poorer sort threw on their clothes and joined the Bourguignons. Surprised in the middle of the night, the Armagnacs could make no resistance: the count fled out of his lodging and hid himself. Tanneguy-Duchâtel, a Breton, and the most determined of all the Armagnacs, ran to the dauphin, wrapped him up in his bed-coverings,—for there was no time to spare for his dressing,—and carried him off to the Bastille. He was scarcely gone when the mob broke into the dauphin's apartments, and bound all his gentlemen and servants. They then burst into the houses of all the chiefs of the Armagnac party, pillaged them, and threw their occupants into prison. Strange to say, only three lives were sacrificed during this first night. L'Isle-Adam in person broke open the gates of the Hotel St. Paul, where the king was lodged, and presented himself to his majesty, who was lying in bed, sick as well as crazed. "How fares my cousin of Burgundy?—it is long since I saw him;" said the unhappy prince: and this was all he said, though his chamber was crowded with armed men, and re-echoed with the revolutionary cries in the streets. As soon as it was day they carried him down to the court-yard, put him upon a horse, and led him to and fro through Paris, "to make it appear to the ignorant that they had his sovereign approbation for all that they were doing." The reason and memory of the poor phantom of royalty were gone, and he seemed not to know or to care about the difference between Armagnacs and Bourguignons. In the course of the morning L'Isle-Adam endeavoured to stop the plunder and disorder; but he threatened with death all such persons as should conceal that atrocious traitor the Count of Armagnac. Upon this, a poor mason, in whose house he had taken shelter, betrayed the count, who was seized and shut up in the prison of the Châtelet. On the 11th of June, seeing that the Bourguignon knights and men-at-arms were not very numerous, Tanneguy-Duchâtel, who had collected sixteen hundred men in the Bastille, made a sortie in the hope of recovering Paris; but the people fell upon him from all sides, and assailed

* Juvenal.—Fenin.—Monstrel.—St. Remy. † Barante.

him from their windows and house-tops. Among the cries heard on this occasion was that of "Long live the King of England!" The Armagnacs killed a good many of the poorer burghers of the street St. Antoine; but, in the end, the fierce Breton was obliged to run back to the Bastille, having lost upwards of four hundred men. The people had now arms in their hands and rage in their hearts: they massacred all the Armagnacs they could find in the city; and even women and children were seen dragging and mutilating the wounded and the dead. Tanneguy-Duchâtel, thinking the Bastille no longer a place of safety, fled by night, and carried the dauphin to the town of Bourges, in the centre of France. The starving and brutalized peasants of the neighbourhood flocked into Paris to take part in the carnival of blood and plunder; and when the exiled butchers were seen prowling about the streets, it was understood that all mercy had fled. There was, however, a pause in the massacre; for L'Isle-Adam and other Bourguignon chiefs found it more profitable to keep the Armagnacs alive and exact ransoms for them.* The prisons were crammed already, so that the new captives were shut up in private houses.

All this time the Duke of Burgundy and the queen kept themselves at a distance; the duke was at Montbelliard, holding a conference with the emperor; the queen was at Troyes, and it was said, and believed at the time (nor can we now contradict the fact), that she told a deputation which was sent to her, that she would never return to Paris while so many Armagnacs were left living there. The Duke of Burgundy also is accused of contributing indirectly to what followed. Although Tanneguy-Duchâtel was a fugitive, and one hundred and fifty miles off, it was reported that he was about to return with a great force to secure the Armagnac prisoners, and massacre the Bourguignons and all that lived in Paris,—men, women, and children. False alarms were repeatedly given at the dead of night; the people were deprived of their sleep, and kept in a constant agony of anxiety and fear, than which nothing is more likely to dispose the popular mind to cruelty. On the night of Sunday, the 12th of June, the cry ran through Paris that the enemy were at the gates. "Ah!" said some, "the town and the burghers will never have quiet so long as there remains one Armagnac alive here." These words were like a spark thrown among gunpowder; the people took an oath that they would exterminate the prisoners; and then, shouting "Peace for ever!—Long live the Duke of Burgundy!" they went to the prisons. L'Isle-Adam threw himself before them with a thousand horse, but the people were forty or fifty thousand; and the Bourguignon was not disposed to encounter danger in opposing their blind fury. "Away with your justice and reason!" cried they; "the Armagnacs are dogs; they have ruined the kingdom of France, and sold it to the English. They have even prepared flags of the King of England to plant on the walls of Paris."* "Children! do what you will!" said the officers; who then withdrew. The mob broke open the prisons and private houses where the Armagnacs were confined, and massacred all the prisoners, not sparing even the babe at the breast. One of the first victims was the Count of Armagnac, whose naked and disfigured corpse was dragged about the city by women and children for three days. The slaughter lasted from four o'clock in the morning till mid-day, in which time about fifteen hundred persons perished. On the next day, and for many following days, murders were executed more in detail. At last, on the 14th of July, the queen and the Duke of Burgundy made their triumphant entrance into Paris. The streets, literally wet with blood, were strewed with flowers before them, and they presented themselves together to the wretched king, who received his wife "pleasantly." The duke organized a sort of government, but he was unable to stop the popular fury; and both he and the queen had still victims of their own to sacrifice. The murders continued for several days after their entrance, and then, with great craft, they contrived to destroy the leaders of the murderers, and pacify the people. The total number of those that perished during the months of June, July, and August, exceeded five thousand; and, when these atrocities ceased, they were followed by famine and pestilence, which swept off many thousands more in Paris and its neighbourhood.†

The queen and the Duke of Burgundy failed in some plots to get possession of the person of the dauphin, who remained at Bourges, in the midst of a strong party of Armagnacs. They then opened negotiations,—offered him the conditions of the late treaty, and begged him to return to Paris. It is very doubtful whether the dauphin was disposed to trust his mother; and it is quite certain that the party in whose hands he was thought of anything rather than of peace and reconciliation. What they wanted was vengeance on the Bourguignons! The young Count of Armagnac, the son of the murdered Constable, concluded a truce with the English, with whom he had been fighting in Guienne (for Henry had produced an active war in that distant province); and, with a number of Gascon lords, relations or friends of his family, joined the dauphin, demanding justice. Tanneguy-Duchâtel breathed nothing but death and destruction; and he is now to be considered as the real head of the party. The treaty was of course rejected. The dauphin took the title of regent, and constituted a parliament at Poictiers. The Duke of Burgundy then had recourse to the sword; and, while he waged a cruel war with the dauphin in the heart of France, he had to check the Eng-

* It is said that L'Isle-Adam obtained in this manner a hundred thousand crowns for his own share, and that the lords of Chasteilux and Bar got each as much.

* This was not merely a popular rumour. In their extremity the Armagnacs were quite ready to treat with Henry, and apparently had opened fresh negotiations with the English.

† Juvenal.—St. Remy.—Journal de Paris.—Monstrelet.—Barante.

lish in Normandy. There were thus two anarchical governments in France;—the one at Paris; the other at Bourges, or Poictiers, or in the camp of the dauphin. Each opened negotiations with the king of England; and Henry listened to both, and amused both, without neglecting the blockade of Rouen, which he had now well nigh reduced by famine. In the month of November, he sent ministers, whom he had previously well instructed, to meet the envoys of the dauphin at Alençon. The French wished to carry on the negotiations in their own language; the English insisted that the Latin language should be used.* The tone of the latter was such as is usually assumed by the ambassadors of a conqueror; they made the French disclose their intentions, but they would explain nothing themselves, and the conference ended by their expressing a very rational doubt whether, seeing the condition of France, and the nonage of the dauphin, he could give proper security for the fulfilment of any treaty. A few days after this conference, Henry's ministers met the envoys of the Duke of Burgundy—nominally of the king—at Pont de l'Arche. Their conduct there was nearly the same as at Alençon; and, after diplomatising for twelve days, the French envoys were dismissed, with the expression of another doubt on the part of Henry, whether, seeing the malady of King Charles and the questionable authority of the Duke of Burgundy, he could safely treat with either.† At this time, the cardinal-legate, Ursini, visited the king of England in his camp before Rouen, and did his best, as a mediator, to induce him to put an end to the war. "It is the will of heaven," said Henry; "God has led me hither by the hand, to punish the sins of the land, and to reign on it like a true king. There is no sovereign, no law, in France. No one thinks of resisting me; I have just rights, and I shall go on, and put the crown of France on my head. It is the will of God."

The garrison and the citizens of Rouen, who had vainly implored assistance from Paris, held out with great constancy. The blockade was enlivened by many romantic incidents and bold feats of arms, but there was no Froissart living to record them. At length, when they had eaten everything, even to their horses and their dogs, and when many thousands had perished of famine and disease, they sent to ask for terms of capitulation.‡ Henry insisted on an unconditional surrender; but when the governor threatened to set fire to the city, he relented, and allowed the men-at-arms their lives and liberty, and the citizens their property and franchises. The men-at-arms, however, were made to swear that they would not serve against him for the next twelve months, and the citizens were bound to pay a contribution of 300,000 crowns. On the 16th day of January, 1419, Henry entered Rouen in triumph. He was faithful to the capitulation—taking vengeance on no man save a priest, the vicar-general of that archbishopric, who had pronounced him to be accursed and excommunicated during the siege. This priest was thrown into a prison, where he remained till death released him.* The other cities and castles of the province now submitted, and the flag of England floated over the whole of Normandy on both sides of the Seine.†

The fall of Rouen carried dismay into every corner of France. The people of Paris trembled within their walls; and the Duke of Burgundy and the queen, carrying the king with them, left the capital, and went to Lagny. The people complained bitterly, saying that they were abandoned—that the commons of the good towns had shown that they could fight for the liberties of the kingdom—but that the princes and nobles cared only for their own interests. The duke was obliged to assure them, by letter, that he was absent "for the good of France and the honour of the king," and was at that moment engaged, in many ways, "by easy and suitable means," in securing peace to the country. All this meant, that he was negotiating with the dauphin. People hoped, that at such a crisis, when the King of England might be daily expected in Paris, the two factions would come to an understanding; but time passed without any visible fulfilment of these hopes. Indeed, both the Duke of Burgundy and the dauphin tried again to form a separate alliance with the English, each hoping, with Henry's assistance, to annihilate his rival; and when the work was done, and his assistance no longer needed, to destroy the King of England with the whole power of united France. Henry listended to both, occasionally using no small degree of diplomatic cajolery. The dauphin requested a personal interview, and Henry acceded to his wish; but, on reflection, the young prince, who had no great reliance on honour—a quality he himself was very deficient in—feared to put himself in the power of the English, and did not keep his appointment. The Duke of Burgundy, who was informed of all that passed, thought that this was a favourable opportunity for him to treat; and he sent ambassadors, who found Henry at Rouen, "as proud as a lion" (said they). He did not, indeed, refuse to talk of peace, but he made war all the while; and, recrossing the Seine, he immediately marched along its left bank to Mantes, within fifty miles of Paris. The duke sent another embassy, and Henry made another march, in advance, to Vernon. But the conditions which the duke now offered seemed so advantageous, that the Earl of Warwick was despatched to Provins, where the king and queen and Burgundy were staying. On his road he was attacked by some

* Henry said that his ambassadors did not speak or understand French. In the end, it was agreed that all written documents should be in duplicate—one in French, and one in Latin,—and that the Latin copy should be the authority in all cases of misunderstanding or doubt.—RYMER.

† Rym.—Monstrel.

‡ The reported number of 50,000 victims at Rouen must be an exaggeration.

* It appears, however, that Alain Blanchard, a captain of the city militia, was beheaded a day or two after Henry's entrance.

† Monstrel.—Elm.—Baranto.

forces of the dauphin, led on by the famous Tanneguy-Duchâtel; but as the earl had the precaution to take a strong escort with him, his assailants were repulsed with loss. Warwick was received with great respect; the duke seemed to acknowledge that his master's demands were not inadmissible,—that all difficulties might be removed by personal intercourse; and, at last, it was agreed that a truce should be concluded between the English and the Bourguignons, and that Henry should meet the King and Queen of France and the duke on the 30th of May. The party of the dauphin were greatly alarmed at this intelligence; for they well knew, that if the English contracted an alliance with the duke, they must be crushed. On the day appointed, Henry went with a splendid retinue to the place of rendezvous, which was on the right bank of the Seine, near the town of Meulan. Close to the water's edge there was an enclosure; on one side was a rich tent pitched for the King of England; on the other, a rich tent for the King of France; and between the two there was a third tent, in which the interviews were to take place. Henry entered the enclosure first; the queen, the Princess Catherine, and the Duke of Burgundy entered soon after in great state. The wretched King of France was not presentable—they had left him behind at Pontoise. The etiquette of the scene was nicely managed; at a given signal of trumpets and clarions, the King of England and the Queen of France left their tents and advanced from opposite sides with slow and dignified steps. In the centre they met: Henry was attended by his brothers of Clarence and Gloucester; Isabella by her young and blooming daughter, and her cousin of Burgundy; each being followed at a respectful distance by thirty knights and sixteen councillors. Henry, who was in the very prime of manhood, and one of the handsomest and most graceful men of his age, bowed to the queen, took her hand, and embraced her; and "the like he did unto Madame Catherine." This was the first time of seeing his intended bride, and he was visibly struck with her beauty and grace—as her mother intended he should be. Having conducted the queen to her seat in the council-tent, Henry seated himself opposite to her and the princess; and then the Earl of Warwick opened the deliberations in a long speech in good French. The rest of the day was spent in formalities—for the French had no inclination to hurry the business. Two days after, they met again with the same ceremonies, but Henry looked in vain for the beautiful Catherine—she was not there, nor was he permitted to see her again during these long conferences. The queen thus hoped to irritate his impatience; but, great as were the charms of her daughter, they could not move him from his purpose. On this day, Henry presented his demands in writing. These were, the hand of the princess, the possession of Normandy, of his other conquests, and of the territories ceded by the treaty of Bretigny—all to be held without any dependence on the French crown. On these conditions, he was ready to resign his claims to that crown. The queen and the Duke of Burgundy pretended to deliberate for four or five days, when they admitted Henry's propositions as the basis of the treaty, but suggested eight new clauses on the part of the French king. These clauses were sufficiently moderate; they presented no great obstacles; and Henry employed himself and his ministers for several days in giving explanations, and seeking some slight modifications.* The opposite party were most diplomatically slow; but Henry was not slow in perceiving that their object was to gain time. It was reported, that one day in a private conference with the duke, he lost his temper, and said, "Cousin of Burgundy, we shall have the daughter of your king to wife, but on our own terms; and we will have whatever else we have demanded." During all these deliberations, Henry resided at Mantes, on the left bank of the Seine; but the queen and the duke retired to Pontoise, on the right bank, and twenty-five miles nearer to Paris. Now, it was whispered that several of the leaders of the Armagnac party were seen going to and fro, between Pontoise and the head-quarters of the dauphin, and it was known that a truce had been concluded between the two factions. Only seven meetings had been held in the tents at Meulan in the course of a whole month; and when Henry went to an eighth meeting, he had the place all to himself; for neither the queen and duke, nor any of their ministers, were there to meet him. The fact was, they thought that they had no longer any need of keeping up the farce;—they had concluded a treaty with the dauphin, whose party was terrified into terms by the conferences of their rivals with Henry. The way in which this treaty was managed gives one a disgusting notion of both parties. The chief negotiator was a Madame de Giac, a mistress of the Duke of Burgundy, but who, as well as a complaisant husband, was bribed and bought by the Armagnacs, in which party *she* had another lover. It was *her* influence that decided the duke. It was solemnly deliberated in his council, whether it were not better to make peace with the dauphin, and proceed against the English, than to ally themselves with the English, and take part against the dauphin: but so violent was the rage of party, that, even when the duke was won over, several of his counsellors maintained that the English alliance was far preferable. The queen, all along, would certainly have preferred it—for this unnatural woman hated her son, and she knew, that by the new agreement, the dauphin and the duke were to divide the power of the state between them, and thus abridge her own authority. A week after the interruption of the negotiations with the English at Meulan, the duke and the dauphin met, and kissed one another, at an appointed place between Melun and Corbeil, on the road to Paris, where they swore eternal friendship,

* Rym.—Liv.—Elm.—Monstrel.

with an oblivion of all past quarrels and differences whatsoever. On the following day they proclaimed the conditions of this blessed peace, the principal object of which was, "to resist the damnable enterprise of the English, the ancient enemies of the king and of all Frenchmen." On the 12th of July, the princes parted, with every show of mutual affection. The day on which this treaty was concluded, it thundered and lightened, and, shortly after, people remembered that the thunder was of a very awful and ominous kind.*

When the news of the reconciliation reached the English quarters, everybody there appears to have been perplexed and disheartened, except the king, who most probably was the man best acquainted with the insincerity of the dauphin and with the real condition of France. There were, however, contingent circumstances that might have intimidated a less daring mind. The King of Castile had declared against him, and fitted out a great armament to conquer or to plunder Guienne; and the Regent of Scotland had also opened negotiations with the dauphin. But, nothing daunted, Henry crossed the Seine, and, advancing upon Paris, took the populous town of Pontoise on the 27th of July. Here he found a great treasure, accumulated by L'Isle-Adam, during the recent massacre and proscription of the Armagnacs. The Duke of Burgundy was at St. Denis, only about fifteen miles off; but he was in no state to oppose the conqueror; and, fearing to trust himself in Paris, he withdrew in all haste with the king to Troyes. To defend St. Denis, he left the Marshal of Chastellux, whose undisciplined troops pillaged the town, drove out the monks from the celebrated abbey, and lodged in the cells with their women, making a brothel of that holy place. People again said, "What can the English do worse than this?" Henry, complaining of the cheat put upon him at Meulan, yet proposed again to treat; but now, he said, that in addition to the territories he claimed before, he must have Pontoise and all the country through which he had advanced.† Meanwhile, his victorious troops scoured the neighbourhood of Paris, and frequently advanced to the gates of that city, within which reigned anarchy, famine, and disease. He might have taken possession of it, with one thousand men-at-arms—for there was no garrison left to defend it. The two factions, whom oaths and promises had not reconciled, accused each other of treachery; and no union of their forces took place. The Duke of Burgundy invited the dauphin to join him and the court at Troyes: the dauphin invited the duke to another conference, as he had matters to discuss of the greatest importance "to the good of France." The duke replied, that it would be more simple and seemly for the dauphin to join the councils at Troyes; but the prince would not be moved, and, at last, by the influence of his mistress, Madame de Giac, the duke was induced to leave the king and queen at Troyes, and go to Bray-sur-Seine. The dauphin was at Montereau, only two leagues distant; and Tanneguy-Duchâtel went from him to propose that the interview should be held on the bridge of Montereau. The duke (said this crafty messenger) might have the castle and the right bank of the river; the dauphin would keep his people on the left bank. Tanneguy was accompanied, among others, by the Bishop of Valence, whose brother, the Bishop of Langres, was with the duke. These two brothers discussed the subject of the meeting together; and the Bishop of Langres, either out of conviction, or infernal treachery, advised his master to accept the invitation. John Sans-peur hesitated for a while—for he knew the prevailing perfidy, and, probably, at this moment, his murder of the Duke of Orleans, twelve years ago, weighed heavily on his soul. But again the agency of his beautiful mistress was employed; and, at last, he agreed to meet the son of his king on the bridge of Montereau, on the 10th of September. On the 9th, Tanneguy-Duchâtel received the solemn oaths of the followers of the duke, that they would keep the good peace already sworn between Melun and Corbeil; and the duke sent Madame de Giac's husband and another member of his court to receive the like oaths from the people of the dauphin. Many of the old and faithful servants of Burgundy were against the duke's going, seeing that the dauphin was wholly surrounded by his deadliest enemies; but the duke then said, that it was his duty to adventure his person for so great a blessing as that of peace. "Whatever may happen," said he, "I wish for peace. If they kill me, I shall die a martyr." "Then," he added, "when peace is all settled, I shall take the dauphin's people, and go and conquer the English. He has many brave men of war and sage captains. Tanneguy and Barbazan are valiant knights. People shall then see who is the better man, Hannotin of Flanders, or Henry of Lancaster."* At the moment that he was about to mount his horse to keep his appointment, several of his servants, by whom he appears to have been much beloved, again tried to dissuade him; and his family astrologer told him that if he went he would never return. But John Sans-peur vaulted into his saddle, and rode to Montereau, with about four hundred of his followers. He halted in a meadow near the castle, and sent to tell the dauphin that he was at his orders. Tanneguy-Duchâtel went to him from the prince, and assured him that his master was well content with him, and would thenceforward be governed by the duke's counsels. As if perjury enough had not been committed, the dauphin swore, "by the honour of a prince," that no treachery or violence should be committed; and

* Monstrelet.—St. Denis.—Juv.—Mémoires pour servir à l'Hist. de France et de Bourgogne.—Barante.—Villaret.

† It is difficult to say what was the strength of Henry's army at the time of this bold advance. All contemporary writers, French as well as English, say that it was a small army; and, though he had been continually receiving reinforcements, he had also lost great numbers in sieges and assaults, and had been obliged to leave many behind him to garrison the places he had taken.

* Hannotin was a nick-name given to him by his Flemish subjects.

it was agreed that he would meet the duke on the bridge with only ten noble knights, the duke on his part agreeing to take with him the like number, and no more. While these regulations were settling, a valet of the duke's, who had been into the castle to prepare the lodging, ran up to his master, and told him, that of a certainty he would be betrayed. The duke turned to Tanneguy, and said, "We rely on your word; but, in the holy name of God, are you sure of what you have promised us?" Tanneguy replied that he was quite sure,—that he would rather die himself than see any mischief befall the Duke of Burgundy. "Well, then," said the duke, "we will go, trusting in God and you."

As he was about to walk towards the bridge, another of his servants ran up to him, imploring him to be on his guard, as he had seen a great number of armed men gathering in some houses on the opposite bank, close to the river. At this intimation, the duke sent one of his courtiers to the river-side; but this courtier was the Sire de Giac, who returned and assured him that there was nothing of the sort. The dauphin's people had erected strong barriers at each end of the bridge, and in the middle of the bridge a sort of gallery with a narrow door on either side. When the duke arrived at the barrier on the right bank, he was received by Tanneguy Duchâtel and the Lord of Beauvau. He made them remark, that he and his ten followers had no other armour or arms than their coats-of-mail and their swords; and, laying his hand on Tanneguy's shoulder, said, 'Here is what I trust in." "Let us to my lord the dauphin," said Tanneguy, "he is waiting;" and then, with his companion, he hurried the duke's attendants, and closed the barrier. John Sans-peur was caught as in a trap. When he reached the gallery in the middle of the bridge he found the dauphin already there; he took off his velvet cap, which he wore instead of his helmet, and bent his knee to the heir of the throne of France. At that instant the president of Provence whispered to the dauphin, and they then gave a wink to Tanneguy, who raised a battle-axe, and struck at the duke from behind. The Sire de Navailles raised his arm to defend his master; but the Viscount of Narbonne cried, "He who moves is a dead man;" and while Robert de Loire seized the duke from behind, William le Bouteiller aimed a heavy blow at him with his sword, shouting, "Kill! kill!" The duke put his hand to his sword, but had no time to draw it; his left hand, which he raised to defend his head, was nearly cut off; and then Tanneguy, who had despatched Navailles, struck at him a second time with his axe, and with such effect, that he reeled and fell close at the feet of the dauphin. As he still breathed, two other nobles knelt down over his body, and lifting up his coat-of-mail, struck their swords under it into his bowels. John Sans-peur gave one short sigh, and was still for ever. D'Autray, another of his ten, had been grievously wounded in attempting to defend him; the Lord of Neuchâtel rushed across the bridge, vaulted over the barrier, and escaped; the other seven were beaten to the ground and made prisoners. Even before the duke was knocked down by the treacherous Tanneguy, the dauphin's men-at-arms left their hiding-places; and, by the time he had breathed his last, they threw open the barrier at the opposite end of the bridge, and charged the Bourguignons, who, taken by surprise, and surmising what had happened, fled back to Bray. On returning from their charge, these men-at-arms stripped the duke of his rich collar and of everything valuable that he wore. After this, they would have thrown the body into the Seine, but the curate of Montereau interfered, and had the corpse carried to a mill near at hand, from which it was transported on the following day in the poor man's bier to the church of Montereau. It was sadly disfigured with wounds, and there was one broad and deep wound on the head, from the axe of Tanneguy, which was afterwards called the door through which the English found their way into the heart of France.* On retiring from Montereau, the dauphin wrote to Paris and to all the good towns, that the duke had been slain in an attempt to seize his person; but these letters deceived no one; and most of the men who had done the deed publicly proclaimed it, and said it was a judgment from Heaven, and gloried in their exploit. Attempts have been made to relieve the dauphin from the odium of this atrocity, on the ground of his youth, but they will scarcely stand against the evidence offered by the character and by some of the later actions of that prince.† Low as was the state of moral feeling in France, this most foul and treacherous murder excited an almost universal horror. The city of Paris vowed to revenge the death of the duke; sent deputies to his son, and requested a truce from the English, whom, from this moment, they accustomed themselves to consider as allies against the dauphin and his party. The heir of John Sans-peur, Philip, Count of Charolais, he who had attended to the interment of the dead at Azincourt, succeeded to all his father's immense estates, and to the warm affection of most of his subjects, particularly the opulent citizens of Flanders, who engaged to assist him to the utmost in his vengeance, which was considered even by most of the churchmen of that day as a sacred duty. He was at Ghent when he first received the news of what had passed at Montereau. "Michelle," said he, turning to his wife, who was sister to the dauphin, "your brother has murdered my father." From Ghent he proceeded to Arras,

* Monstrelet.—St. Denis.—St. Foix,—Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France et de Bourgogne.—Barante, Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne.

† The dauphin was not a child; he was seventeen years old at the time, and had had considerable experience of the world. The murderers of the duke remained for many years his dearest friends—his favourite companions,—and, even, at last, he parted with them by force and with regret. De Giac and his wife immediately went and joined him, and were received with all the favour and honour he could bestow. We shall presently see De Giac figuring as his prime minister.

where he received deputations from Queen Isabella, from the city of Paris, from Burgundy, and other parts; and he then began both to arm and to negotiate.

In a sort of family council it was determined that the first thing to do was to seek a close alliance with the King of England; and, accordingly, ambassadors were sent from Arras to Pontoise. Before this step was taken the dauphin had applied to the same quarter; but, putting aside all considerations of the guilt and increasing weakness of that party, Henry clearly saw that his interests lay on the other side, and he was quite ready to engage to assist the young Duke of Burgundy on certain conditions. Moderation was not to be expected in these conditions; yet, such as they were, Philip was glad to accept them, and Queen Isabella sent to assure Henry that she and the council of government, acting in her husband's name, would ratify them. Henry demanded the hand of the Princess Catherine, the present regency of the kingdom, and the succession to the throne of France on the death of Charles. Duke Philip signed these preliminaries immediately, but some minor points of the negotiation were prolonged through the winter, during which few military operations were undertaken. There was also a separate treaty between the Duke of Burgundy and the King of England, in which it was stipulated that one of Henry's brothers should marry a sister of Duke Philip; that the king and the duke should love and assist one another like brothers; that they would pursue together the dauphin and the other murderers; that if the king took the dauphin and his adherents, he should never let them go without the consent of the duke; and, finally, that the king should assign to the duke, and Madame Michelle his wife, lands in France producing a rent of twenty thousand livres, for which lands homage should be done to the King of England. The modifications made to the first great treaty were—that Henry should settle an income of twenty thousand nobles on his wife Catherine; that he should govern during the regency by the advice of a council of Frenchmen; that he should lay aside the title of King of France for as long as Charles lived; that on his accession he should re-annex Normandy to the French crown; and that he should respect the established liberties of the parliaments, peers, nobles, cities, towns, communities, and all individuals whatsoever; and administer justice according to the laws and customs of France. There was another clause, which, of course, had been contemplated from the first opening of the negotiations: by it Henry engaged to drive the dauphin out of all the territories he then occupied. In the month of April, the imbecile Charles, directed by the queen and the Duke of Burgundy, who was by this time at Troyes, put his hand to the treaty; and at the end of the same month it was accepted without the slightest opposition by the parliament, the chamber of accounts, the university, the chapter, the provost, the municipality, and all the corporate bodies of Paris. They were all assured, on the part of the Bishop of Tournay, that the treaty had been concluded, not for vengeance, but in order to put a stop to the ruin of the kingdom and the shedding of blood,—to raise the poor people from the horrible oppressions they were suffering,—to restore a lawful government, with peace and tranquillity for all men. After this, there followed an eulogium of the King of England. The assemblies of Paris were assured that the king, the queen, the barons, and bishops, assembled at Troyes, had beforehand fully informed themselves of the excellent virtues of the King of England, now regent of France,—that he was reputed prudent, wise, a lover of peace and justice,—that he maintained admirable discipline in his army, opposing all debauchery, driving from his camp all naughty women, protecting the poor people,—that he was affable to all men, great or small,—a severe defender of churches and convents,—a friend of learned clerks,—a prince of a very religious mind,—and, it was added, of a very noble person and pleasing countenance. There was undeniably a great deal of truth in this portrait; but still Henry was a foreigner and a conqueror; and, from the commencement, a few moderate and patriotic men even among the nobles (we believe that they were very few) declared the treaty to be disgraceful and destructive of the independence of France.*

In the month of May Henry marched to Troyes, with a splendid retinue and the finest corps of his army, amounting, however, to not more than seven thousand men.† During the march he took the greatest pains to preserve discipline and good order; and as the only danger he apprehended from his veteran troops was their making too free with the heady wines of Champagne, he issued a strict order that they should all mix water with their wine.‡ On the 20th of May Henry arrived at Troyes, outside of the gates of which he was cordially welcomed by the young Duke of Burgundy and a host of French lords, both ecclesiastic and lay. After a short rest he went to pay his respects to the King and Queen of France, whom he found in the church of St. Peter with Madame Catherine. Everything had been regulated beforehand, and Henry and the princess were affianced to each other on the spot, according to the national custom, which made such a ceremony a necessary preliminary to marriage. On the following day everything connected with the treaty of "the perpetual peace" was terminated; and parliament, barons, bishops, and people, seemed to vie with each other in the eagerness with which they acknowledged Henry as regent, and took oaths to obey him. On the 2nd of June the marriage ceremony was performed in the church of St. John at Troyes. The Archbishop of Sens officiated, and afterwards went to bless the nuptial bed. During the night the spouses were disturbed by

* Rym.—Elm.—St. Denis.—Monstrelet.
† Monstrelet. ‡ Elm.—Liv.

persons bringing them wine and soup to their bedside; for Henry, wishing to conform in all things to the customs of the country, had not forbidden this ancient ceremonial. But on the morrow, after he had given a splendid repast, he would not listen to those who proposed a series of tournaments and festivals. "I pray," said he, "my lord the king to permit, and I command his servants and mine to be all ready to-morrow morning to go and lay siege to Sens, wherein are our enemies: there every man may have jousting and tourneying enough, and may give proof of his prowess; for there is no finer prowess than that of doing justice on the wicked, in order that the poor people may breathe and live." Nor was this solicitude for the relief of the poor people of France an empty display; on the contrary, it was a fixed rule of conduct, and, as long as Henry lived, the poor burghers and peasantry were treated with more kindness than they had known for several generations. The misfortune was, that they were starving at the time, and Henry had not the means of supplying them with food. On the morning he had fixed (only the second after his marriage), the "regent and heir of France," with his beautiful bride, marched from Troyes to Sens, which he took in two days. From Sens he marched, with the Duke of Burgundy, to Montereau, and laid siege to that town, which was taken by assault on St. John's day. Upon entering the town, the Duke of Burgundy was led by the poor women to the church in which his father had been interred nine months before. The next day he caused the grave to be opened, and gazed with horror on the disfigured corpse: it was half naked; none of the jewels were left; but Philip found his breviary or prayer-book. The body was removed to be sumptuously interred at Dijon, the capital of Burgundy; and the body of the bastard of Croy, who had been killed in the assault, was put into the vacant grave at Montereau;—such are some of the chances of war. De Guitry, the governor of Montereau, held out in the castle, and insulted the English herald who summoned him to surrender. Upon this, Henry threatened to hang some of the prisoners he had taken in the town, and caused a gibbet to be erected for the purpose. The unhappy captives knelt down by the edge of the castle ditch, imploring the governor to surrender and save their lives; assuring him that it was impossible for the dauphin to relieve him, and that he must surrender in a few days at the latest. The governor was inflexible, and so was Henry,—the prisoners were hanged; and in eight days De Guitry was obliged to surrender the castle. The town of Villeneuve-le-Roy was also taken: and then the English and Bourguignons laid siege to the important and strongly fortified town of Melun, on the Seine. The dauphin had fled into Languedoc, where the party of his ally, the young Count of Armagnac, was strong: but Barbazan, Bourbon, and the bravest of his knights, had remained for the defence of Melun, which now stood a siege of more than four months, during which both besieged and besiegers suffered cruelly from sickness, and Henry lost nearly all his horses. The garrison surrendered on the 18th of November. During the siege Queen Isabella, with her husband and Queen Catherine, resided at Corbeil or in the English camp.

At the beginning of December the two kings, Henry and Charles, made a triumphant entry into Paris amidst the acclamations of the multitude. The rich had assumed the red cross of England; the priests welcomed Henry by chanting "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" If Henry had come with a good convoy of provisions he would have been much more welcome; for, at the moment of all this parade, children were screaming through the streets that they were dying of hunger, and poor people were actually expiring on the dung-hills. But they had suffered so much that they thought every change must be for the better, and the people entertained an exalted notion of the wealth and resources of the King of England. On the following day Queen Catherine and her mother made their solemn entry, and were equally well received. In the name of Charles the three estates of the kingdom were summoned to Paris. They met on the 6th of December, and unanimously gave their approbation to the treaty with the King of England. A few days later, at the demand of Duke Philip, who appeared in deep mourning, attended by the princes of his house, all the murderers of his father, the Duke John of Burgundy, were proclaimed guilty of high treason; but none of these well-known individuals were specified in the sentence by name: and though the young prince was mentioned as "Charles, calling himself Dauphin," he was not directly accused of being either a principal or an accessary to the murder.*

A.D. 1421.—Henry had great need of money, and this was only to be obtained from his subjects in England. In the month of January he left Paris with his wife: on the day after Candlemas he took shipping, and landed at Dover, whence he proceeded by Eltham to London, where he was received with the most enthusiastic joy, and with such pageants and feasts as had never been seen in the land. On the festival of St. Matthew the fair lady Catherine was crowned Queen of England at Westminster Abbey: the coronation was most magnificent, and so was the feast that followed it in Westminster Hall.† The king and queen then made a stately progress through a part of England; but Henry's triumph was damped by the news of the defeat and death of his brother the Duke of Clarence, whom he had left governor of Normandy. The duke had made an incursion into the county of Anjou, which sided with the dauphin. On the 22nd of March his vanguard was surprised by the united forces of the natives under La Fayette, and five or six thousand Scots under the Earl of Buchan,

* Mémoires pour servir à l'Hist. de Fr. et de Bourg.—Pres. Henault, Abreg. Chronicle l'Hist. de France.—Rym.

† Monstrelet.—Fabian.

the second son of the regent of Scotland; and he was surrounded, defeated, and slain,* before his archers could come up. The brave bowmen, however, arrived in time to recover his body and drive the allies from the field. In this affair the English had about twelve hundred killed and three hundred taken prisoners; the Scots and French lost between them about one thousand men.† This battle proved to the French that the forces of Henry were not invincible, and that the Scots were brave soldiers. "In truth," said Pope Martin V., when he heard the news, "the Scots are the only antidote of the English." To express his gratitude, the Dauphin named the Earl of Buchan Constable of France. At the same time, Jacques de Harcourt, from his strong castle of Crotoy, in Picardy, made continual excursions against the English both by sea and land: in the marches of Picardy, Poitou de Saintraille and Vignolles, called La Hire, maintained a fierce partisan warfare; and the populace of Paris, seeing that their wants were not relieved by the new government, became so discontented and turbulent, that the Duke of Exeter, who commanded there, was obliged to employ his archers against them in the streets. The dauphin, also, who had gathered strength in the south, was gradually advancing towards the capital.

Henry saw that no time was to be lost, and the English nation had not yet opened their eyes to the madness of his enterprise. Parliament met him in the best of humours, and gave their ratification to the treaty of Troyes:‡ the clergy voted him a tenth, and the lords and commons cheerfully authorized the raising of loans on the security of parliament. Henry left his wife at Windsor Castle, from the splendid solitudes of which he withdrew a royal captive. This was James Stewart, the accomplished King of the Scots, who had been detained sixteen years in England, his uncle the Duke of Albany and Regent intriguing to prolong his captivity rather than to release him. Albany was now dead, but he had just been succeeded in the regency by his son Murdoch, who for a time seems to have been equally anxious to retain the exercise of royal authority. Not only was no effort made for the release of James, but the existing factions in Scotland would perhaps have rendered that king's return to his country highly dangerous to himself. The positions of the great houses of the Earls of March and of Douglas were reversed: March had been restored to his forfeited estates and honours by the Duke of Albany, without consulting the parliament of Scotland; and Douglas declined in influence. The Regent had sent troops into France to assist the Dauphin without declaring war against England; and while some of the barons approved of the measure, foreseeing in the conquest of France the subjugation of Scotland, others strongly condemned it. Archibald Earl of Douglas, who had been for several years a prisoner in England in the time of Henry IV., readily listened to proposals which were sanctioned, and even warmly recommended, by his captive sovereign. He engaged to serve the King of England all his life against all men, except the King of Scotland, and to follow him to France with two hundred men-at-arms and two hundred archers, to whom Henry was to pay the usual wages, allowing Douglas two hundred pounds a-year for himself. The gallant king also agreed to serve in that war, Henry engaging to allow him to revisit Scotland three months after their return from France. Out of affection for James, Alexander Lord Forbes, Alexander de Seton Lord of Gordon, William Blair, and two other Scottish kinghts, each with a certain number of men, joined Henry's standard at Dover, where, by the beginning of June, four thousand choice men-at-arms, and about twenty-four thousand archers, were collected in admirable array. These forces were landed at Calais on the 11th and 12th of June, whence twelve hundred men-at-arms were sent, by forced marches, to Paris to reinforce the Duke of Exeter. Henry marched more leisurely to Montreuil, where he had a long conference with his ally, the young Duke of Burgundy, who soon after, while the English were employed near the banks of the Loire, defeated the Dauphinists at Mons-en-Vimeu, in the marches of Picardy, and took Saintraille and some others of the bravest knights of that party. This victory was also followed by the surrender of several places in the north-west. When Henry reached Paris, the Dauphin was besieging Chartres, and some of his partisans were scouring the whole country between Chartres and the capital. But all this soon came to an end: the siege of Chartres was raised at the approach of Henry; Beaugency was taken by the English, and the Dauphin was driven behind the Loire. Leaving the King of Scotland, in whom he appears to have had the fullest confidence, to prosecute the siege of Dreux, which capitulated on the 20th of August, Henry followed up the flying Dauphin, who had neither military nor civil talents, until he took refuge in the strong town of Bourges in Berry. He then recrossed the Loire and returned to Paris, having lost a considerable number of men, not by the sword, for the Dauphinists would stop nowhere to fight, but by disease, chiefly brought on by the want of a proper supply of wholesome provisions. The country was bare, and the people were still perishing of hunger in many places. Allowing himself a very short repose, he proceeded, in the month of October, to lay siege to Meaux, on the river Marne, about thirty miles to the north-east of Paris. Within that place, which was one of the strongest in all France, was a chief who had made himself remarkable for his atrocities, and an object of wonderment even in those atrocious times, when cruelties

* The Duke of Clarence, after being wounded by Sir William Swinton, was dispatched with a battle-axe by the Earl of Buchan.

† Monstrelet.—Liv.—Elm.—Juvenal.

‡ Parliament, however, was not blind to consequences: apprehensions were excited in their minds by the treaty of Troyes, that England might become a province of the French crown; and they demanded and obtained a renewal of the statute of Edward III., declaring the independence of this kingdom.—See Hallam, Hist. Mid. Ages.—Rot. Parl.

were committed in all parts of the kingdom. The Bastard of Vaurus had been an adherent of the old Count of Armagnac, and to avenge his master's death, he became more ferocious and blood-thirsty than a tiger. Whenever a Bourguignon or an Englishmen fell into his hands, he was massacred on the spot, or put to death by execrable torture. At the same time, he fell upon the poor people of the towns, and the peasants, who were of no party, but only anxious to save the little substance which was left them. Here, however, he was actuated by the desire of plunder. As he rode through the country with his desperate bands, he tied the dealers and farmers to the tails of his horses, and so carried them into Meaux, where they were kept until their friends paid ransoms for them, being occasionally tortured to make them plead the more earnestly to their families for ransom, or discover the places where they had concealed their treasure. When the Bastard could wring no ransoms, he hanged his prisoners on an elm-tree outside of Meaux, and the name of the Elm of Vaurus struck terror even in the heart of Paris. Henry carried the town by assault in ten weeks; but the Bastard and his garrison, who could expect little mercy, retired to a sort of acropolis, called the market-place, where they made a long and most desperate resistance. The Dauphin wished to do something for the relief of these worthy allies, but he was not very courageous or adventurous; his troops, however numerous, dreaded to meet their adversaries in the field, and all that he did was to send the Sire d'Affemont to steal by night with some reinforcements into the besieged place. D'Affemont was taken prisoner by the English; and at last, in the beginning of the month of May, the place surrendered at discretion, and the Bastard of Vaurus was hanged on his own elm-tree. During this siege of seven months, Henry lost a considerable number of his brave warriors: the Earl of Worcester and Lord Clifford were killed by the enemy's artillery; others perished of an epidemic sickness; but the conquest of that important place left the English undisputed masters of the whole of France north of the Loire. While he was prosecuting the siege with wonderful perseverance, he was gladdened with the news that his wife Catherine had borne him a son, in Windsor Castle, on the 6th of December. On the 21st of May, the queen, escorted by the Duke of Bedford, landed at Harfleur, whence she proceeded, with still increasing troops of noblemen, by way of Rouen, to Bois de Vincennes, where she was received as some angelical person. On the great festival of Whitsuntide, the two courts of Henry and Charles made a grand entry into Paris, and on that day King Henry and Queen Catherine kept their court, with great confluence of people, in the Palace of the Louvre, where they sate in their royal robes, with their imperial crowns on their heads.

Meanwhile the Dauphin had collected, in the south, an army of twenty thousand men, the command of which he intrusted to the Earl of Buchan, who still retained a considerable Scottish force, and who prepared to act with vigour. From Bourges Buchan advanced to the Loire, and, crossing that river, took the town of La Charité; then, descending the right bank of the river, he laid siege to the important town of Cosne, and reduced it to such straits that the garrison agreed to surrender if they were not relieved by a given day. Before Cosne, Buchan was joined by the Dauphin. The Duke of Burgundy pressed Henry to march to the relief of the besieged place, and he was the more eager in his solicitations as both Cosne and La Charité were his towns, and as the Dauphinists were threatening his hereditary states of Burgundy. The King of England never required much pressing on occasions like these, and though he was labouring under a severe illness, he left Paris at the end of July. As soon as the Dauphin heard that he was in motion, he caused the siege to be raised, re-crossed the Loire, and again threw himself into Bourges. But Henry's strength failed him on the march, and, halting at Corbeil, about twenty miles to the south of Paris, he gave the command of his army to his brother, the Duke of Bedford, and, throwing himself into a litter, was conveyed back to the Bois de Vincennes in the neighbourhood of the capital. The Duke of Bedford, who had scarcely found an enemy in the field, was about to cross the Loire when he was recalled by the unexpected news that the king, his brother, was dying. The duke arrived at Vincennes in time to receive his instructions and his last fare well.

Henry had much to attach him to life: his grand scheme of conquest seemed to be approaching a happy completion; he was King of France in fact, and the crown was within his grasp, for his wretched father-in-law was at last dying; he was the happy husband of a young and beautiful wife,—he was a father,—he was young himself,—and until recently, when a mysterious malady attacked him, in the enjoyment of vigorous health and buoyant spirits. Yet, in spite of all this, he saw death approach with a calmness which would have done honour to a philosopher who had nothing to leave behind him but poverty and rags, or some unfinished theory. He felt no remorse for the blood he had shed in France, believing to the last that he had rights to the crown, and that he had been but an instrument in the hand of Providence. He felt some natural anxiety on account of his infant son, but even on this head he was supported by a confident hope in the wisdom, valour, and fidelity of his brothers and of his English subjects. He, however, gave all the counsel and advice he could, conferring frequently about matters of government with his ministers and friends. On the day of his death, he summoned the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Warwick, and some other great lords, to his bedside, and told them he saw it was the will of his Creator that he should quit this world: he bade them be of good cheer, and he comforted them with kind words, yet grave and

full of meaning. He exnorted them to be true to his son as they had been to him, and to keep peace and amity among themselves during the long minority. He most earnestly recommended them to cultivate the friendship of his ally the Duke of Burgundy. He told them never to make a peace with Charles, calling himself Dauphin, which did not stipulate for his surrender of all claims to the crown of France, or, at worst, the grant to England of the duchies of Normandy and Aquitaine in full sovereignty. He cautiously warned them not to release the Dukes of Orleans, or any of the French princes of the blood taken at Azincourt. During the minority of his son, he signified his wish that his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, should be regent or protector in England, and that his brother, the Duke of Bedford, with the advice of the Duke of Burgundy, should be regent in France; and he again declared that, before entering upon his wars, he had consulted with wise and holy men who had convinced him that he might justly follow them without any risk of God's displeasure. His hearers, who did not share his equanimity, wept and sobbed while they vowed obedience to his dying injunctions, and promised to protect his wife and child. Feeling his end approach, he sent for his confessor and his chaplains, whom he directed to chaunt the seven penitential psalms. When they came to the verse, "Thou shalt build up the walls of Jerusalem" he stopped them, and said aloud, that he always intended, after he had wholly subdued the realm of France and restored it to peace and good order, to go and conquer the Holy City from the Saracens.* Having expressed this meritorious and consoling intention, he allowed the priests to proceed, and a few minutes after he calmly breathed his last, in the thirty-fourth year of his age and the tenth of his reign, on the last day of August, 1422. It had been very usual to abandon the king as soon as the breath was out of his body, and even to treat his unconscious remains with disrespect; but Henry's nobles and officers resolved to give him a most magnificent and costly funeral. In the first place, they caused the body to be embalmed, and then to be carried in great pomp to the church of Notre Dâme, in Paris, where a solemn service was performed. The funeral procession, blackening all the way, then proceeded to Rouen, whither some of the nobles had previously conducted Queen Catherine, who had been kept in ignorance of the danger of the king, and knew not of his death until some days after it had happened. At Rouen it lay in state for several days. The coffin was then placed within a car drawn by four splendid horses; over the coffin, on a bed of crimson and gold, lay a figure representing the king to the life, with a rich crown of gold on the head, a sceptre on the right hand, the globe and cross on the left, and with a face looking heaven-ward. When it passed through any town, a canopy of silk, like to what is carried over the host on Corpus Christi Day, was borne over it. In this state the body was conveyed, by slow journeys, from Rouen to Abbeville, where it was placed in the cathedral of St. Ulfran, with rows of priests on each side of the coffin to chaunt requiems all through the night. During the slow, sad progress from town to town, the funeral car was preceded and flanked by heralds, persons bearing banners and achievements, and a host of men, all clad in white sheets, and carrying lighted torches in their hands; it was followed by the royal household, in deep mourning, by some hundreds of knights and esquires in black armour and plumes, with their lances reversed, and by the princes of the blood, and the King of Scotland, who acted as chief mourner. At about a league in the rear of all travelled the youthful widow, with a numerous retinue. The night after leaving Abbeville, they rested at Hesdin, the next night at Montreuil, the next at Boulogne, and then at Calais, where a fleet was in readiness to convey them to Dover. From Dover they travelled by the usual road through Canterbury and Rochester to London, where they arrived on Martinmas Day. As the melancholy procession approached London, fifteen bishops in their pontifical attire, many mitred abbots and churchmen, with a vast multitude of persons of all conditions, went out to meet it. The churchmen chanted the service for the dead as it passed over London Bridge and through the street of the Lombards to St. Paul's. After the obsequies had been performed at St. Paul's in presence of the whole parliament, the body was carried to Westminster Abbey, and there interred near the shrine of Edward the Confessor.* "At this funeral," continues Monstrelet, who wrote some years later, "greater pomp and expense were made than had been done for two hundred years at the burying of any king of England; and even now, as much reverence and honour are paid every day to his tomb as if it were certain that he is a saint in Heaven."

We take this strong popular feeling as one proof that Henry had many fine qualities besides those of a mere warrior and conqueror. It has been somewhat usual to compare him disadvantageously with those other two heroes, Edward III. and the Black Prince; but, taking the whole of his brief

* A manuscript, discovered in Flanders by Mr. Granville Penn, has set at rest a doubt started by Hume, whether Henry had ever had such an intention. This document fully proves that Henry and Philip Duke of Burgundy most seriously entertained the notion of going to the Holy Land together on a crusade. Immediately after the signing of the treaty of Troyes, they despatched Sir Gilbert de Launoy, a Flemish knight, on a secret mission to Palestine, and that envoy went and made a military survey of the coast of Egypt and Syria, two copies of which survey—intended one for Henry and one for Philip—are still in existence. The King of England died before this report was completed. Mr. Granville Penn purchased the copy written for the Duke of Burgundy in Flanders; and, on making some search, he discovered that which was intended for the King of England among the Hatton MSS. in the British Museum, where it is open to inspection. See an account of an unknown MS. of 1422, by Granville Penn, Esq., in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. Vol. I. Henry was a devout man; and even as a politician, he might turn his attention to the East as his father had done before him. The eastern empire was tottering to its fall, and, in little more than a quarter of a century, the Turks took Constantinople, whence they menaced all Christendom. At the time when Henry sent to survey the coasts, an attack on Syria might have tended to check the pernicious progress of the Mahommedans.

* Monstrelet.—Walsing.

Tomb of Henry V., in Westminster Abbey.

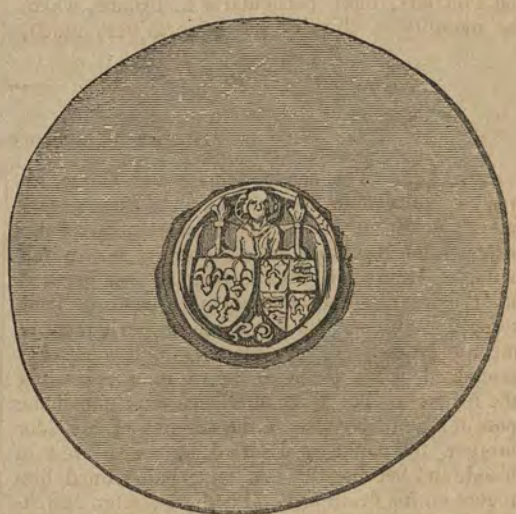
and dazzling career into consideration, we can scarcely consider him inferior in the qualities of magnanimity, courtesy, and humanity. He was indeed severe and unrelenting,—he was even cruel in some occasions,—but so were they; and it should be remarked that humanity had made no progress, but had rather lost ground, since the days of Crecy and Poictiers, more particularly in France, where the morality of chivalry, never worth very much, had become spotted all over, where honour and good faith were absolutely unknown to any party, and where cruelty and treachery were the order of every day. The national character of Englishmen, no doubt, suffered from a long familiarity and interméddling with those detestable excesses, and the effect will be seen in the following reign, where we shall find more ferocity than had been known in England even in earlier and less civilized times.

Henry VI.—Surnamed of Windsor.

A.D. 1422. The son of Henry and Catherine was not quite nine months old. As soon as his father's death was known in England, some of the bishops and lay lords issued commissions, in the name of Henry VI., to the judges, sheriffs, and other officers, authorizing them to continue their respective duties; and summoned a parliament to meet in November. As soon as parliament was assembled, it laid claim to the right of regulating the regency. The Duke of Gloucester claimed the post of regent, because, in the absence of his elder brother, the Duke of Bedford, he was nearest in blood, and because the late king had named him regent on his death-bed. The lords, after searching the rolls, and consulting with the judges, told the duke that his demand was contrary to the constitution, and that the late king had no power whatever to appoint a regent without the consent of parliament. They offered to appoint him president of the council, in the absence of the Duke of Bedford, and to give him, not the title of regent, lieutenant, or tutor, but that of protector of the realm and church of England—which title they said would serve to remind him of his duty. A few days after, they proceeded to name a chancellor, a treasurer, a keeper of the privy seal, and a permanent council, which consisted of sixteen members, with the Duke of Bedford for president, the Duke of Gloucester to act for him, and to receive the salary of 5333*l.* during his brother's absence from England. All these regulations and nominations received the assent of the commons, and the Duke of Gloucester was obliged to be satisfied with them. The care of the person and education of the young prince was afterwards intrusted to the Earl of Warwick and to Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, a half-brother of King Henry IV., who had also a high seat in the council.* After

* Beaufort was the second of the sons of John of Gaunt, by his third wife, Catherine Ruet, Roet, or Rowet, widow of Sir Otes Swynford, generally supposed to have been the sister of Philippa Rowet, who is said to have been the wife of the poet Chaucer. There are considerable doubts, however, both as to the reality of this connexion, and even as to the fact of Chaucer having been married at all. Catherine Rowet, who was the daughter of Sir Paine Rowet, a knight of Hainault, had long been the duke's mistress, having been originally brought over to wait upon his first wife, Blanche of Lancaster. The children of John of Gaunt and Catherine Rowet—three sons and a daughter—were all born before

HENRY VI.—Drawn from three Portraits.
Attitude and Robes from one preserved in St. Mary's Hall, Coventry.—Face, Eton College.—Crown, King's College, Cambridge.



GREAT SEAL OF HENRY VI.

voting the continuance of the duty on wool, and tonnage and poundage for two years, the parliament was dissolved. With the exception of some movements on the Welsh borders, the accession of the infant king was perfectly peaceful.

In France, where there were no constitutional delicacies to be managed, the Duke of Bedford, who was deservedly popular with the army, was at once recognised as regent, and succeeded to the

their marriage, which took place in 1397, but were legitimated that year by a patent which is entered on the rolls of parliament. They took the name of Beaufort, from the castle of Beaufort, in France, where they were born; a property that came into the possession of their father by his first wife. The patent of legitimation entitled them and their descendants to hold all honours and estates such as duchies, principalities, earldoms, &c.; and in some copies of it there is an express reservation of the right of inheriting the crown. Henry VII. was descended from the eldest of these Beauforts, John, created (A.D. 1397) Earl of Somerset.

power and nearly to all the consideration of his deceased brother.* He remained at Paris, or in the neighbourhood, surrounded by the Earls of Somerset, Warwick, Salisbury, Suffolk, and Arundel, Sir John Talbot, Sir John Fastolfe, and the other distinguished captains, who had carried the military fame of England to so high a pitch in the preceding reign. In the month of October, Charles VI. of France, who, for the benefit of his country, ought to have died twenty years before, expired at Paris. The Dauphin, who was now in his twenty-first year, was in Auvergne, and in a very poor and reduced condition. As soon as the knights of his party received the news, they conducted him to a little chapel, raised a banner with the arms of France upon it, and saluted him with cries of "Long live the king." Such was the inauguration of Charles VII., who, at the time, was not master of a fourth part of the kingdom. The English, in derision, called him the King of Bourges, from the name of that city in Berry, to which he was so often driven. The death of his father, however, gave him an immediate increase of moral strength; and he soon proceeded to the city of Poictiers, where he was crowned and anointed with some solemnity. A feeble attempt at a popular insurrection was made at Paris; but, generally speaking, in the country north of the Loire, the cities and towns submitted to the rule of the English—no force being able to keep the field against them.

The Duke of Bedford, with the consent of the parliament of Paris, had proclaimed the infant Henry king of France; and while Charles was being crowned at Poictiers, he held a great assembly in the capital, where the parliament, the university, the archbishop, the metropolitan clergy, the magistrates, and principal burghers, swore fealty to Henry. The same ceremony was performed in all the other great towns of France in subjection to the English or to their ally, the Duke of Burgundy. To secure the friendship of this prince, whose power nearly equalled that of the King of France, even when France was undivided, Bedford strictly adhered to the instructions of his dying brother, consulting the Duke of Burgundy upon all important affairs, and paying a politic deference to his judgment and better acquaintance with the feelings and habits of the French. He married the duke's sister, Anne of Burgundy; and, by negotiating a marriage between another sister of the duke's, the widow of the deceased dauphin, and Arthur Count of Richemont, brother of the Duke of Brittany, he secured the support and co-operation of the Bretons, who, in the time of Henry V., had been only neutral. A sort of congress was held by these great personages at Amiens, in the month of April, 1423; and there Bedford received the most gratifying assurances of continued support from his two allies. But, at the same time, and without the knowledge of the Duke of Bedford, the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany made a separate treaty with one another; and some embarrassing discussions arose concerning the flight into England of Jacqueline, Countess of Hainault, whose marriage with the Duke of Gloucester struck the first great blow at the power of the English in France.* But, for the moment, that power seemed to be on the increase, and Bedford soon gained two great victories, which were compared to the glorious affairs of Crecy, Poictiers, and Azincourt. Charles VII., notwithstanding his critical position, and the state of his country, which would have entirely occupied and inflamed the mind of a patriotic prince, gave himself up to indolence and selfish indulgence, loitering away his time, not with his beautiful wife, Mary of Anjou, but with his mistresses. He had, however, about him many men of great energy: they roused him from his inglorious ease, and forced him into the field; and it may be said, once for all, that whenever he showed activity and zeal, he was acted upon by these superior spirits, and that, after every brief exertion, he was ready to relapse to the company of his mistresses and favourites. Crossing the Loire once more, Charles now fixed his head-quarters at Gién, a small town close on the right bank of that river, and there he remained while the mass of his forces under James Stuart Lord Darnley, and the Marshal of Severac, struck off to the east, fell upon Burgundy, and laid siege to Crevant, a very important place. The Duke of Burgundy had some forces on foot in that direction; but they were very inconsiderable, and he again eagerly pressed the English to save his fertile province. The Duke of Bedford instantly despatched the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk to the relief of Crevant; and as the French, relying on their great superiority of numbers, and the determined valour of their Scottish allies, stood their ground outside the town, a general battle was resolved upon. By order of the Duke of Bedford, every English archer carried a sharp stake to fix before him, as had been practised with such effect at Azincourt: the strictest orders were given for the maintenance of discipline; no man was to take so much as a loaf of bread without paying for it; and every man found straggling from his ranks was to suffer death. On account of the great inequality of numbers, a cruel command was published in the English camp:—no prisoners were to be made until the field was completely won. At Auxerre they were joined by the Burgundians; but their force was still very inferior, and they had to pass the river Yonne in face of the enemy. Having forced the passage, they found the main body drawn up in good position on the right bank. While the English attacked in front, the Burgundians attacked in flank, and then made a movement to the rear. By this disposition, the English were opposed to the Scots; the Burgundians to the French, their own countrymen. The French soon gave way, and then fled in a disgraceful manner, leaving their Scottish allies to shift for themselves.

* Rot. Parl.—Rymer.—Walsing.

* Barante.—Daru., Hist. de la Bretagne.

DUKE OF BEDFORD BEFORE ST. GEORGE.—From the Bedford Missal.

They were afterwards accused of treachery; and it is very clear that they and the Scots did not agree very well. Though thus abandoned by all save a few honourable knights, the Scots gallantly defended themselves for a long time, and the victory was not decided till more than three thousand of them were killed or taken prisoners. Among the captives were Lord Darnley, who had lost an eye in the combat, several other Scottish knights, and Saintraille, Vantadour, Gamaches, and some other French lords.*

Charles VII. received about this time a body of auxiliaries from the Duke of Milan, and gave encouragement to an insurrection in Maine and Anjou, and in other places north of the Loire. We must pass over a number of petty combats and sieges; but the affair of La Gravelle merits attention. John de la Pole, brother to the Duke of Suffolk, was returning from Anjou into Normandy, when he was surprised by a great force under Harcourt, Count of Aumale, one of the most distinguished of the French royalists. The English were embarrassed with the booty and plunder they had made in Anjou;—it is said that they were driving away with them ten thousand heads of cattle;—but the archers formed, planted their sharp stakes before them, and stood their ground for some time. In the end, the English were obliged to retreat, leaving most of their bullocks behind

* Monstrel.

them;—they had lost five hundred men, and De la Pole was taken prisoner. The custom was now prevalent of exchanging prisoners; thus De la Pole, Saintraille, and the rest, were soon restored to their several banners.

In another direction, a detachment of the Duke of Burgundy was defeated by the Italian and Scottish auxiliaries of King Charles. The spirit of the French people had gained one great advantage for this *roi-fainéant;*—they had gradually thrown off the yoke in several parts of the north and the north-west; they had got possession of several towns in Normandy; and thus the English, instead of crossing the Loire, were obliged to fight in the country between that river and the Seine. Their alliance with the Duke of Brittany rested on hollow foundations from the first, and a quarrel with his brother, the Count of Richemont, was followed by bad effects. The count wished for the separate command of an army; but this the Regent Bedford, who doubted of his ability or of his good faith, refused. The count would not be soothed by the offer of a liberal pension—lands and honours he had received already—and, stealing away secretly, he withdrew to Brittany, hoping to induce his brother to declare against the English. Bedford, knowing his intentions, laboured the more earnestly to gratify the Duke of Burgundy; but he did not yet know the secret treaty existing between that prince and the Duke of Brittany. In the course of 1423, the auxiliary force of Scotland had been greatly increased by fresh arrivals; and Archibald, Earl of Douglas, who had recently fought against him under Henry V., now went and joined Charles, who made him a French duke, by the title of Duke of Touraine. Here, again, the Regent Bedford acted with all possible good policy: he negotiated with King James of Scotland, and released him from his imprisonment in England in the spring of 1424. James had neither the power nor the wish to bring back the Scots, who were already in France; but the treaty he had concluded with England prevented his sending any fresh forces for the present.

In the summer of 1424, the Duke of Bedford laid siege to the strong town of Ivry in Normandy. Charles resolved to relieve the place, and to that end sent his whole army into Normandy: this army consisted of about seven thousand Scots and seven thousand Italians and French. The command was nominally given to the earls of Douglas and Buchan; but the counts of Alençon, Aumale, and Narbonne, and the other French nobles who marched with them, would take no orders from Scottish adventurers,—for such they termed the bravest of their allies. Indeed, the French generally were jealous of the Scots, nor did they view with a more friendly eye the Italian auxiliaries who had been sent to their king in his extremity by the Duke of Milan. This ill-assorted army marched within sight of Ivry, but they halted in dismay on seeing the excellent position of the English, and presently retreated without drawing a sword. Upon this failure Ivry surrendered; and the governor, in delivering the keys to Bedford, showed him a letter, and said it contained the signature of eighteen of the greatest lords in France, who had engaged to succour him, and who had all broken their words. Either by an ingenious stratagem of their own, or by a rising in their favour of the inhabitants, Charles's army got possession of the important town of Verneuil, situated about thirty miles to the south-west of Ivry; but they were scarcely there when the Duke of Bedford presented himself before the walls. A tumultuary council was held, and as they could not possibly remain where they were, on account of a scarcity, it was resolved to go out and fight the English in an open field. They had every advantage of position,—the town covered one of their flanks,—the French had also learnt something from experience,—and leaving their baggage and their horses within the walls, they formed on foot, leaving only about two thousand men-at-arms, part of whom were Italians, to fight on horseback. The Duke of Bedford, whose army was inferior in numbers, followed the old tactics of Crecy and Azincourt: he made all his cavalry dismount; he placed his horses and his baggage in his rear, under a guard of archers; and he stationed the rest of the bowmen on his flanks and in his van, where they stuck their sharp stakes into the ground. There was a brief pause. The Earl of Douglas wished to wait for the attack of the English, but the French nobles would not listen to his prudence, and the Count of Narbonne rushed forward, shouting "Mountjoye St. Denis!" The whole line followed him in hurry and confusion, and by the time they got up to the English stakes they were both out of breath and out of order. Their number, however, was imposing; for van, rear, and reserve came up altogether. The English stood firm, shouting "St. George for Bedford!" But some of the archers were borne down and driven towards the baggage,—a fortunate circumstance, for they seem to have arrived just in time to support their comrades there, who were charged in the rear by the two thousand horse, led on by La Hire and Saintraille. This cavalry was repeatedly repulsed, and at last completely driven from the field. Then the archers in the rear (above two thousand men) advanced to the main body, and decided the victory, which had been fiercely and at times very equally disputed for upwards of three hours. The loss of the allies was tremendous: the Earl of Douglas and his son Lord James Douglas, the Earl of Buchan, Sir Alexander Meldrum, with many Scottish knights, were slain: the French lost the counts Narbonne, Tonnèrre, and Vantadour, the sires of Roche-baron and Gamaches, with many other great lords, and nearly three hundred knights. The Duke of Alençon, the Marshal de la Fayette, the sires De Maucourt and Charles de Longueval, with many other lords, were taken prisoners. The Duke of Bedford cut off the heads of Maucourt and Lon-

gueval, because they had formerly taken the oath of fealty to his nephew; and he did the same to several knights of Normandy, because they had deserted from his standard on the eve of the battle.* The great loss he had himself sustained probably had something to do with these executions. Sixteen hundred Englishmen lay dead on that bloody field, mixed with three or four thousand Scots, French, and Italians. The town of Verneuil immediately surrendered to the conqueror. Such was the battle of Verneuil, the last great victory obtained by the Duke of Bedford;—it was fought on the 17th of August, 1424.

The cause of Charles now seemed hopeless: his army was destroyed, he had no money or credit, and many of his friends began to complain of his want of activity and valour,—for he still kept away from the scene of danger. But circumstances operated wonderfully in his favour, and made him king of all France in spite of his follies. Dissension had broken out in the English council, where the Duke of Gloucester could never agree with his uncle Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester; and the English people had grown weary of this long war, which had once been exceedingly popular. At this moment (and we are disposed to believe on *most* occasions afterwards) Beaufort advocated measures of prudence and cautious policy, which were defeated by the impetuous will of Gloucester. Jacqueline of Hainault, only daughter of the Count of Hainault, brother-in-law of John Sans-peur, inherited at a very early age the states of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand. Her succession was disputed by her uncle, John the Merciless, Bishop of Liege, who invaded Holland. After a long and cruel warfare the Duke of Burgundy, John Sans-peur, interfered and concluded a treaty, by which the Bishop of Liege was to enjoy the revenues of Holland and Zealand. John the Merciless had previously shed a great deal of Christian blood in order to remain Bishop of Liege, but soon after this arrangement he got himself secularized by the pope, and, throwing away crosier and stole, married Elizabeth of Luxembourg, the widow of the Duke of Brabant, who had perished at Azincourt. This Elizabeth had a son, now Duke of Brabant, and the ex-bishop proposed that he should be married to his neice Jacqueline. This union, as tending to unite the different branches of the house of Burgundy, was strongly recommended by John Sans-peur and other members of the family; but the young lady had a great aversion to the match, and there were circumstances in the case which made this feeling natural enough. John of Brabant was younger than she; they were cousins-german; and she, besides, had been the boy's godmother. The pope, however, gave his dispensation, and Jacqueline was tormented into a compliance with the family scheme. But her antipathies were never overcome: she was of a womanly age, beautiful, bold, and not deficient in wit and understanding; her husband was a puny boy of fifteen, weak in mind as in body, fond of the society of low favourites, and entirely led by them. Shortly after their marriage they quarrelled violently; and Madame Jacqueline, who had a summary way of proceeding, sent her half-brother, called the Bastard of Hainault, to punish her husband's chief favourite, William le Begue, who had insulted her. The bastard killed the favourite in his bed. But the young duke chose a new confidant, and continued to be ruled by a set of vulgar servants; and the court was continually disgraced by domestic broils. On an unlucky day the young duke, by the advice of his favourite, drove away all the ladies that waited upon his wife, and exiled them to Holland. On this insult, Jacqueline withdrew to Valenciennes, and thence to Calais, where the English received her with great honour. From Calais she passed over to England, and sought an asylum and the protection of the court. This was in 1421, while Henry V. was still living; and at the end of that year she was residing in great friendship with Henry's wife Catherine at Windsor Castle. When young Henry was born there, she was one of the sponsors at the baptismal font. Jacqueline had not been long in England when she became enamoured of the king's brother, the Duke of Gloucester; and the duke, rather out of ambition than affection, proposed himself as her husband. Here another dispensation was necessary. On applying to Pope Martin V. it was found that he had been applied to by the powerful princes of the house of Burgundy, and was not disposed to annul the marriage with the Duke of Brabant, although Jacqueline alleged that she had been driven into that union by deceit and force. But it happened that there was another pope living; for Benedict XIII. would not submit to the decision of the Council of Constance, and he readily enough granted a dispensation to the duchess. Jacqueline then married the Duke of Gloucester; on which the duke claimed as his own Hainault, Holland, and Zealand,—all the states, castles, and towns which his wife inherited from her father. This was putting the law which made nations and people heritable property, to be conveyed away like a private estate by wills and marriages, in a very strong light, but yet scarcely in a more ridiculous light than that in which the same theory, held to be good law, had frequently been exhibited before. Gloucester, however, ought to have reflected on the mighty interests opposed to his, and which were sure, on the present occasion, to give a different interpretation to the law on which he founded his pretensions. For some time no open measures were adopted for the recovery of Jacqueline's patrimony; and the Duke of Bedford, who had married the Duke of Burgundy's sister, contrived to keep that prince in apparent good humour, though in reality Philip had many misgivings, and intrigued under-hand long before venturing upon any overt act. A few weeks after the great battle of Verneuil, Gloucester and Jacqueline, with an English army of five or six

* Monstrel.

thousand men, landed at Calais; and, contrary to the advice of Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and in spite of the earnest representations of the regent Bedford, these two ardent spirits led their forces through the territories of the Duke of Burgundy, and fell upon his cousin, the Duke of Brabant, in Hainault. At this time, Jacqueline's uncle and old persecutor, John, ex-bishop of Liege, died, and she was accused of having induced some of her partisans in Holland to poison him. Gloucester and his daring wife soon got possession of Mons, the capital of Hainault, where a strong party declared for her. Jacqueline assembled the estates of the country, and in the presence of that species of parliament she justified her conduct in breaking her former marriage on the ground of religious scruples, saying that she had done the duty of a good Catholic in quitting the Duke of Brabant, who was her first cousin and her godson, and therefore could not be her husband. At first the Duke of Burgundy thought that Gloucester was coming to reinforce his brother in France; but when he knew the direction he had taken he became perfectly furious, and sent orders to all his vassals to assist his beloved nephew, the Duke of Brabant, and oppose the duchess and her new husband to the utmost. Gloucester, upon this, wrote to Duke Philip, telling him that if the Duke of Brabant was his cousin, his companion and wife, Jacqueline, was twice his cousin,—that he (Gloucester) had not broken the peace or the treaties existing between him and his very dear cousin of Burgundy, —that he was only taking possession of what lawfully belonged to him by his marriage,—and he hinted, truly or falsely, that the Duke of Burgundy had formerly encouraged his projects. The duke replied by giving Gloucester the lie, and defying him to single combat. Gloucester readily accepted the challenge, and named St. George's day for the duel, which Philip had no intention to fight in that manner. He sent a great part of the forces which he had engaged to keep on foot for the service of the regent Bedford, into the Low Countries against his brother, and at the same time the Duke of Gloucester obtained the English reinforcements intended for Bedford. Philip did not cool on reflection; he saw the dangerous consequences that must ensue to himself if the English, in addition to the territories they held in France, were allowed to establish themselves in the Low Countries, and he resolved to adopt every extreme measure that might seem necessary to drive Gloucester out of Hainault. He even employed troops and many knights that had been in the service of his great enemy Charles VII., the murderer of his father; and among these warriors was the celebrated Saintraille. The Burgundians thus began to listen to their old foes, and to join them in attributing (incorrectly) the origin of all the evils France was suffering to the English. Proposals were suggested for an accommodation with King Charles by the Pope, the Duke of Savoy, and others; and though the Duke of Burgundy did not think, as yet, he had taken sufficient vengeance for his father's death, and though he did not openly abandon his brother-in-law, the Duke of Bedford, till eight years later, he was from this moment a lukewarm and suspected ally. For about a year and a half Gloucester defied all the power of Burgundy, and maintained himself in Hainault; but their want of money, and a jealousy of his uncle Beaufort, induced him to return to England. His departure was fatal to the interests of his wife: Valenciennes, Condé, and Bouchain, with other of the principalities, opened their gates to Duke Philip; and Jacqueline was besieged or blockaded in Mons, the citizens of which soon delivered her up to the duke, who committed her to a close imprisonment in his palace at Ghent.*

Gloucester's return to England was attended by other disastrous circumstances. His quarrel with Beaufort rose to such a height that a civil war seemed imminent; and the Duke of Bedford was obliged to leave France at a very critical moment, and come over to London at the end of 1425. By his authority and influence a reconciliation was effected, and the uncle and nephew were made to shake hands in the presence of a parliament assembled at Leicester. It is consistent with the frank character of Gloucester to believe that he was sincere, and willing to forget the past; but not so was the bishop, who immediately resigned the seals which he held, and prepared to go abroad. Soon after Beaufort was created a cardinal.

During Bedford's absence the Duke of Brittany declared for the King of France, being induced thereto by his brother the Count of Richemont, whom Charles had recently named Constable of France. Both brothers, only two years before, had contracted the most solemn alliances with the English regent. The Constable was out of his reach, in the country beyond the Loire; but soon after Bedford's return to France he severely punished the duke. He sent a formidable army into Brittany, which defeated the Bretons in several engagements, devastated the country, shut the duke up in Rennes, and finally obliged him to break off his alliance with King Charles, to swear again to the Treaty of Troyes, and to promise homage to the King of England and to no other person.†

Meanwhile the errant court of Charles continued to be the scene of disgraceful intrigues, jealousies, and dissensions. Arthur, Count of Richemont, the new Constable, complained, not without reason, of the conduct of the king's ignoble favourites; but the system which he adopted to correct this evil was truly atrocious. When he first joined the king the chief favourite was the Sire de Giac, who, with his wife, had had so great a share in the murder of John Sans-peur at Montereau. This wretched man he seized by night in his bed, set him half naked upon a horse, and gave him over to George de la Tremoille, Count of Guines, who carried him to Dun-le-Roi, and there had him

* Monstrel.—P. Henin.—Barante.
† Rym.—Daru.

thrown into the river with a great stone tied to his neck. Camus de Beaulieu succeeded to the now dangerous post of prime favourite, and the Constable got rid of him with still less ceremony. One day, just after leaving the king, as Camus was riding on his mule across some meadows, he was stabbed by some men employed by the Constable and the Marshal of Boussac. The king, who was in a castle close by, saw the mule return covered with blood and without its rider: he knew what had happened, and was at first in a great rage; but he was powerless, and could do nothing against the assassins. Seeing that Charles could not live without a favourite, the Constable then recommended to his notice George de la Tremoille, a person whom he thought entirely devoted to his interest, and incapable of making himself too formidable. But Count Arthur was mistaken in his man: George de la Tremoille, who had married Madame de Giac, whose husband he had just murdered, because she was still very beautiful and very rich, was the most accomplished rogue in that profligate court. He was witty, insinuating, experienced in business and in war; and he soon obtained a greater ascendancy over the frivolous king than any preceding favourite, and this influence he preserved for the long term of seven years. As soon as the Constable discovered his mistake he made a league with the Count of Clermont, the Count of La Marche, the Marshal of Boussac, and others, to destroy him; but La Tremoille was well versed in the ways of treachery,—he declined an interview to which they invited him, kept himself, with the king, close in a strong castle, and laughed at the conspirators, who were obliged to disperse at the approach of winter. Charles then passed a sentence of banishment against the Constable, who thereupon took up arms against him in conjunction with several princes of the blood. In the spring of 1428 these allies surprised the town of Bourges, but neither the king nor Tremoille was there. Soon after this the princes of the blood agreed to a treaty, from which the Constable was excluded through the influence of La Tremoille. The Constable retired into Poictou, and kept up the civil war there and in Saintonge. At the same time another great royalist and patriot, the Marshal of Severac, threatened to desolate Languedoc with fire and sword unless the king paid him certain arrears; and the king and the treasurer had only four crowns between them. The Count of Foix took forcible possession of Beziers, and René of Anjou, a brother of the queen, negotiated on his own account with the English.

These brief details will render it perfectly intelligible how, during the six years that Charles had been a king, no progress had been made against the English, who were now determined to cross the Loire, and carry their conquests farther than Henry V. had ever penetrated.* The miserable state of weakness to which their recent chastisement had reduced him, more than any reliance on the treaty which he had signed, made the English feel sure of the Duke of Brittany, whose states extended along the right bank of the Lower Loire, and whose forces, under other circumstances, might have embarrassed them on their right flank and on their rear. At the same time they felt a renewed confidence in the Bourguignon party; for Duke Philip returned to Paris, and had a friendly interview with the Duke of Bedford, being much pleased at having been permitted to settle the affairs of Madame Jacqueline after his own fashion. That wife of two husbands, who had some of the essentials of a heroine of romance, escaped from her prison in Ghent, and fled, disguised as a man, into Holland, where a strong party immediately took up arms for her, or for the defence of their own liberties, as they considered that the Duke of Burgundy, who soon pursued her in the name of his cousin and her husband, the Duke of Brabant, had no right to invade their territories. The Duke of Gloucester contrived to send some money and a small force of archers to assist the Hollanders. The archers landed on one of the islands of Zealand, and were well nigh taking the Duke Philip prisoner; but they were overwhelmed by superior force, and after a fierce battle, in which the duke lost many of his best knights, they were driven back to their ships. Philip took many towns,—for he also had a faction in his favour,—and then withdrew into Flanders to collect a great army. Jacqueline tried to retake the towns; and she commanded in person at several sieges and in several battles, making knights and performing all the offices of a warrior and a prince. Her enemies accused her of great cruelty, but could not withhold the praise of bravery and activity. Her party however declined; the Duke of Bedford and the council prevented Gloucester from lending any further assistance; the Duke of Burgundy advanced again into Holland with an immense force well provided with artillery; town fell after town, and she was obliged to retire into Friesland. At the same time the thunders of the Vatican rolled over her head. The pope, Martin V., whose authority was now generally recognised by the Christian world, declared that her marriage with Gloucester was null and void; and that, even in case of the death of her first husband, the Duke of Brabant, she could never lawfully be the wife of the English prince. The Duke of Gloucester consoled himself for this disappointment by marrying Eleanor Cobham, daughter to Lord Reginald Cobham,—"which Eleanor before was his wanton paramour, to his great reproach, as was then noted."* But, though abandoned by her plighted knight, the husband of her choice, and threatened by the pope, the daring Jacqueline maintained the struggle;—nor did her first husband, the object of her hatred, live to triumph over her. The Duke of Brabant died in the month of April, 1427; he was succeeded in his hereditary state of Brabant by his brother; but the Duke of Burgundy, who had no

* Monstrel.—Juvenal.—P. Henin.—Villaret.—Barante.

* Stow.

feasible right to either, kept his hold of Holland and Hainault, the inheritance of Madame Jacqueline. A great naval victory, which the duke, with the assistance of the people of Amsterdam, gained over William de Brederade, Jacqueline's admiral, completed the ruin of her affairs. Her partisans abandoned her; the towns of Holland and Friesland, which had held out, now made their peace with the duke; and in the summer of 1428 Jacqueline was obliged to submit to a harsh treaty. She agreed to recognise her dear cousin as direct heir to all her dominions,—to give him the government of them all immediately,—never to marry without his consent,—and to satisfy herself with the revenues of Ostrevand, Veveland, and Brille. The people, who were not consulted in this transfer, were excessively indignant. Duke Philip rejoiced in the success of his arms and his policy; and as he could not but feel that the English might have frustrated his scheme, he for a while was in good humour with them, engaging to furnish troops for the great enterprise of subduing the country beyond the Loire. The English were further tempted to this undertaking by the knowledge of the civil war that was waging between the Count of Richemont, the Constable, and King Charles, or rather his favourite La Tremoille; and by the arrival of a reinforcement of six thousand men under the command of Montague, the brave and experienced Earl of Salisbury. It appears, however, pretty certain that the regent Bedford hesitated for some time, and at last gave a reluctant consent to the plan.

Ever since the English had been in possession of Paris, the city of Orleans, advantageously situated on the Loire, had been considered as the centre of the kingdom. Whatever fragments of prosperity remained were gathered within its walls; its fall would have the most fatal effects on the cause of independence; and the best road to the provinces of the south lay through it. It was, therefore, determined to reduce it by siege or blockade; but this project had been imprudently divulged, and the Earl of Salisbury lost many weeks in reducing a number of insignificant places in the neighbourhood, instead of marching at once to his object; and the French people, who were fully sensible of the life and death importance of the town, made the best use of this time in preparing for its defence. The season was far advanced before Salisbury appeared; but at last, on the 12th of October, he took up his positions both on the right and left bank, and began the difficult operation of girding in a large and populous town, in the best possible state of preparation, with a small army of eight or nine thousand men. The inhabitants had provided themselves with all sorts of warlike stores and provisions, being determined to defend the place to the last extremity. The citizens had exercised themselves in the use of arms; had voluntarily taxed themselves to a high amount; had lent their money; and had made the most liberal sacrifices of all kinds. The suburbs on either side of the river contained many excellent houses and upwards of twelve churches, together with several fine mansions for the recreation of the burghers; but, by the advice of the military officers sent to them by La Tremoille, they destroyed all these with their own hands, and then burnt the vineyards, the trees, the gardens, and laid the whole country bare and desolate for a league round. "By thus doing," says Monstrelet, "they could discharge the cannon from their ramparts freely on every side." They also hoped that this sacrifice would leave the English without any shelter during the rains and snows of winter. The people of Orleans were well seconded by the inhabitants of other towns upon the Loire or behind it; for the burghers generally were good Frenchmen, and did not, like the princes of the blood and the great lords, lose their patriotism in jealousies and broils. Bourges, Poitiers, La Rochelle, and other places, sent provisions, money, and troops. The three estates met at Chinon, and voted an aid of four hundred thousand francs. The king also was roused from his lethargy; and as La Tremoille, and all the royalists about him, believed that the fall of Orleans would be followed by the loss of all France, very unusual exertions were made. As early as the month of November in the preceding year Charles had concluded a treaty with the King of Scotland, binding himself to marry his son the dauphin to a daughter of that sovereign, and to give him the county of Evreux or the duchy of Berry; and though this treaty had not the effect of bringing over any considerable reinforcements, it gratified the Scots who were already in France, and made them serve with a more cheerful will. Charles named the Sire de Gaucourt governor of Orleans; and Saintrailles, De Guitry, Villars, and many other captains of name, threw themselves into the town before the English appeared.*

Unappalled by all these circumstances, the Earl of Salisbury began the attack of the place, and his first plan seems to have been to take it by assault. A strong bridge communicated between the left bank of the river and the town, and the entrance to this bridge was defended by a fortress called the Tourelles, of which Salisbury determined to make himself master. The English scaled the walls, but were repulsed more than once with considerable loss, for the place was full of picked men, and even the women ran thither that they might pour boiling oil on the heads of the assailants. Salisbury, however, persevered, and, on the 23d of October, he carried the Tourelles by storm. But, in the interval, the besieged had broken down an arch of the bridge, and raised a new fort at the other end of it in advance of the city walls. Why the English general should have chosen to make his attack on this side, with a wide river between him and the town, when two sides of the triangle on the right bank † presented no such obstacle, we are at

* Monstrel.—Journal du Siège.—Barante,—Villaret.

† Then, as now, Orleans covered an irregular triangle, the base of which was along the river bank.

a loss to determine, but the bridge, as a passage, was now given up. The Bastard of Orleans,* the bravest and best officer in Charles's service, broke through the English lines on the opposite side of the river, and got into the town with numerous reinforcements, composed of French, Scots, Italians, and Spaniards. Salisbury saw that he must proceed by the tedious means of a blockade. A few days after, as he was examining the town from the tower of the Tourelles, he was wounded in the face by a stone-shot, which killed the gentleman behind him on the spot. The earl survived a week, and then died, to the great regret of the army, who considered him as one of the most skilful and fortunate in arms of all the English captains. The Earl of Suffolk succeeded to the vacant command, and actively prosecuted the works for enclosing the place. It was now the month of November, and the weather was inclement, but the English built themselves huts, which were covered from the fire of the town by banks of earth, and there they were tolerably well supplied with provisions, and occasionally reinforced. But their number was insufficient to surround the whole town and maintain constantly the passage of the river; boats occasionally ascended or descended with provisions for the besieged, and convoys of stores and fresh troops stole from time to time into the city. All the towns in the neighbourhood, not excepting some that were in possession of the English, watched their opportunity, and sent sometimes little and sometimes more. De Culant, whom Charles had named Admiral of France, penetrated at one time into the place with two hundred lancers; and as the garrison became more and more numerous, such operations were much facilitated by making sallies and feigned attacks simultaneously on several parts of the English lines.

Thus passed the winter months. Early in February, the Duke of Bedford collected about five hundred carts and waggons from the borders of Normandy, and the country round Paris; and these different merchants were ordered to load with provisions, stores, and other things for the use of the army before Orleans. When all was ready, Sir John Fastolfe was appointed to escort the convoy with sixteen hundred fighting men. Sir John marched out of Paris on Ash Wednesday, and proceeded in good order, by short marches, until he came near to the village of Rouvrai, between Genville and Orleans. Here he was brought to a halt by intelligence that an army of French and Scots, four thousand strong, and commanded by the Lord Charles of Bourbon, Count of Clermont, and Sir John Stewart, the Constable of Scotland, occupied the road before him. Making the best use of a short notice, Fastolfe formed a square with his carts and waggons, leaving but two openings; he posted his archers in these two gaps, the men-at-arms standing hard by to support them. In this situation Sir John waited two hours for the coming of the enemy, who at last arrived with a great noise, and drew up in front of the enclosure, but out of the reach of the English arrows. It seemed to them, that, considering their superior numbers, and that the convoy consisted of not more than six hundred real Englishmen—the rest being people of Paris and other parts—they could not fail of destroying them speedily, and making prize of the stores. Others, however, had their doubts and misgivings, seeing that their captains did not well agree as to how the battle should be fought—for the Scots insisted that they ought all to dismount and fight on foot, while the French were all for fighting on horseback. At last, each nation resolved to fight in its own way. The Constable of Scotland, his son, Lord William Stewart, and all the Scots, dismounted and advanced impetuously to force the openings of the square; but the English archers shot so well and stiffly, that they were slain almost to a man on the spot. It appears that the main body of the French never charged at all; but there was a considerable loss among those of them who rode up to the square. The Constable of Scotland and his son were killed fighting side by side; many Scottish knights of high repute also perished; and the Sires of Rochechouart, d'Albret, and other French lords, shared their fate. The defeat was perfect: the French, who were on their horses, galloped from the field, upon which there remained about six hundred dead, nearly all Scots. Sir John Fastolfe then refreshed his men, and marched on to Rouvrai, and from Rouvrai they departed in handsome array, with their convoy and artillery, armed with all accoutrements becoming warriors; and so they arrived in triumph before the walls of Orleans.* This battle was called the battle of Herrings, because, it being the season of Lent, herrings with other salted fish, formed a principal part of the provisions which Sir John was escorting.

King Charles, on learning the news of this defeat, was sick at heart; and the great vigour with which the English now pressed the blockade of Orleans made most of his party despair. At certain intervals, the Earl of Suffolk had erected strong posts called bastiles, and he now sunk ditches and drew lines from one bastile to the other, until the circumvallation was almost complete. Thus those within the garrison could no longer pass with the ease they had done between the bastiles, and their friends without could no longer throw in provisions. At the hideous prospect of famine, the citizens, with the consent of Charles, proposed to deliver the town into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy, who, though at present an ally of England, was still a prince of the blood-royal of France. They despatched, as

* He was the natural son of the Duke of Orleans, killed by order of John Sans-peur.

* Hume, following some of the French historians, lays the blame of this mischance on the Scots, who, he says, would not wait the sure effect of the artillery which the French had with them, but insisted upon charging. It does not, however, appear that the French had a single cannon; whereas Monstrelet particularly mentions Fastolfe's artillery, though he does not say it was used during the battle.

their ambassador to the duke, a knight who was his personal friend, and who had recently fought for him in Hainault against Jacqueline. This was Saintrailles, who, as well as his proposition, was joyfully received by Philip. But when they opened their project to the regent Bedford, he would not listen to it, saying that the prize ought to belong to the valour of those who had reduced Orleans to these straits. This argument seemed unanswerable. The duke smiled, and acquiesced, but he immediately after left Paris in a very ill humour with the English, though the moment had not yet arrived in which he could safely and profitably break with them.

In Orleans the patriotic citizens now felt the sharp pangs of hunger. In Chinon, where the court was residing, the greatest consternation prevailed; many of the lords withdrew; and if Charles himself did not flee into Auvergne, or the more distant province of Provence or Languedoc, as he seriously proposed, it was owing to the counsels of his ill-treated but magnanimous wife, Mary of Anjou, and the stormy opposition of the brave Bastard of Orleans. One day in the end of February, shortly after the battle of Rouvrai, when Charles's affairs were at the lowest ebb, there came messengers from the town of Fierbois, about five leagues from Chinon, to tell him that the deliverer of France was at hand, and only waited at Fierbois for permission to be admitted into his presence. This deliverer was neither prince, warrior, nor statesman; it was a poor country girl—Joan of Arc. It would be marvellous, indeed, if the story of a miraculous interposition and a succession of miracles were not embarrassed with much doubt and confusion. We may, however, safely assume the following positions, which have been held by most modern historians:—1. That there was no supernatural agency in the case, though Joan thoroughly believed that there was. 2. That her heated imagination, acted upon by the miseries of France, by current superstitions, and aided by a peculiar temperament of body, raised the visions she saw and the voices she heard. 3. That her object was pure and glorious, entitling her in all ages to the name of a patriot and liberator. 4. That there was no previous coalition between Joan and King Charles, or between her and any of the king's friends, though some of the latter wisely determined to make the most of a delusion in which they themselves never believed.*

On first receiving the strange message from Fierbois, Charles burst into a fit of laughter. He, however, consented that the wonderful maiden should come to him at Chinon; and Joan arrived in man's attire, attended by two squires and four servants. But, in the interval, the people about Charles had forced some serious reflections upon him, and he refused to admit her into his presence. For three days consultations were held on the subject: some said that if he accepted such unusual aid, the English would instantly accuse him of putting faith in sorcery, and leaguing himself with the devil; others said, that it would be dishonourable to the noble kingdom of France, and productive of mockery, to send forth a peasant wench as their champion. Some maintained that the king ought not to trust himself in a personal interview with a mad woman; but others thought that it would be well to hear what she could say concerning her miraculous mission, and to send trusty messengers into the district she came from, in order to ascertain the particulars of her history and previous conduct. All this time, Joan was lodged in the town of Chinon, where her strict morality and fervent devotion greatly edified the people, and made some impression even upon the immoral court. This maiden, said the burghers, can have no dealings with the devil, though she be dressed like a soldier, for she is ever in the churches at the foot of the altar, adoring the saints or hearing masses. Her story, at the same time, spread far and wide; and, strange as was the narrative, there was little in it very startling to the common people in a credulous age; and there were six witnesses at Chinon to corroborate parts of it. Joan, who was then in her twentieth year, was a native of a wild and hilly district in Lorraine, on the borders of Champagne; she was born in the little hamlet of Domremy, about three leagues south of the town of Vaucouleurs. Her parents were poor peasants; and, from her earliest days, she shared in their rustic labours, receiving no other education than lessons of simple piety. The whole district was remarkable for the simplicity of manners and the devotion of the people; but not less so for superstition and the prevalent belief in visions and supernatural appearances. The curse of faction had extended even to that remote spot. Domremy was Armagnac; but the next village was Bourguignon; and the children of the two places, scarcely more silly than their elders, used to fight and pelt each other with stones for the sake of these names. As Joan grew up from infancy, she was famed all over the canton for her great piety, and passing much of her time among the hills, tending flocks and herds; she there mused in solitude over the wondrous legends of saints and virgin martyrs. The passing traveller frequently brought news of the cruel war that was

* Monstrelet says, without hesitation, that the whole thing was got up,—that she was instructed how to act, and sent to the king by Sir Robert de Baudricourt, the governor of Vaucouleurs. Du Haillan, who wrote his History of France, from the time of Pharamond to the end of the reign of Charles VII., in the course of the following century, and who was a friend of Charles IX., Henry III., and Henry IV., and historiographer of France, takes the same view of the case. His language is more forcible than polite:—"Car les uns disent que ceste Jeanne estoit la g——e de Jean Bastard d'Orleans, les autres du sieur de Baudricourt, les autres de Pathon; lesquels estant fins et advisez, et voyant le roy zi estonné qu'il ne scavoit plus que faire n'y que dire, et le peuple pour les continuelles guerres tant abbattu, qu'il ne pouvoit relever son cœur ni son esperance, s'advisérent de se servir d'un miracle composé d'une fausse religion, qui est la chose du monde qui plus esleve et anime les cœurs, et qui plus fait croire aux hommes, mesmement aux simples, ce qui n'est pas." He goes on to assert, that the Bastard of Orleans and some other lords about the court instructed Joan as to all she was to do and say when admitted to the king's presence. The French, who seem incapable of separating her fanaticism and insanity from her patriotism, or conceiving that she could be the dupe of her own heated imagination, have generally been rather ungrateful to Joan. Voltaire's clever but indecent burlesque of the 'Pucelle,' is but too well known.

desolating the fertile plains of France; and occasionally the quiet marches of Lorraine witnessed the destructive progress of hostile bands. From her infancy, Joan had listened to these tales of horror, and the miseries of the land became mixed with her dreams of heaven. When she approached the age of womanhood, several singularities, both moral and physical, were observed in her, and she began to talk of visions and voices from another world. At first she saw a great light, and heard a voice, which merely told her to be wise and virtuous, and go frequently to mass. At this first warning, as she said afterwards, she took the vow of perpetual chastity. Then she saw the bright light again, and heard the voice, but the light at this time displayed angelic figures with wings on their shoulders; and one of these bright essences told her to go and succour the dauphin of France. There was an old prophecy in the country, that France, after being ruined by a wicked woman, should be restored by a spotless virgin: it was easy to fix the character of the destroyer on Queen Isabella—Joan thought herself called to be the virgin deliverer. She represented, however, to the voices that she was but a lowly maiden, not knowing how to ride a war-horse or to conduct men of war; but the great voice who made himself known to her as St. Michael, assured her that faith and aid would be lent to her for that great end, and that she would be assisted by St. Catherine and St. Margaret, telling her to remember the piteous wrongs of France,—to be wise and virtuous, and that all would go well. When her imagination reached this point, the two female saints appeared to her in the midst of the great light; she saw their heads crowned with glittering jewels, —she heard their voices, mild, and modest, and sweeter than music. The visions returned, but less frequently than the invisible voices, which she was very apt to hear when the bells of the church were ringing. When the voices had ceased, or the visions had departed, she was often found weeping, for that the angels of Paradise had not carried her away with them. For a long time, her parents had little faith in her visions, and they wished to cure her of them, by giving her a husband; but all proposals of this kind Joan rejected with horror. On a certain day, a troop of Bourguignons drove all the good people from Domremy, and burnt their church. Joan with her family took refuge for a short time in a humble inn in the town of Neufchâteau, where she heard many more relations of the sad events that were passing in France. From this time her visions became more frequent; she said that her voices told her that she was the veritable virgin of the prophecy, and that she must go and conduct the dauphin—for so according to her account Charles was to be called until he was crowned—to Rheims. The voices had already instructed her to proceed, in the first instance, to the Sire de Baudricourt, commander at Vaucouleurs, who would provide her with the means of travelling to Charles beyond the Loire; and, in the summer of 1428, she resolved to go to that governor. Her honest father would as soon have seen her thrown into the Meuse, as travelling the country among wicked men-at-arms and camp-followers; but she had made a convert of one of her uncles, and in his company she travelled to Vaucouleurs. Baudricourt took her for one crazed, or for a vagabond impostor, and at first refused to see her, saying that she ought to be sent back to her father, in order to be well whipped. Joan, however, was not easily repulsed; and as the object of her coming made a great noise all over the country, the governor was in a manner obliged to grant her an audience. She told the worthy knight that she was sent to him by her Lord. "And who is your Lord?" said the governor. "The King of Heaven," replied Joan. This confirmed Baudricourt in his opinion that she was crazed, and he dismissed her with very little ceremony. The Maid remained with her uncle, who was a cartwright, in the town of Vaucouleurs; and still the fame of her sanctity grew and spread, for she passed whole days in the churches,—she fasted with great austerity,—her life was spotless; and still she continued to assert that her voices urged her night and day to go and succour the noble dauphin, and conduct him to Rheims, there to be crowned and consecrated. At length, Baudricourt confronted her with a priest well armed with stole, crucifix, and holy-water; and this clerk adjured her, if she were an evil spirit, to depart from them. Joan crawled on her knees to embrace the cross—a sure sign, according to the theory of those times, that she was no witch or sorceress. A short time after this, John of Nouvelourpont, surnamed De Metz, a gentleman of the neighbourhood, met her, and said it was time to think of seeing the king driven out of France, and of becoming every man an Englishman. Joan answered, in a tone of inspiration, that since the Sire of Baudricourt would not give ear unto her, she must make the journey to Charles on foot, even though she wore her legs down to her knees on the road; for, she added, it is neither kings nor dukes, nor yet the daughter of the King of Scotland, that can raise up this suffering France. "There is no help but in me. My *voices* have said it. And yet, in sooth, would I rather stay at home and spin at my mother's side; for this is not work that I have been used to; but I must go, and I must do, since my Lord so wills it." "Who is your Lord?" asked De Metz. "He is God!" answered Joan. De Metz was converted by her enthusiasm, and so was his friend Bertrand de Poulengi: the townspeople had been believers long before. There were some other portents and signs given by Joan, and nearly all Lorraine belived that she was deputed by Heaven; but Baudricourt, even to the last, seems to have doubted of her sanctity, and to have yielded rather to the voice of the public than to that of his own conscience or conviction. Things, however, were at that desperate state which makes men catch at straws. He gave permission to John

of Metz and Bertrand of Poulengi to conduct her to Charles. The people of Vaucouleurs eagerly furnished Joan with everything she wished. The Voices had long before told the maiden to put on man's attire; and this she now did, and put spurs to her heels. They bought her a horse, and Baudricourt gave her a sword. When everything was ready for her departure, the governor received the oaths of the two squires, that they would faithfully conduct her to the king. Then Joan mounted her horse, and rode away, followed by the squires and four servants mounted. The good people of Vaucouleurs were deeply affected; the governor merely said, "Go on, come of it what may."

It was on the 15th of February, when the Maid began her long and dangerous march through a country almost entirely occupied by the English or by the Bourguignons, and many were the perils she encountered. The servants, weary and vexed, had some misgivings as to the holiness of her mission; they fancied that, after all, she might be a sorceress; and more than once they thought of throwing her over a precipice. But she got safely to Chinon, as we have seen; and the accomplishment of such a journey seemed in itself a miracle. After three days of doubt, Charles consented to receive her; for messages had been brought from Orleans, imploring, for the last time, that he would aid his faithful city, and he saw no earthly means at hand. In this first interview, unabashed by the sneers of the court, Joan spoke with firmness, and in a tone which sounded very like prophecy, even to many incredulous ears. "Gentle dauphin," said she, "I am Joan the Maid. I come with a commission from the King of Heaven, to drive out your enemies, and conduct you to Rheims, where you shall receive the crown of France, which is your right." Charles took her aside, and spoke with her for a considerable time, in an under-tone of voice; and when she departed from him he felt or feigned a conviction that it had pleased Providence to place the fate of France in the hands of that peasant girl. And from this moment it is clear that efforts were made, not only to spread her fame, but to add, by ingenious inventions, to the marvellousness of her whole story. Here lay the tricky part of the business; but it scarcely needed, for popular credulity might now be safely left to its own imaginings. Still, however, Charles or his ministers hesitated ere they would commit themselves by proclaiming that Joan was to be their deliverer. Had they been but half as cautious in secular matters, it is probable that they would never have reduced France to such a state as to stand in need of such a miracle. In order to ascertain that there was no magic or sorcery in the case (for the least credulous seemed to have entertained a dread of this kind from the beginning), they delivered Joan over to a commission of priests, among whom were some who boasted that they could detect the devil under any disguise. These seekers found no diabolical indications. But Tremoille and the chancellor had still some doubts. Charles, therefore, went from Chinon to Poictiers, where his parliament was assembled, and where there was besides a learned university. The king ordered that the Maid should be conveyed thither. Joan was growing weary of these long processes, and she had some dread of the doctors' bonnets; but, saying that she trusted in God to give her speech to convince the doctors, she went willingly to Poictiers. The monomania of this wonderful creature was free from all extraneous extravagance; she never varied in her story; she spoke with a natural eloquence and (admitting only her premises) with much good sense. One of the learned doctors, Friar Seguin, who interrogated her more harshly than the rest, and who had a gruff voice, provoked her to a repartee rather witty than sanctimonious. "What language do your Voices speak?" demanded the friar. "A pleasanter one than yours," said the Maid. She had an excellent notion of what was meant by heavenly assistance. "But," said one of the doctors, "if God wishes and intends to deliver France from her enemies, where is the use of our fighting?" "Let us fight," said Joan; "the help will come while we are fighting." They then asked her to give them some signs of her miraculous mission. "Not here," said Joan; "Poictiers is not the place: but send me to Orleans with as small a number of men-at-arms as you will, and I will give you a sure sign;—the sign that I am to give is the raising of the siege of Orleans." When her examiners brought down their ponderous learning upon her, she said that she was an unlettered peasant,—that she knew not the difference between letter A and letter B,—but this she *did* know, God had sent her to raise the siege of Orleans, and to conduct the dauphin to Rheims. The doctors of both faculties were convinced or silenced. Then the bishops of the south of France were consulted; and Jacques Gelu, Archbishop of Embrun, composed a very learned tractate to prove by quotations from Scripture that God might still interfere directly in the affairs of kingdoms,—that there was nothing wicked in Joan's wearing the culotte and the whole garb of a man, though it was contrary to a law in Deuteronomy, provided such things were pre-ordained, and necessary to the end in view,—that it was not wonderful, when miracles had been wrought by means of beasts (witness Balaam's ass), that they should be wrought by a virgin, albeit of lowly condition. Indeed, he said, that God had very frequently intrusted his secrets to virgins in preference to other conditions of mankind;—and here the erudite archbishop, as proofs, placed in curious juxtaposition the Virgin Mary and the Sibyls. It appears that it was well known in those days that a virgin could have no connexion with the devil: and a last and delicate proof was intrusted by Charles to the matronly inspection of his queen's mother and Madame Gaucourt. The report of the doctors to the council of state was, that they had neither seen, known, or discovered any particular in that virgin that was not conformable with

the character of a good Christian and true Catholic. When bishops, doctors, lawyers, ladies, had all made their inquiries, the soldiers would see how the Maid could sit a horse and wield a lance. Here Joan's early occupations, and the address they had given, stood her in good stead. They mounted her upon a charger, and she kept a firm seat; they put a lance into her hand, and she showed that she had a vigorous grasp and a good eye. Here, however, some little instruction was necessary, and this it appears was given to her.

As the English pressed the siege, and the people of Orleans still implored for aid, and requested that the miraculous maiden might be sent to them, it was at last resolved to give entire faith to her mission, and adopt Joan as the forlorn hope of France. They gave her the rank and the proper staff of a general officer. John Daulon, a brave and experienced knight, who had long served the king, was placed near her person as her esquire; two pages and two heralds were added; and a chosen squadron of horse was placed under her immediate orders. They caused to be made a complete suit of new armour to fit her person; her sword was an ancient blade bearing the mark of five crosses, which she was said to have miraculously discovered in the church of St. Catherine at Fierbois. Her standard, which was made to her order, was white, dotted with *fleurs-de-lis;* on one side was figured the Almighty, on the other side were inscribed the words *Jhesus Maria.* She gave another standard to her chaplain, who was to bear it aloft at the head of a body of priests, which at her request was to follow her in all her military operations. Her charger was a snow-white steed; and when Joan first showed herself, mounted upon it, in her bright, new armour, and with her banner spread before her, the people could not sufficiently admire her noble and martial appearance. Some said that she was a lively image of St. George in the act of slaying the dragon; but these men had gone prepared for a marvellous sight, and their excited imaginations were not likely to suffer their expectations to be disappointed. By this time the army of Charles was greatly reinforced; men flocked from all parts to have sight of the inspired maiden; and a new enthusiasm, half patriotic, half religious, was awakened by the sight of Joan, and the reports of her holy living and apostolic deeds. The Maid, indeed, set a bold and uncompromising face against the prevailing dissoluteness of manners; she drove away all the camp-followers, she made the men-at-arms confess their sins and take the sacrament, and she would not allow a soldier to follow her that had not performed these religious duties. The profane language of the camp sorely distressed her virgin modesty; she tried to check it, and met with partial success; but Saintrailles, though a mirror of knighthood, continued to shock her ears occasionally.

A great convoy of provisions was got together at Blois, and thither repaired, with the determination of escorting it to Orleans, Saintrailles, Gaucourt, the Marshal of Boussac, the Sire de Raiz, La Hire, Ambroise de Lorré, and the Admiral de Culant. Joan of Arc joined these renowned men of war in the month of April, and insisted that they should shape their manœuvres according to the inspirations which she had received, or which she might receive, from her voices. The captains, however, thought that a little military precaution would not be amiss; and, while they pretended to obey her, they had recourse in most things to their own science and experience. In truth, their forces were now so considerable that some of them thought that they might do without the Maid, ungratefully forgetting that but for her they would not have had such forces or so renovated a spirit in the people. Joan said that her voices ordered her to march straight on from Blois by the right bank of the Loire; but the chiefs, who knew that the English troops were more numerous and better posted on that side, deceived the Maid, passed the troops over to the left bank, and got ready a convoy of boats to carry the provisions; and while Joan and the miraculous part of the expedition made way by water, they were flanked by an immense body of horse that kept close to the river. As they approached Orleans the garrison sallied out from several of their gates, and fell upon the besiegers with unusual vigour, shouting "The Maid! the Maid is come!"—words already of terror and dismay to the ears of English soldiers. Favoured by this diversion, Joan, with the provisions and a powerful reinforcement, got into the town a little after night-fall, and Orleans was saved. The starving people received her as an angel from heaven. After being conducted in triumph to the principal church, where *Te Deum* was sung, Joan was lodged in the house of the most virtuous matron of the place. She declined accepting a splendid banquet that was prepared for her, and supped humbly upon some slices of bread dipped in wine.

The English camp was now as sad as the city of Orleans was joyous: the soldiers had borne the risks and privations of a long siege without murmuring, but their bold hearts were not proof against the terrors of superstition. For two months they had heard of nothing but the miraculous Maid; they knew that she had caused a letter to be written to their chiefs, telling them that she was coming commissioned by heaven to drive them out of France; and she had come at last, and by provisioning Orleans, had already performed one of her miracles. It was in vain that the Earl of Suffolk and the other captains tried to check this despondency; in vain that they represented the whole affair as a miserable juggle got up by their enemies,—in vain spoke of the disgrace the dauphin and his people incurred in setting up a low-born woman as their champion:—when the best of their knights had been beaten in every battle, could the fools hope to turn the fortune of war, and overcome English valour by means of a cow-driving girl? These and the like arguments

had no effect; but it was otherwise with another assertion they made. They said that Joan was not an envoy from heaven, but from hell,—that she was a foul sorceress, working by spell and witchcraft. This had a very bad effect, for it agreed with their notions of things; and the men said, that, as brave soldiers, they would fight any earthly enemy, but that they were unequal to a contest with the powers of darkness. The consequence was inevitable; they began to see strange sights in the clouds; the sentinels were startled at night by strange sounds; some saw figures on horseback galloping through the air; others were quite sure that the moon and the stars were getting out of order. By degrees, the panic spread to every breast, not excepting, probably, many of their chiefs. But, at the same time, there were other material causes working on the side of this supernatural dread. Flemings, Burgundians, Picards, nearly all the people of Duke Philip had stolen away from the siege; when the lines were once broken or overawed, continual reinforcements poured into the town until there were many more fighting men within it than without. An army constantly recruited lay at Blois; boats with armed bands ascended and descended the river; and flying columns of horse scoured both the banks. The English, receiving no succour, must evidently from besiegers become besieged; and this soon took place. The Maid of Orleans—for such was the title now given to Joan—would have sallied in full force the very day after her arrival, to fall pell-mell on all their positions; but this was opposed by the Bastard of Orleans, who had always more reliance on his own military sagacity than faith in Joan's miraculous powers. A large reinforcement was expected from Blois; and the garrisons of all the places which held for King Charles received orders to march out, to unite their forces, and to fall upon the English lines. The Bastard and the Sire Daulon undertook to go to Blois to hasten the march of the forces assembled there. On the following day, Joan, with La Hire, and a good part of the garrison rode out of Orleans to escort them on the road to Blois. The bewildered English let them pass; indeed, they no longer attacked anything, but remained in their wooden towers or bastilles, to the foot of which French skirmishers from the city now advanced from time to time. In this manner the Maid was permitted to re-enter Orleans as freely as if there had been no siege. She had already caused to be written, in her name, a strange letter to the enemy, and now she determined to address them by word of mouth. Mounting on the wall opposite to the tower at the end of the bridge which was occupied by the English, she raised her voice like a prophet of old, and bade them all begone out of France, or woe and shame would befall them. Sir William Gladesdale, who commanded in the tower, replied with words of abuse, calling her a leman, and the French miscreants, to follow such a base leader, and telling her to go back and take care of her cows. Upon this, it is said that she told Gladesdale that he would surely die there; but the prophecy was probably made for her after the event. Within the town Joan was still revered as an angel from heaven—at least by the common people—and her conduct was calculated to preserve and strengthen this feeling. She was still constantly at mass and prayer; she rarely spoke without an allusion to the Virgin Mother and the heavenly voices that guided and inspired her. She took extreme pains to check the immoralities and indecencies of the town and army; and certes, says one of her chroniclers, there was much to do in this way. At times, she paraded through the city mounted on her white charger, preceded by the sacred banner, and followed by her chaplain and a long line of priests bearing crosses and relics. The poor people who came trooping in from all the country round about crowded upon her path; and when they could not have the supreme felicity of touching her hand, or knee, or foot, they were happy at being able to touch the horse she rode on.

All warlike operations were wisely suspended until the return of the Bastard, who, in a few days, was seen marching along the right bank of the Loire with a complete army. At this welcome sight Joan made a *sortie* with a great part of the garrison to meet him, and make his way more easy. The English remained motionless in their bastilles, and let her pass. Some of the men cried "There goes the witch;" but others began to think that, after all, her marvellous power might be from above. This was by far the worse horn of the dilemma. The Bastard's reinforcement entered Orleans preceded by Joan and the priests. The Maid was told that Sir John Fastolf was again on his way to Orleans with troops and provisions for the besiegers. "Bastard," said the Maid, "in God's name let me know when he cometh, that I may deal with him." The Bastard assured her that she should receive timely notice. "If I do not," said Joan, "and if this Fastolf pass without my knowing it, I will cut off your head." She was irritated by seeing that measures were adopted on military principles without, or contrary to, her advice; and she probably knew, that though he spoke her fair before her face, the Bastard, when alone with his friends, laughed at her and her mission. On the same day, Joan, who had lain down to rest, suddenly awoke, sprung from her bed, and called for her arms. Her voices, she said, told her to go out and fight the English, but whether they meant the reinforcements under Fastolf, or the English in the bastilles, she knew not. She took her banner in her own hand, and rode to one of the gates. Here she saw a wounded man brought in. "Ha!" she exclaimed, "I can never see the blood of a Frenchman without my hair standing on end." Here also she learnt that an irregular sortie had been made, and that the French had been repulsed in an attack on one of the bastilles. She instantly resolved to head a fresh attack in person; and, as the moment was

favourable, the Bastard hurried to join her in force. The Maid led the assault with the intrepidity of a veteran; the French followed her with enthusiasm; and, after a desperate fight of three hours, the bastille of Saint-Loup was carried. No quarter was given; but Joan tenderly regretted that so many English should perish without confession and absolution. On the next day there was no fighting, because it was the festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; but Joan caused another letter to be thrown into the English lines, and stood on the ramparts to hear what they would say to it. They called her so many foul names, that she wept with shame and vexation; but she presently said, that her invisible voices spoke comfort to her ear, and brought her news from heaven. She proclaimed through the city that no soldier should dare follow her to the field on the morrow that had not previously confessed his sins; and to set a good example, she took the sacrament in public. The plan now adopted proceeded, however, not from her miraculous inspiration, but from a council of war. It was resolved to make a feigned attack on the right bank; and while the English were gathering on that side, to fall suddenly upon the bastilles on the left bank. Although this combined movement was awkwardly executed, Joan crossed the river, took one of the bastilles by assault, and passed the night on the left bank. On the following day she had a furious quarrel with Gaucourt, the governor of Orleans, and other great captains, who still wished to proceed cautiously, while Joan insisted, that, without caring for the right bank, the whole might of the French should be poured out on the left to reduce the formidable position of the Tournelles. Gaucourt would have opposed her will by open force, but the people of the town and the common soldiers, who were all for the Maid, rose against him, threatening him and his friends with death. Joan, therefore, had her way; and while she fell upon the Tournelles from the land-side with an overwhelming force, the citizens attacked from the side of the river in boats and on the bridge, which they had repaired with planks and trunks of trees. The grand assault commenced two hours before noon; but notwithstanding their superstitious fears, the English fought most bravely, and repulsed their countless assailants. Another assault was made; but again the French were slaughtered in the breach, or hurled from the wall. The fire of their guns, and still more the flight of the English arrows, several times cleared both bank and bridge. About two hours after noon, when the French seemed quite disheartened, Joan herself planted a scaling ladder, and mounted the wall: she was struck by an arrow in the neck, and fell as if dead into the ditch. The difference of half an inch would have made all the difference between victory and defeat; the arrow wound was not mortal, and Joan was drawn out of the ditch by a valiant knight, and carried to the rear. While they were drawing out the arrow, she yielded to the weakness of her sex, and shrieked and wept; but when the first anguish was assuaged, she fell into earnest prayer, and then she heard over all the din of battle those voices that were sweeter than music. The English, who believed her dead, were confounded at seeing her presenting herself again at the edge of the ditch, urging on the French to the assault. They now felt assured that she was more than mortal; and as the superstitious panic spread, some of the men fancied they saw St. Michael the arch-angel, the patron saint of the city of Orleans, riding on a white horse, and fighting for the French. But what, perhaps, was even worse than this, in a military point of view, was, the notable circumstance that they had used nearly all the gunpowder and arrows they had with them in the fort. Thus reduced to comparative inaction, the English were assaulted from the bank and from the bridge, at the same moment. After defending the post like lions, Sir William Gladesdale and all his knights were slain. Then the French became masters of the tottering walls of the Tournelles, which were heaped within and without with piles of dead bodies. Scarcely an Englishman of any condition whatever escaped, but for every one that fell, there had fallen at least ten Frenchmen; so that Joan's miracle was not achieved without cost. That evening she entered the city in triumph by the bridge which had been for so many months a closed passage. That night a council of war was held in the English camp; and the Earl of Suffolk, Talbot, and the other captains, agreed that the siege should be raised. They were, however, most anxious to preserve the high military reputation of their country which had been won in so many fields; and, as morning dawned, they left their towers and entrenchments, and drew out in open array, hoping to tempt the triumphant army within Orleans to come forth and give them battle. Inferior as they were in numbers, they were quite ready to face Joan—whether harlot, witch, or prophetess—if she would meet them on a fair field. Joan was willing enough to gratify them in this respect, but she was suffering from her wounds, and had no intimation from her celestial voices. After waiting for some time, the English burnt or blew up their works, and marched on the road to Paris, retiring in perfect order with their colours proudly flying. Thus was raised the memorable siege of Orleans, on the 8th of May, 1429.*

Suffolk did not retreat far. Leaving the Paris road, he threw his men into different castles in the neighbourhood of the Loire, and then, trusting to the arrival of reinforcements from the Duke of Bedford, he shut himself up in Jargeau, only a few miles from Orleans. But he was attacked sooner than he expected. As soon as the siege was raised, Joan went from Orleans to meet King Charles, who, as usual, had kept himself aloof from danger. She was received with great honour by the court; and the courtiers proposed

* Hist. de la Pucelle.—Monstrelet.—Villaret.—Barante.

to regale her with feasts and entertainments. But Joan told them, that it was no season for piping and dancing,—that there was much work to do,—and that she had but a short time upon earth to do it. It is said that she predicted that she would die within a year. She did what she could to persuade Charles to set out instantly for Rheims, without caring for the English and the Bourguignons that lay between him and that city of coronations.

Charles did not immediately adopt this advice; but he was induced to put on his armour, and to show himself to his people as an active soldier for the first time in his life. He collected all his forces on the right bank of the Loire. Within four weeks, the white banner of the Maid was unfurled before Jargeau, and in ten days it was planted on the tower of that fortress. In this affair the Earl of Suffolk was made prisoner, and Joan had another narrow escape; for, as she mounted to the assault, she was struck on the head, and precipitated into the ditch. The Lord Talbot drew out the troops from the castles and garrisons in which they had been placed by Suffolk, and continued the retreat towards Paris. After taking possession of the places thus vacated, the French pursued him. Being met by a reinforcement of four thousand men, Talbot halted at Patay, but the French also were reinforced from every side, and even the disgraced Constable, the Count Richemont, marched with an army of Bretons to join the king, against whom he had so recently waged war. Charles remembered how the count, had murdered his favourites; and Tremoille was still with the king, and the chief director of his council. So violent was the feeling against Richemont, that the king at first refused to receive him, and even sent him word, that if he approached, he would cause him and his troops to be attacked as though they were English. There were, however, many prudent men in the royal camp, who thought that past grievances ought to be forgotten; and most of the knights and esquires began to say that they would much rather follow an approved warrior like the count than all the maids in the world. It was therefore decided, in spite of the king and Tremoille, that the Constable should be welcome. There had been a whisper that Joan had undertaken to attack him in the name of Charles. When they met, the Constable said to her, "Joan, they say you wish to fight me; I am ignorant whether you are from God or not; if you are from God, I fear you not—if you are from the devil, I fear you still less." These words made a great impression—for it was known that Richemont had a keen eye in matters of witchcraft, and that he had burnt a great many witches in Brittany.

With all their forces and their recent successes, the majority of the French captains were still rather unwilling to risk a pitched battle with the English in the open field; they were awed by the great skill of the enemy in disposing their troops in such encounters, and by the recollection of Azincourt, Crevant, and Verneuil. "We had better wait," said they, "for more horse." "Have you good spurs?" said Joan;—"ride on, in the name of the Lord, and conquer! The English are delivered over into my hands—you have but to smite them." And it was owing to the absolute will of the Maid, and the confidence the common men had in her, that the French were induced to fight the battle of Patay. Sir John Fastolf, who had brought up the reinforcements, was of opinion that the English ought to decline the battle, and retreat to some strong fortresses in their rear; and this, because, as he well remarked, the men were disheartened by the recent occurrences at Orleans, and had not yet recovered from their superstitious fears. But Talbot thought it would be ridiculous and disgraceful to turn their backs upon the French, whom they had so constantly seen flying before them. The country about Patay was level and open, with nothing but a village, or a young wood, scattered here and there. Talbot, when aware that the French were approaching, made a movement, in order to derive advantage from a village and some thick hedges; but he was too late, and before he could gain the position his skilful eye had chosen, the van of the French army, led on by La Hire and Saintrailles, charged into the midst of his moving columns, allowing them no time to form. The archers could not even fix their stakes, and they were disordered and mixed up with the enemy's horse, before they could bend their bows. The main body of the French closely followed the van; and when they saw that it was not repulsed, and that the English were in such a disorder as they had never seen them in before, they also charged with great spirit and confidence. The division under Sir John Fastolf turned and retreated without fighting. Those that remained with Talbot could never recover themselves or form with any effect. The archers were slaughtered in heaps; the horsemen spurred from the field, seeking safety in flight. The brave Talbot, who scorned such an expedient, was made prisoner, and with him were taken Lords Scales, Hungerford, and many other noble captains. Twelve hundred English remained dead on the field. The Regent, in his first rage at what he unjustly deemed the cowardice of Fastolf, deprived that captain of the honour of the garter; but Fastolf pleaded that it would have been a sure seeking of disgrace and destruction to lead men so utterly dispirited and panic-stricken as his were into battle, and that this conviction, and no other motive, was the cause of his sounding a timely retreat. The veteran was believed, as he well deserved to be, and the garter was restored to him. The French were intoxicated with their unwonted success, and as proud of the battle of Patay as if they had gained it with an inferior force. They could not conceal their exultation from their noble captives. "Well, Talbot," said the Duke d'Alençon, "you did not expect this, this morn-

ing." "It is the fortune of war," said the English veteran, without any emotion.*

Immediately after the battle, the Maid of Orleans rode to the king, who, though he had taken the field, still kept his precious person far from the scenes of actual warfare. She now insisted on his undertaking the journey to Rheims; for, putting aside the influence on the public mind which such a march would produce, Joan had no idea of a king, unless he were anointed and crowned in the proper place. Charles still hesitated, and many of the persons about him found good reasons for delaying the journey. It would be wiser, they said, to make sure of the ground they had gained, and reduce several strong fortresses on the right bank of the Loire which the English still held. They represented that the wide tract of country which lay between them and Rheims was almost entirely in obedience to the King of England or the Duke of Burgundy, and that such an expedition would be full of danger and difficulty. The Maid reproved them for their lack of faith: she told them that the relieving of Orleans was not an easy task; that Orleans had been relieved; that none of them expected to take the Earl of Suffolk, and yet Suffolk was their prisoner; that they had been afraid of fighting the battle of Patay, and yet that battle had been won; and, finally, she repeated her old assurances that she was guided by heavenly counsels, and that the powers entrusted to her knew no limits, as they were the powers of heaven. Seeing that no reinforcements arrived from England, and that Bedford was beginning to concentrate near Paris all the army that remained to him, Charles took heart, and resolved to follow the Maid to Rheims. Joan laboured hard to perfect the reconciliation with the Count of Richemont, the Constable, who wished to be of the journey; but the king and the favourite, La Tremoille, were still implacable; and the Constable received orders not to attend. The king even said that he would rather not be crowned at all than see Richemont at his coronation. Many other noble knights were dismissed by La Tremoille, whose greatest fear at this critical moment was, that a cabal might he formed against him to drive him from his post of chief minister and favourite. He refused the services of many of the poorer sort who kept flocking to the royal standard because he had no money to pay them. In spite, however, of these reductions, Charles set out on his flying expedition with a considerable force, composed entirely of horse. La Hire and Saintrailles led the van; the rear was formed of provincial gentlemen of no great name, but who were good patriots, and of respectable burghers from the cities of the south, who all rode their own small horses, and brought their own provisions. The important town of Auxerre made a submissive treaty. From Auxerre Charles marched to Troyes, in the hope that the weak garrison of five or six hundred Bourguignons would surrender to his army of eight or nine hundred men. But the Bourguignons shut the gates of Troyes, and bade him defiance. Charles was not provided with artillery, and his troops were not inclined to make an assault by scaling the walls. For five days he lay before the town doing nothing. During this time, most of his troops suffered cruelly from want of provisions; and the ill humour which arose had well-nigh proved fatal, not only to the expedition, but also to the Maid of Orleans, whom the men began to apostrophise as a foul impostor. Even many of the captains advised Charles to return, and the Archbishop of Rheims, who had never thought much of Joan's supernatural mission, now openly expressed his doubts and misgivings. The Maid was summoned almost like a criminal to the bar to give an account of herself to the royal council; but her earnest eloquence again relieved her from all dangerous suspicions, and she made the leaders of the army agree to storm the walls as best they could. On the sixth day they began to fill the ditch with bags of earth and fagots, and to prepare scaling ladders; but the citizens of Troyes were lukewarm in the cause of the Duke of Burgundy, the garrison was weak, and the priests of the town were numerous, influential, and inclined to the cause of the king. Chiefly by means of a certain Friar Richard, a powerful preacher, negotiations were opened with the besiegers, and Troyes was quietly surrendered to Charles, who agreed to let the garrison depart with all the honours of war. When Joan was about to enter the town, she was met by Brother Richard, who rapidly made many signs of the cross, and sprinkled holy water on the threshhold of the gate; for the friar was not quite certain that she might not be an evil spirit, and the good people were sorely afraid of her. But as the Maid stood this proof, she was instantly proclaimed as an angel. Friar Richard then attached himself to the king's service, and induced, by his eloquent preaching, the people of several towns to declare for Charles, and drive out their Bourguignon garrisons. From Troyes, Charles marched to Rheims, where the people, greatly alarmed at all they heard of the miraculous Maid, rose in his favour, expelled all the officers and friends of Bedford and Burgundy, and threw open their gates at his approach. On the 15th of July, 1429, escorted by Joan and a host of priests, Charles made his solemn entrance into Rheims; and, two days after, he was anointed and crowned in the cathedral church. Next to himself, the most conspicuous figure in this ceremony was Joan of Arc, who stood close by his side, bearing aloft her white standard. When the king was crowned, she threw herself at his feet in tears, and all present wept when they heard the words she uttered:—"Gentle king, now is accomplished the will of God, who would have you come hither to Rheims, to receive your consecration, and show you that you are the true king, to whom the kingdom of France rightly belongs." Not one of the peers of France was present at this coronation; but the

* Monstrel.—Mémoires de Richemont.—Villaret.—Stow.

spontaneous joy and enthusiasm of the people gave to it the character of a national celebration.*

Joan had caused a letter to be written to the Duke of Burgundy a few weeks before, requesting or commanding him to attend the coronation of his lawful sovereign; and on the day after that ceremony, she again addressed Philip, with the full consent of Charles's ministers, who knew the differences and jealousies that existed between the Duke and Bedford, and who hoped that he might be detached from the English alliance. Joan's letter, like all those written in her name, began with the words, "Jhesus Maria," written under a cross. On the part of the King of Heaven, she required the duke to make peace, and live in friendship with the King of France: she told him that it was monstrous in him to make war against his cousin and liege lord, and to shed the blood of loyal and Christian Frenchmen; that if he loved war, there were the Turks whom he might go and fight. She added, in the name of the gentle king, that he, Charles, was ready and willing to be reconciled on any conditions, saving his honour, and that the peace and happiness of France depended entirely upon him, Duke Philip. The duke was probably not much affected by this letter, but many of his soldiers were uneasy at a prediction in it—that they would never gain another victory so long as they fought on the English side. Joan and Friar Richard gained more towns and fortresses for the king than several brave armies could have done in the same short space of time. Wherever Joan carried her white banner, the people saw swarms of beautiful white butterflies fluttering about it, and so they opened their gates to the miraculous visitant. The friar was scarcely less prevalent—sometimes winning a triad of towns by one eloquent discourse in the pulpit. It should be said, to the honour of both, that they strenuously inculcated lessons of religion and morality, representing to the lords as well as to the people, that it was the wickedness of the land that had brought down the judgment, and that the judgment was to be averted only by penitence and reformation.

Soon after his coronation, instead of being obliged to return to the Loire as he had expected, Charles was enabled to march from Champagne into the Isle of France. Town after town surrendered to him as he advanced. It was seldom that any attempt was made at resistance, and when there was any such attempt, instead of battering the walls with cannon, the friar assailed them with sermons, or the Maid showed her white banner, and that was generally enough to make the people rise upon their Burgundian garrisons and open the gates to Charles. Where, however, the garrison was composed of native English, matters were not quite so easily managed, for their ignorance of his language made them proof against the sermons of Friar Richard, and they still held the Maid as a foul witch. At several places Joan narrowly escaped being made prisoner and burnt, for the men had made up their minds to treat her in the fashion in which witches were treated in all Christian countries whenever they should catch her. At the same time, notwithstanding the accomplishment of all her prophecies and the advantages they still gained through her, many of the French captains treated her with great coldness, and even with harshness, for they were weary of hearing every success attributed, not to them, the flower of the chivalry of France, but to the Maid of Orleans. Some foul attempts were made to commit her character for modesty and chastity, but these Joan defeated with the rage of a tigress. It appears clearly that she now kept the field against her inclination, and an inward conviction that she had done all that she had been appointed to do. Immediately after the coronation, she besought Charles to let her depart in peace, now that he was consecrated at Rheims and her mission fulfilled. She several times repeated the request with tears in her eyes, but Charles always found good arguments to detain her: he resolved not to part with the Maid as long as her name and presence could be of any use to him. When Joan was asked what she proposed to do with herself, she said that she would return to her native village,—to her father and mother, who longed to see her again,—and that there she would tend the flocks and herds as she had done before. This modesty—this absence of all worldly ambition—gained her fresh consideration, and touched the hearts of some who had been disposed to consider her as a lucky impostor hunting after wealth and honours. Her voices, however, made themselves less frequently heard, and as the operations became more complicated, they gave her contradictory suggestions, at least Joan frequently hesitated and varied in her opinions, which she had never done before.*

The Regent, Bedford, had done his best to prop the fast-falling dominion won by his great brother, but he was badly seconded by the government in England. He repeatedly represented to the council the great mischief doing through that "limb of the devil" (so he called Joan of Arc), and the straits to which he was reduced for want of money: he never spoke in despair of the cause, but, like a brave and confident man, full of hope and energy—like one never doubting of the justice of the cause, for in this respect the illusion endured to the last, and even survived defeat and disgrace. But in the English council there was perpetual discord and dissension, kept up chiefly by the jealousy and hatred which existed between the Regent's brother, the Duke of Gloucester, and his great uncle Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, who, after a short retirement, had resumed his post in the government. It was enough for one of these rivals to propose any measure to ensure the fierce opposition of the other; nor could they

* Monstrel. — Chron. de la Pucelle.—Documents nd original MSS. quoted by Lebrun des Charmettes, and Laverdy.

* Monstrel.—Barante.

agree even when the honour of their country was at stake. The enormous wealth of Beaufort, who, many years before this, was styled the "rich bishop," almost justifies a suspicion that there was a great peculation of the revenues of the state, and it was known that the cardinal, like old Odo, the brother of William the Conqueror, entertained the hope of raising himself to the popedom by means of his money. He had lent some large sums for the carrying on of the French war, but now he was not disposed to make fresh loans,* nor could Bedford procure money from the national exchequer, which was represented as poor and embarrassed, having enough to do to meet the expenses at home. As there was no raising of troops without money, Bedford got no reinforcements, and he was obliged to weaken his garrisons in Normandy in order to keep on foot a respectable force at Paris. Now, however, he received a small army, which Beaufort had raised by his own means, and for a very different purpose. The cry for religious reform which had been raised in England by Wycliffe was echoed in Bohemia and part of Germany, a few years after his death, by John Huss, an eloquent preacher, who formed a sect too powerful to be put down at once by the ordinary means of the gibbet, the block, and the fagot. The pope excommunicated them in a mass, and preached a crusade against them. All the Christian princes and people of Europe were invited to embark in this holy war, and the zealous Cardinal Beaufort got together two hundred and fifty men-at-arms, and about two thousand stout English archers, whom in spite of his years he determined to lead in person into Bohemia for the uprooting of heresy. But when the cardinal landed on the continent and saw the difficulties to which Bedford was reduced, he agreed, after some feigned hesitation, to join this force to the army of the Regent. About the same time some English knights collected a few retainers, and passed over into France, but their united number was very inconsiderable, and other adventurers were deterred by finding that the coffers of the Regent were empty. To fill them Bedford cast an eye on the rich possessions of the church of France.† It was but a glance, and seeing the difficulties, he did absolutely nothing except giving the alarm to a sensitive body. Hitherto he had had a strong party among the bishops and great abbots (the poor clergy were better patriots), but his friends now began to fall from his side, although at first secretly. The Duchess of Bedford, who was sister to the Duke of Burgundy, exerted her influence to reconcile her husband and brother. Duke Philip went to Paris, and had another long and friendly conference with the Regent: by mutual consent, the solemn treaties which bound them to one another were read in public, and so also was a circumstantial account of the atrocious murder of John Sans-peur on the bridge of Montereau. This was done to revive the horror men had felt; and it was asked what confidence could ever be placed in such manifold traitors as the murderers, who were still, almost to a man, with Charles "styling himself Dauphin." The character of Charles was not spared in the conversations of the English and their partisans; they declared him a coward and traitor, as guilty of the murder of Duke John at Tanneguy Duchâtel, and they renewed their old assertions, in which, at the least, there was great probability that he was not the son of the insane Charles VI., but of one of the infamous Isabella's many paramours. After a short visit, Duke Philip quitted Paris, leaving only a weak reinforcement of seven hundred men with the Regent; and very soon after, when Charles was approaching Paris, he received an embassy from him at Arras, and listened anew to overtures for a separate peace. He found, however, that he could not yet make a sufficiently advantageous bargain, and many of his most powerful adherents were not yet in a state of mind to tolerate a reconciliation with the detested Armagnacs. As is not uncommon, the personal animosities of the people remained in full vigour when their leaders, in policy, inclined to peace. Philip's plan now appears to have been to afford Bedford just such a degree of support as would prevent his being crushed (for he knew the danger of permitting Charles to be too triumphant while his terms were yet unsettled), and never to give him force sufficient to strike a decisive blow. The Regent could never collect more than ten thousand men; at times his army did not amount to half that number. The consequences of his weakening the garrisons in Normandy, and of Charles's advance to the same quarter, were inevitable. Insurrections broke out; great lords who had made separate treaties with the English took up arms for Charles; some towns overpowered their garrisons; others were taken by assault; and the banner of independence was planted in several important places on the Norman coast. Although very uncertain of the disposition of the populace of Paris, who in part were beginning to forget the horrors they had committed on the Armagnacs, and the spirit of vengeance which their butcheries had excited among the partisans of Charles, Bedford had been obliged to make more than one march into Normandy to provide for the security of that most important conquest. But the time was now come when he must face King Charles, whose forces made incursions to the very gates of Paris. As he advanced from the capital, the French retreated and fled so rapidly that there was no coming up with them. There was a great want of money on that side also, and Charles, who was never brave, proposed instantly retreating to his old positions on the Loire, but his wife and the Maid reasoned against this measure, and the Bastard of Orleans and other captains

* It appears, however, that the cardinal afterwards lent some money to Henry VI. to carry on the war in France. The cardinal had made a bargain, apparently before leaving England, with the council of government, who gave their *bond* for a thousand marks, and engaged to excuse him to the pope.

† Monstrel.

vowed that they would not follow the king in that direction. Being unable to find Charles, Bedford sent him a letter. He reproached him with deluding the ignorant people by means of a female—an impostor and prostitute—and an apostate friar; he required him to give him a personal meeting: if it could be proved that any reliance could be put in the word of one who had betrayed the late Duke of Burgundy, and stained himself foully with blood, then he, Bedford, would be ready to conclude a peace on reasonable conditions; but otherwise he would fight him in single combat in order that the quarrel might end, and the world see whose cause was the just one. To this letter Charles sent no answer. About the middle of August, when neither force expected it, the two armies came suddenly in sight of each other near Senlis. The English, who were very inferior in number, took up positions in front of the French at a very short distance from them. The French kept their ground, but would not attack, and the English were determined not to begin the battle. The spirit of the latter had greatly revived; their superstitious dread of Joan was wearing out by use and familiarity; but they saw that the French had become cautious in the field, had condescended to employ large bodies of archers, and had adopted much of their own tactics and discipline. All this rendered their superiority in number a more serious consideration than it had been in former times.

Many of the hot-headed French knights wanted to attack, but when the more prudent captains cast their eyes along the English lines, and observed the firm countenance of the men and the masterly arrangements of Bedford, they declared that this was not a thing to be thought of. Some cavalry was detached to skirmish round the positions of the English, in the vain hope of tempting the troops to leave them. Troops of horse rode out to meet these assailants, and many fierce encounters took place; but the rest of Bedford's army, though eager for the fight, obeyed the voice of their general, and remained motionless. Then the Maid was asked whether the French might quit their posts and engage; but her voices gave no consistent advice; and still Charles was unwilling to risk his crown in a general engagement of any kind. For three days the two armies thus lay facing each other, and then each marched off the field by its own road. Many lives were lost in the skirmishes, where no quarter was given. A body of Picards fought very bravely for the English, and were more inveterate against the Armagnacs than were the English.

Bedford marched again into Normandy, which was invaded by the Constable Richemont. When he was at some distance Charles turned round upon Paris, with the hope of taking it during the Regent's absence. Beauvais, St. Denis, and other places in the neighbourhood of the capital, opened their gates to him, and, with the view of inducing the people of Paris to do the same, he published a general amnesty, and made the most brilliant promises to his good and loyal city. But the walls of Paris were defended by a small but determined garrison of English, and the populace had not yet made up their minds to receive the Armagnacs. It was then resolved to try the effect of force, and on the 12th of September an assault was made on the fauxbourg or suburb of St. Honoré. The Maid of Orleans was foremost in scaling the walls, but her white banner was no longer victorious; she was wounded and thrown down into the ditch, where her repulsed companions basely abandoned her. She crawled out of the ditch, and lay for some time alone among the dead; for the cannons, culverins, and arrows of the English were very active, and made great havoc among the assailants. Then rising, she waved her banner, and cheered on the men to a fresh assault. The soldiers lost heart, and soon fell back by troops, until she was again left alone. Some better spirits, ashamed to see a woman stand her ground while the mass of the army skulked behind some mounds of earth, where they were safe from the enemy's fire, moved forward and tried another assault, but they were driven back in the greatest confusion and fled, forcing the Maid with them. It was now evening, and the whole force marched away to St. Denis, where Charles had remained the whole day.* It was evident that Joan's influence was fast declining, and that even the common soldiers were no longer for her. A few days before the unsuccessful attack on Paris she had found some of the men committing shameful disorders, and she beat them soundly with the flat of her sword until the weapon broke in her hand. It was the miraculous blade marked with the five crosses, which she had discovered in the church of St. Catherine at Fierbois, and which she had worn ever since. She was grieved at the accident; but, as for the soldiers, they were disposed to think that her virtue lay in her sword, and that it departed from her when that sword was broken. Besides, they were weary of her rigid system of morals. Captains as well as men laid the whole blame of their recent failure upon her. "You are a false prophetess!" they cried: "you said we should have slept this night in Paris." "And so you would," said Joan, "if you had fought as I fought!" But she was not blind to what was passing; and smarting with her wound, and a keener pang within, she again resolved to withdraw from an army and court where she had experienced little else than ingratitude. She even went to the abbey church and hung up her suit of white armour before the shrine of St. Denis; but again Charles found arguments to convince her that she ought to remain, for he fancied that she might still be of some little use, and at this moment he was very despondent. The miscarriage before Paris was sure to produce a moral effect detrimental to his interests. The people in the neighbourhood were already disgusted at the excesses and rapine committed by his unpaid troops, who were chiefly men

* Monstrel.—Lenglet.—Hist. de la Pucelle.—Barante.

of the south, and, as such, obnoxious to the prejudices of the people of the north, from whom they differed materially in language and manners. The burghers found that they had committed a mistake in opening their gates to these marauders,—the farmers concealed their produce, or carried it for safety into Paris. Charles had always drawn his main supplies from the country beyond the Loire, and he began to find a difficulty in subsisting at a distance from those provinces. Money was as scarce as ever; for want of it his troops were deserting; and Bedford, having done his business in Normandy, was advancing by forced marches. Charles therefore began a retreat, and scarcely halted until he had the Loire between him and the English regent. He left a few garrisons in the Isle of France, some of which were commanded by knights who enjoyed the friendship of the Duke of Burgundy, and who were instructed to do whatever they could to please and win over that prince. By the king's order, two or three of the towns which belonged to Duke Philip were delivered up to his officers. Bedford, who reached St. Denis soon after Charles's departure, marched into Paris in triumph, and there he was soon joined by his brother-in-law of Burgundy, who gave him the most consoling assurances of fidelity, and kept up a correspondence with the friends of Charles in the neighbourhood, at one and the same time. Soon after Bedford found himself obliged to resign the regency of France to Philip, who was further gratified by the payment of a large sum of money. Bedford withdrew to Normandy, where he retained the supreme command; and at the close of the year Philip left Paris for Flanders.

A.D. 1430.—During the winter months there was a nominal truce between the Bourguignons and the party of King Charles; and negotiations for the settlement of all differences were carried on by means of the Count of Savoy, some envoys of the emperor, and other agents. But still the Duke of Burgundy declined committing himself with the English, who had recently given him so much; and his faction in France was still as hostile as ever to the Armagnacs. Indeed, in spite of the truce, the Bourguignons continued to fight whenever they found an opportunity.*

Meanwhile Charles lay inactive at Bourges, where La Tremoille and his other ministers exhausted their wits in devising methods for raising money. Another miraculous woman was now presented, whose inspiration was wholly of a financial description. This was Catherine of La Rochelle, who promised the king an abundance of riches. Catherine did not pretend to fight, like Joan,—her *forte* lay in preaching, and in extracting money for the use of the king from those who possessed any. She announced that she could tell at a glance all those who had hidden treasures. She also had her visions, but these were rude and material compared with the celestial visitations of Joan, for she saw nothing but the figure of a single lady covered all over with massive gold. In truth, the whole affair was a vulgar parody of Joan's ideal and glorious monomania, and it was considered in this light, notwithstanding the wishes of the court. Joan accused Catherine of imposture; but Friar Richard, that other great warrior in this unmanly struggle, supported the new prophetess; and both declared a deadly enmity to the Maid of Orleans. During the winter months Joan laid siege to St. Pierre-le-Moutier and La Charité: the first she took after the display of all her former valour and enthusiasm, but she was repulsed at the latter.* At the opening of spring Charles moved from Bourges, and his army prepared to advance once more from the Loire to the Seine. It was accompanied by two prophetesses; for Charles did not think proper to dismiss Catherine of La Rochelle. Joan said that peace lay at the end of the lance, but her rival maintained, on the contrary, that it was only to be procured by treating with the Duke of Burgundy; and she offered to go and try the effects of one of her sermons upon that prince. Catherine's offer was declined; and Joan, with banner and lance, marched with the van of the army to the neighbourhood of Paris.

During the absence of the Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, a formidable conspiracy was arranged in favour of Charles; but it was discovered in time by the Bourguignons, who beheaded, drowned, or tortured to death a great number of the conspirators. A new plot was formed on Joan's approach; but this also was discovered, and all concerned in it were massacred by L'Isle Adam. After some unimportant skirmishes in the immediate neighbourhood of Paris, Joan marched to the relief of Compiegne, which was besieged by the people of Duke Philip. On approaching the town, she found that the duke had come up in person, and that he was pressing the siege with his whole army, assisted by a body of English under the command of Sir John Montgomery. She, however, fought her way into Compiegne with a considerable reinforcement. On the same day, the 25th of May, promising herself the same brilliant successes which had attended her at Orleans, she made a *sortie*, and fell upon the enemy's lines. She surprised one of their positions, and killed a great many men; but the whole Bourguignon force collected to a point and bore her back. With her usual intrepidity, she threw herself in the rear of her now flying host, and she several times drew rein, and, rallying some of her men, faced about and fought, in order to check the pursuers. In this manner, fighting and retreating, she nearly reached the edge of the town ditch, but there she was pulled from her horse by an archer, and her troops, without pausing to rescue her, fled over the drawbridge, and closed the gate upon her. Joan rose and tried to defend herself with a long sword, which she had taken from a Bourguignon warrior at Lagny, a few days before; but her

* Barante.—Villaret.

* During the winter Charles had ennobled the family of Joan, and had declared that her native village of Domremy should be for ever exempt from taxes.

efforts were fruitless—she was surrounded by her enemies—her friends made no sally to save her; and so, at last, she surrendered to the Bastard of Vendôme, who carried her in triumph to the quarters of the Bourguignons. All the captains of the army ran to gaze at the prisoner, nor was Duke Philip the last. This prince went to the lodgings where she was confined, and spoke many words with her; "but what they were," adds Monstrelet, "I do not now recollect, although I was present." The wonderful news was spread with the rapidity of lightning; the Bourguignons and the English sang *Te Deum* as if a great victory had been obtained; the ungrateful French deplored the loss for a season, but they made no effort to effect the release of the heroine by ransom, exchange of prisoners, or any other means. Three days after her seizure she was claimed, not by the Duke of Bedford, as generally stated, but by Friar Martin, doctor in theology, vicar-general of the Inquisitor of the Faith, in the kingdom of France. Martin, in right of the office he held under the pope, required that Joan called the Maid, who was accused of sundry crimes savouring strongly of heresy and witchcraft, should be instantly sent to him, that she might be tried by the Holy Inquisition. The Bastard of Vendôme, to whom Joan surrendered, had sold his prisoner to John of Luxembourg, who, without heeding Friar Martin's letter, sent Joan to his strong castle in Picardy, where, though closely guarded, she was treated with humanity. The University of Paris then took up the cause, and wrote to the Duke of Burgundy, imploring him to cause the Maid to be delivered to the Bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese she had been taken. The Duke took no more heed of the letter of the university than the count had taken of that of the inquisitor. Then the Bishop of Beauvais, who was a great foe to witchcraft, and a great friend of the English, took the cause into his own hands, and sent apostolic notaries to signify to the Duke of Burgundy, in presence of his captains, that he must deliver up the Maid, who, he said, could, in no sense, be considered or treated as a prisoner of war. A similar notification was served in the same manner on John of Luxembourg, who, after some months, sold Joan to the bishop for ten thousand francs.

In the interval, Duke Philip had returned into Flanders, leaving the Sires de Brimeu, de Lannoy, and de Saveuse, to prosecute the siege of Compiegne. But that place was strong, and well defended, and the siege was raised by the Marshal of Boussac, who came up with a very superior force, the principal army of Charles. The Duke was detained in the Low Countries till the approach of winter. The emissaries of King Charles had stirred up his subjects of Liege to revolt; and when Philip, not without great loss, had reduced these to obedience, he became occupied by another disputed succession. As he was the strongest, he had the best of the argument, and he annexed Brabant to his other vast possessions. But while he was gaining these advant[illegible] in Flanders, he suffered defeat in France. [illegible] had concluded a treaty with the Count of Sa[illegible] that former friend of Charles, who agreed to [illegible]h an army into France, and to divide the so[illegible] of that kingdom with the Duke of Burgundy. [illegible] sent an army into the provinces beyond th[illegible]e, under the command of the Prince of Or[illegible] who carried everything before him, and threa[illegible] Dauphiny, the Lyonnese, and even Langued[illegible] Those provinces, which had been so devoted t[illegible]les, were exhausted by the long war, and cou[illegible] resistance; but the royalists had secu[illegible] vices of the celebrated Spanish adventurer, [illegible]drada, who threw himself into the south with some companies composed of Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, and Germans. These companies of adventure, in conjunction with a French force under the Sire de Gaucourt, obtained a splendid victory at Authon over the Prince of Orange, who was obliged to evacuate the southern provinces. This defeat wholly disconcerted the scheme formed with the Count of Savoy. In the month of November, the Duke of Burgundy returned into France; but he undertook no great enterprise, and winter was passed in petty skirmishes or in idleness. In the skirmishes the Bourguignons and the English were several times defeated by La Hire and Saintrailles. The whole country between the Loire and the Seine was kept in a frightful state of disorder, being constantly ravaged and plundered by armed bands, who neither acknowledged the authority of Charles nor that of the English.

A.D. 1431.—Meanwhile the unfortunate Joan languished in prison: her friends forgot her; her enemies, who conceived her to be the cause of all their reverses, longed to reduce her to ashes. All the English, and at least one half of the French, firmly believed that all she had done had been by the direct aid of the devil. So strong was this feeling in Paris that they burnt alive a poor woman of Brittany for merely saying that she believed Joan's inspiration proceeded from heaven. After being confined successively in the castles of Beaurevoir, Arras, and Crotoy, she was transferred, at the end of six months, to Rouen, where, according to some accounts, the English loaded her with chains and shut her up in an iron cage. The Bourguignons, as well as the English, clamoured for her death; and the learned doctors of the University of Paris represented that religion would be in danger if sorcery and dealing with the devil were permitted to go unpunished. The Bishop of Beauvais claimed the right of conducting her trial, and this claim was formally admitted and confirmed by the clergy of Rouen and the University of Paris. The Duke of Bedford was desirous that the trial should be conducted in such a manner as to make a great impression on the whole kingdom, and the Bishop of Beauvais summoned priests, and lawyers, and lettered men from far and near. Upwards of a hundred doctors assembled to exercise their ingenuity in detecting

impossible crimes; but some of these men grew weary of the long business, others were excluded by the bishop, and, towards the end, not more than forty sat in judgment. It is difficult to conceive how such a process could be conducted according to any of the rules of reason or justice; but it appears that even as a witch trial, and even according to the code of frightful superstition then in vogue, the matter was most unfairly managed. For sixteen days she was sharply interrogated by men who were ready to detect a lurking devil in everything she said, and who cross-examined her, and twisted her words with all the adroitness of the schools. Though frequently puzzled by the long, hard words they used, and by polemical demonstrations, to her perfectly unintelligible, Joan, unsupported by any one, pleaded her cause with great spirit, at times confounding the doctors with her prompt and clear replies and her plain good sense, for still, on all points but one, she was perfectly rational. Whenever the Bishop of Beauvais saw that her simple eloquence was producing an effect, he raised his voice angrily and silenced her. The principal object in view was to terrify or entrap her into an avowal that she had been labouring under an illusion, and that she now knew that the spirits which had appeared to her were spirits of darkness; but Joan maintained that they were angels from heaven, and that neither the devil nor any of his ministers could have power over a virgin like herself. She made a strong stand on this position, and the judges were obliged to take up the scandal of the camp and to say that she was no maid. Her wearing of man's attire was held to be contrary to Scripture, and a very pernicious heresy; but she replied that she wore that garb by the express order of heaven, signified to her repeatedly by the Archangel Michael, and by St. Catherine and St. Margaret. The defence was deemed more heretical than the offence. Her judges thought that there must have been a deal of magic in her white banner, which had so often led the troops of Charles to victory, and raised such a panic among the bravest of the English and Bourguignons. Joan said that there was nothing about the banner save the blessing of God, and that she had used it fairly in battle as other combatants used their lances. The prominent figure she had made at Rheims was considered as a grievous insult to the nobility of France, and as a circumstance full of mysterious meaning. They asked her how she dared to stand there with her banner raised. She replied, that, having shared in all the danger and the toil, it was but fair that she should partake of the triumph. When questioned touching her attachment to Mother Church, she said that her whole life bore witness in her favour,—that she had been constant to all its duties and ceremonies even in the midst of war and carnage; but they drew from her an assertion that she could not submit to the ministers of that church when her voices ordered the contrary. This was considered the worst heresy of all. The court drew up articles of condemnation and despatched them to the University of Paris and to several French prelates of the highest rank. All the faculties of the university, and all the bishops consulted, agreed that Joan was heretical, and an impious impostor, and, as such, deserving death by fire. Several of her judges were, however, averse to burning, and, though the French writers pretty generally accuse the English of pressing for this execution, there is more evidence to show that they would have been satisfied with a public exposure and imprisonment for life. From the beginning, Joan's own countrymen of the Bourguignon faction were the most eager for her destruction, and their hatred was singularly roused by her putting to death one of their favourite captains named Franquet, whom she had taken prisoner in the neighbourhood of Paris a few days before her own capture at Compiegne.*

After undergoing trying examinations in the court, the Maid was tormented in her cell by monks and confessors, who constantly represented that the church, which had tried her, was infallible in matters of faith, and that it was most merciful to those who recanted and submitted to its authority. These reasonings had their effect, and Joan was staggered at the array of bishops, doctors, and devout priests. She could hardly understand how such holy men could err, and, though there was plenty of time for such a measure, the bishops and priests of her own or the royalist party never set up a plea in her favour, or made any attempt to prove that she was a good Catholic. Indeed Charles and his friends forgot her at once, as a thing that had answered its purpose and was no longer of any use. It was infamous in her enemies to burn her, but it was more infamous in her friends to abandon her in this manner. On the 24th of May, Joan was brought up to hear her sentence. It was known that her mind was already wavering, and every means was adopted to render the scene imposing and terrific, in order to induce her publicly to acknowledge her errors. She was placed on a scaffold in the cemetery of Saint Ouen, and at a short distance stood a stake surrounded by fagots; the bishops and doctors sat in a gallery opposite to her, a dominican friar mounted a high pulpit to preach, and the executioner stood close by with his cart. The churchyard was crowded with French and English soldiers and citizens of Rouen. The preacher dwelt with vehement oratory upon the damnable sin of heresy, hitherto so little known in France, and he expressed his horror and astonishment that so christian a people as the French should have followed the delusions of an infamous loose woman. Joan listened in silence so long as the sermon turned upon her own character, but it was otherwise when the preacher attacked Charles, the man who "called himself king." "Speak of me," said the noble-minded enthusiast, "but sully not the fame of the king; he is good and royal; he is a christian,—the best in France."—"Make

* According to some accounts, Joan wished to save Franquet's life, but she was overruled by her more sanguinary companions.

her hold her tongue!" cried the Bishop of Beauvais. The Maid was silent, and the friar continued his discourse. In the end Joan submitted; a paper, containing a confession and renunciation of errors, was put into her hand, and, not knowing how to write, she signed it with a cross. Her punishment was commuted into perpetual imprisonment, and a penitentiary diet on the "bread of sorrow and the water of affliction." After being made to thank the church for its tender mercies, Joan was reconducted to her dungeon, where she put on the dress of her sex as she had agreed to do, her male attire being considered as one of the most detestable features of her heresy. But when bishops, doctors, friars, executioner, and stake had disappeared, her cell was again illumined by the miraculous light,—the saints and angels again appeared to her, and again she heard their voices floating on the stillness of night. She examined her own heart, and felt that she was still unconvinced by the arguments of the church—that she had meanly yielded to force and terror. She recalled all her former glories,—she longed again to have her foot in the stirrup and her hand on the white banner,—to be once more fighting for the independence of her country. By accident or design, the dress of a soldier was left in her prison, and one morning Joan was discovered wearing it. This circumstance was considered a sufficient proof that she had relapsed into heresy, and then it was determined that she should die. Her firmness again forsook her when she was told they were going to burn her alive; she said that she did not fear death by the sword, or the axe, or the rope, but that to be burnt was too horrible; and she tore her hair, and made loud lamentations. The Bishop of Beauvais asked her if she had heard her voices again? She replied that she heard them, and that they had told her she had done wrong to sign the paper presented to her by the churchmen. Even if it had been usual to show mercy to relapsed heretics, this would have been fatal to her. She was delivered over to the secular arm. On the 30th of May, seven days after her abjuration, she was put into the executioner's cart and carried to the old market-place of Rouen, in the centre of which was a stake, and on the sides of which were scaffoldings and galleries erected for the bishops, doctors, priests, captains, and other select spectators. At sight of the stake, and the fagots which they were heaping round it, she shuddered and wept; but by degrees she recovered her self-

Monument of Joan of Arc, in the Place de la Pucelle, at Rouen.

possession, and said that she hoped to be that night in paradise. The cart halted under the wooden gallery in which were seated the great Cardinal Beaufort and the French bishops. A monk delivered a short discourse, which reproached her with her backsliding, and which ended with these words:—"Go in peace, Joan; the church can no longer defend thee!" She knelt and prayed aloud, fervidly, though in tears. Much as he hated heresy, and hard-hearted as he was generally supposed to be, Cardinal Beaufort could not bear this lamentable spectacle; he rose from his seat and left the market-place, followed by several bishops, all shedding tears like himself. They covered her with the infernal livery of the Inquisition, and fixed on her head a black cap, which bore this inscription, "Heretic, Relapsed, Apostate, Idolator." They then forced her to the centre of the square, tied her to the stake, and set fire to the fagots. As the smoke and flames rose around her, Joan was seen embracing a crucifix, and the last word that she was heard to utter was the name of "Jesus." When the fire was burnt out, they carefully collected the ashes and threw them upon the placid surface of the river Seine, which flowed close by.*

The affairs of the English were not mended by the burning of the Maid of Orleans. Thinking to please the people of Paris, and to counteract some of the effects of the coronation at Rheims, they determined to get up another ceremony of the same kind. Young Henry, who had been crowned King of England at Westminster in the preceding year, was brought over to Paris to be crowned as King of France. His journey out of England had been for some time retarded by the poverty of the exchequer, and at last it had been found necessary to borrow money for the occasion. At one time it was proposed to conduct him from Paris to Rheims, where the regal unction was supposed to have more virtue; but this project was abandoned, owing to the dangerous state of the country, and, after many delays, he was crowned in the church of Notre Dame, at Paris, in the month of November, 1431. The ceremony was splendid, but there was no joy or enthusiasm on the part of the people: few of the great French lords attended; even the Duke of Burgundy was absent; and, instead of a French prelate, Henry's relative, Cardinal Beaufort, placed the crown on his head. Another discouraging symptom was, that the royal boy,—the son of a hero,—though now nine years old, was spiritless and unpromising. He departed for England almost immediately after, and narrowly escaped being made a prisoner by the partisans of King Charles during his journey.*

The utter disorder of affairs in England still prevented the sending of money or any considerable reinforcements to the Duke of Bedford; and the incurable madness of the French nobles clogged and impeded the opposite party, who were still poorer than the English. Charles led an errant life, apparently indifferent to the fate of his country, which suffered more from a lingering, irregular war, than it had done during more decisive conflicts. He was gay in the midst of his mistresses, and his courtiers were only made unhappy by the rancorous jealousies they entertained of one another. Now and then the scene was darkened by an assassination, such as we have already described.† The only consistent plan acted upon was that of detaching the Duke of Burgundy from his English alliance; and here a circumstance upon which they had no reason to count played into their hands. The Duchess of Bedford, the strongest connecting link between her husband and her brother, died in November, 1432. In the month of May of the following year Bedford espoused Jacquetta of Luxembourg, a princess to whom he was attracted both by policy and personal regard, for her family connexions were powerful. The Duke of Burgundy instantly complained that Bedford had acted unfairly in marrying Jacquetta, his vassal, without asking his consent; and that by marrying so soon he had shown a shameful disrespect to the deceased duchess, his very dear sister, and to all the members of her family. The Duke of Bedford could not tolerate the harsh reproaches of his ally, and the less so from his knowing that Philip had courteously received fresh envoys from Charles immediately after the death of his sister. Some attempts at reconciliation were made by Cardinal Beaufort, but they were of no avail; Philip wanted a pretext for quarrelling, having at last almost concluded a satisfactory bargain with King Charles. It was high time for him to think that he had taken vengeance enough for the murder of his father. During the fourteen years which had elapsed since the tragedy of Montereau, blood had been spilt like water in every corner of France; famine and pestilence, surpassing the horrors of the war out of

* Monstrel.—Chron. de la Pucelle.—Villaret.—Lebrun des Charmettes.—Laverdy.... M. Laverdy's work consists chiefly of extracts from ancient manuscripts in the Bibliothèque du Roi, at Paris, and contains full accounts of Joan's trials. The works of different kinds relating to the Maid are very numerous: M. Chaussard enumerates upwards of four hundred expressly devoted to her life or including details of her history. The fullest accounts of the Maid are derived from the revision of her trial, which took place twenty-four years after her death, by command of the Pope, who had been petitioned by Joan's mother Isabella. Many of the Maid's companions of all ranks, from the lowest to the highest, were at this time living, and bore witness to the purity of her life and the marvellousness of her exploits. As a strong reaction had taken place, and as no English witnesses were heard, the accounts of this trial may afford some room for cavil, but most of the facts may be safely admitted after a little deduction on the score of oratory and amplification. As a continuous narrative, full of the spirit and colour of the times, without any sceptical inquiry, and vividly dramatic, we know nothing superior to the story of Joan given by Barante in his Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne.

* Monstrel.

† In 1432-33 the Constable Richemont got up a plot against La Tremoille, the minister and favourite, whom he hated more than ever. One night, while the court was at the Castle of Chinon, the governor of that fortress, who was a partisan of Richemont, opened a postern gate, and admitted about fifty armed men into the chamber of La Tremoille. The favourite attempted to defend himself, and received a dagger wound, "which," say the chroniclers, "must have proved fatal had it not been for the fortunate circumstance that he had grown excessively fat." La Tremoille was then seized, bound, and carried off to a dungeon in the Castle of Montresor by his own nephew. After some time he recovered his liberty by paying a ransom of six thousand crowns. All this was transacted almost under the eyes of the king. But the most amusing part of the story is, that the Constable Richemont was considered a mirror of knightly worth, and he doubted himself whether, as a great warrior and generous conqueror, he could be better compared to Julius Cæsar or Alexander the Great.

which they sprung, had carried thousands and tens of thousands of Frenchmen to the grave; the Dauphin had been reduced at times to the condition of a vagabond and beggar, and his capital and kingdom had been occupied by his hereditary enemies, who had made his name a scorn and a byeword. As his passion cooled, Philip, a prince of the blood, could not avoid reflecting that the success of the English would cut off all his chances of succeeding to the throne of France. Some of his friends urged him from wise and patriotic motives, others from personal pique against Bedford and other English chiefs, who lost most of their partisans as soon as their remittances of English money failed them. To crown all, the Duke of Bedford's health was declining; and sickness, disappointment, and the daily exhibition of treachery, rendered him peevish and suspicious. Philip, however, affected scruples of conscience as to breaking the solemn oaths which bound him to the English. His brothers-in-law, the Duke of Bourbon and the Constable Richemont, who were now steady in the interests of Charles, suggested that the pope could remove this difficulty; and, in a private conference, they induced Philip to agree to the general mediation of the Church of Rome, which had made several fruitless endeavours to promote a peace. By degrees the English were persuaded to refer their cause to the same arbitration, never, it should seem, doubting of the legality of their claims or of the impartiality of the pope. Eugenius IV. entered actively into the business, and arranged a grand European congress, which assembled at Arras in 1435. The Duke of Burgundy summoned the nobility of all his states to his fair city of Arras; King Charles sent twenty-nine of his lords and ministers, the Duke of Bourbon and the Constable being at the head of them: the interests of England were defended by Cardinal Beaufort and twenty-six lords, one-half of whom were English, the rest French: the great council of Basil despatched the Cardinal of Cyprus, and the Pope was represented by the Cardinal of Santa Croce. In addition to all these negotiators there were ambassadors from the Emperor Sigismund, from the kings of Castille, Arragon, Portugal, Navarre, Naples, Sicily, Cyprus, Poland, Denmark, and the dukes of Brittany and Milan. The Duke of Savoy, who had played a conspicuous part in former negotiations as well as wars, sent no ambassadors, because he had lately grown weary of the sins of the world, and had retired to a sort of hermitage. Europe had not yet seen any assembly of the kind half so magnificent; and, before the diplomatists proceeded to business, Duke Philip entertained them with jousts, tournaments, mysteries, and feasts,—"for he was a very splendid prince, and cared not for expense." After the feasting came a course of sermons suited to the occasion; and then the Cardinal of Santa Croce opened the congress with a long speech, in which he dwelt on the duty of christian nations to live in peace and harmony with one another. It was soon made evident that the representative of the pope was wholly biassed in favour of King Charles; at the same time the English, though they saw the rapidly growing friendship between the Bourguignons and the French, maintained a high tone, and at last Cardinal Beaufort disavowed the authority of the congress, and retired in disgust. Matters then proceeded smoothly with those who remained. Fifteen days after the departure of the English negotiators the Duke of Burgundy concluded a treaty with Charles: the terms were, of course, most favourable to Philip. In the first article Charles expressed his regret and penitence for the murder of Duke John, "which had happened when he was young and inexperienced, and without sufficient authority." By the second article he agreed to abandon the men who had done that wicked deed, in order that they might be punished in person and in property,—to do all that was possible to arrest them,—and, failing in this, to banish them for ever from his dominions. By the fourth article Charles engaged to build a chapel at Montereau for the good of the soul of Duke John; and, besides other pious foundations, a stone cross upon the bridge over the very spot where the duke had fallen. But these articles were insignificant preludes to those which followed. Charles engaged to pay Philip the sum of four hundred thousand crowns, and to put him in immediate possession of sundry fortresses as security for this money: he also ceded to Philip and his heirs the county of Macon, Boulogne, the towns and castles of Péronne, Roye, and Montdidier, together with several other towns and castles on the river Somme, which latter Charles was to redeem with money if he thought fit. There were other conditions almost equally advantageous to Philip, who might indeed boast that he had forced his sovereign to an *amende honorable*.

As soon as the treaty was sealed the congress repaired to the church of St. Waast, where mass was celebrated with extraordinary pomp. When mass had been sung, the Cardinal of Santa Croce ordered the treaty to be read. Then, as it had been previously regulated, Jean Tudert, a Dean of Paris, advanced, and threw himself at the feet of the Duke of Burgundy, and begged pardon publicly, on the part of King Charles, for the murder of his father. The duke showed great emotion, raised the dean from the ground, embraced him, and promised that there never more should be war between him and King Charles. Then the Cardinal of Santa Croce, having placed a golden cross and the holy sacrament upon a cushion, made the Duke of Burgundy swear to forget and forgive the death of his father, and to live evermore in peace and friendship with the King of France. Then the two cardinals laid their hands upon the duke's head, and gave him full absolution for all the oaths he had sworn to the English. The Duke of Bourbon and the Constable swore upon the crucifix for Charles; and then followed a long process of swearing in the French and Burgundian lords,

who to a man had taken many contrary oaths on former occasions. One of them was touched by this reflection:—"It is with this hand," exclaimed Lannoy, "that I have already five times sworn to a peace during this war; these five oaths have all been broken; but, with God's help, I intend to keep this, my sixth oath."*

The Duke of Bedford did not live to see the conclusion of the memorable congress of Arras; he died at Rouen on the 14th of September, and was buried there in the cathedral.† Considering the difficulties with which he had to contend, and the condition of the government of England, he had maintained himself in France for thirteen years in a wonderful manner. The French hoped that his death, and the secession of the Duke of Burgundy, would lead to an immediate conclusion of the war; but in part through their own miserable follies, in part through the valour of those with whom they had to contend, it took them fifteen more long years to drive the English out of their kingdom. Three days after the signing of the treaty of Arras, Isabella, the queen-mother, one of the principal causes of all the evils which had happened, died at Paris in poverty and obscurity, despised alike by every party. The troops of Charles took Meulan, Pontoise, and other places on the Seine, while the English were left without a chief. In Normandy, Dieppe was surprised; and the people in several places were excited to insurrection by Richemont. When the French ventured too frankly into the open field they were several times defeated; but the English found enemies rising on every side, and they could no longer trust any of their sworn allies. The subjects of the Duke of Burgundy were not much disposed to assist their lord in a new war: the Flemings, among whom, on account of trade, the English had many friends, were almost in a state of revolt: the people of Burgundy were ruined already; and the greatest disaffection prevailed among the inhabitants of the towns on the Somme, which had been put into the possession of the duke by the treaty of Arras. Amiens rose in rebellion against him. But notwithstanding these circumstances, and a strong opposition on the part of some of his ministers and many of his lords, who greatly feared the consequences, Philip declared open war against the English. He sent some troops to join the army of Charles, and began to make immense preparations in Flanders for the siege of Calais, which place he intended to appropriate. He made use of all his influence over the people of Paris, in order to induce them to forget their old quarrel with the Armagnacs, and declare for the king. In the month of April, 1436, the Parisians opened their gates to the famous Burgundian chief, L'Isle Adam; and the weak English garrison, surprised and betrayed, was compelled to capitulate. The name of Charles was sung through all the streets; and the murderer, the bastard, the apostate, as he had been called in other times, was now declared to be the most innocent, legitimate, and religious of kings.

When the capital was lost, a successor to the Duke of Bedford arrived in the person of the Duke of York, who entertained secret views upon the crown of England, and who, from his position, was not entitled to entire confidence. York took with him a reinforcement of seven or eight thousand men; but the war no longer excited the English nation with dazzling visions of conquest and glory; the imprudent and impoverished government could no longer afford the same liberal pay to the soldiers; the hardy and respectable yeomen who had followed Henry V. with such enthusiasm, and who had filled the ranks of his archers with good will and merry hearts, no longer presented themselves, and the recruits were chiefly drawn from very inferior classes or conditions of men. The French said that these recruits were vagabonds, cut-purses, and paupers, the sweepings of the highways, prisons, and hospitals of England; and, doubtless, many of them were of no better origin; but, inferior as they were to the picked men that fought at Azincourt, they were not destitute of the hardy national spirit; and in the course of the ten following years the French were frequently made sensible of this fact. The gallant Talbot, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury, soon reduced the revolted towns in Normandy; he defeated a French army near Rouen; he retook Pontoise in the depth of winter; he cleared the whole country round Paris; and, at one moment, nearly succeeded in retaking that capital. The Duke of Burgundy, who was supposed to have learned the art of war from the English, did not practise that art against them with any effect; and he never ventured personally to face them in the field. This, however, was in part attributed to scruples of conscience; for it was said, that in spite of his absolution, the memory of his former oaths gave him great uneasiness. Many of his lords were still more scrupulous than he; for they refused to make war in any manner upon young Henry, to whom they had sworn fealty. The annals of war scarcely present a more miserable and ridiculous exhibition than Philip's siege of Calais, in the prosecution of which he had spent immense sums. The Duke of Gloucester, formerly protector, now head of the council, who was getting ready reinforcements for Calais, sent a challenge to Philip, telling him that he would fight him and his whole army outside of Calais, as soon as the wind should serve for his voyage; and that if Philip would not await him there, he would follow him into his states of Flanders. Philip replied, that he would abide where he was; but even before Gloucester landed, his force, which consisted chiefly of the ill-disciplined militia of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and other towns, fled in a

* Monstrel.—Rym.—Olivier de la Marche.—Rot. Parl.—Barante.

† The French wished Louis XI., the son of Charles VII., to destroy the monument, and throw the remains of the great warrior out of the church; but Louis rejected the brutal proposal, saying that he would not wage war against the dead, or insult the remains of one who had made his father tremble so often, and who, were he alive, might yet make all France tremble.—Stow.

panic; and knights, men-at-arms, and all—thirty thousand men wearing helmets—followed their example, leaving an enormous quantity of baggage and all their artillery and engines of war behind them. Philip was swept away by the rush of the fugitives, and the Constable Richemont, who had gone to share in the glory of capturing Calais, partook in his disgrace and vexation. The English, who had not waited for the raising of the siege to make incursions into Flanders, now fell with fury upon that country, taking several towns, and carrying off an immense booty. Gloucester, who arrived four days after the retreat of Philip, followed him into the heart of Flanders, sending the most provoking messages after him; but Philip would not meet this army, small as it was. Gloucester, who owed him many grudges on account of the affair of Madame Jacqueline, had now taken upon himself the title of Earl of Flanders, pretending that Philip had forfeited those states by his treasons, and that his nephew, Henry, as king of France, had bestowed them upon him. He had the folly to weaken the efforts made for the preservation of the French territories, by employing men and money in this direction.*

If Duke Philip's ardour for the war had been but lukewarm before the siege of Calais, it cooled almost to the freezing point, after that disgraceful miscarriage; and a similar failure in the following year, 1437, before the walls of Crotoy, in the neighbourhood of Crecy, did not tend to revive his spirits. Ghent and Bruges had openly revolted, and the subjects of all his states complained that they were beggared by the war. From this time he can scarcely be said to have taken a part in the struggle; but his neutrality alone was sufficient to turn the scales in favour of the French, who gradually regained possession of the provinces north of the Loire, though not without many a check. In Normandy and the neighbouring countries of Maine and Anjou, the English long presented a bold front. The Duke of York was recalled in 1437, and then the difficult command was given to the Earl of Warwick. Warwick died in two years, on which, after a considerable interval, the Duke of York was re-appointed. There was now a pause in the horrors of war occasioned by famine and the plague, which visited both England and France at the same time. In 1439 Talbot recovered Harfleur, the first conquest of Henry V. which had been wrested from the English. The valour of the nation never shone with a more brilliant light than during the siege, when Talbot, with a strong garrison before him, was attacked in the rear by an army far superior in number to his own, and annoyed at the same time by a fleet of ships which lay in the river and on the coast. Two years later, Talbot displayed admirable generalship in relieving Pontoise, which was besieged by an army of twelve thousand men; but all his skill and the valour of his troops could not long preserve that isolated position. In the course of the years 1442 and 1443, the French turned their arms against Henry's possessions in the south; but while they were gaining some fortresses in Guienne, the English took others in the north, and overran Picardy and Anjou. Soon after this, the Duke of Burgundy turned a ready ear to proposals for an armistice; and negotiations were opened for a general peace. If the instructions preserved* were acted upon, the English envoys, the Earl of Suffolk and Cardinal Beaufort, must have astonished plain-dealing men, if any such were engaged in the business, with their truly diplomatic manœuvres, which, however, produced no important effect. Charles would have consented to resign the whole of Normandy and Guienne; but the *ultimatum* of the English was the fulfilment of Edward III.'s treaty of Bretigny; nor were their minds quite made up to forego their claim to the French crown—the justice of which they said had been fully established by the divine favour shown to them, and the miraculous battles they had gained with small numbers in prosecuting that claim. In the end, all parties agreed to a truce for two years, to terminate April 1, 1446.

Henry of Windsor was now in his twenty-fourth year, but it had long been apparent that no increase of years would bring him the spirit of a man, or the capability of managing his own affairs. Gentle, timid, submissive, and superstitious, he would have made a tolerably good monk, but he had not one of the qualities which constitute a good king. Parliament, which settled the regency, and apportioned and nicely limited the power and authority of its members, gave no authority whatever to the queen-mother, Catherine of France, the youthful widow of Henry V. This lady appears to have had little ambition; for three or four years after the death of the hero of Azincourt, she married Owen Tudor, an obscure gentleman of Wales, who, however, boasted a most ancient and even a royal descent; but what, perhaps, had more influence over Catherine's choice was, the circumstance of his being one of the handsomest men in England, besides being "garnished with many Godly gifts." In her affection for her promising family by this second marriage, from which sprung the royal line of Tudor, she may have somewhat neglected the care of the sickly and unpromising Henry; but all her cares had long ceased—for she died in 1437, and had now been buried nearly seven years in Westminster Abbey, by the side of her first husband.†

* Monstrel.—Hall.—A detailed account of the ridiculous siege of Calais is given in Barante, Hist. des Ducs de Bourg., and in Southey's Naval History. To render the account of the conduct of the Flemings intelligible, we must assume that there was a strong party among them still averse to the whole war.

* Rymer.

† By an *ex post facto* law, passed in the sixth year of Henry VI., though not now found on the rolls of parliament, having apparently been torn out, such marriages as those of Catherine with Owen Tudor were declared presumptuous, derogatory to the royal dignity, and illegal, without the express consent of the sovereign. After Catherine's death, Tudor was apprehended and put in ward, but he was allowed to escape from the Tower, and was not very harshly treated, though there are accounts which state that he was retaken. He was, and afterwards beheaded for his adherence to Henry VI. Jacquetta of Luxembourg, the widow of the great Duke of Bedford,

QUEEN MARGARET.—From Portraits in Queen's College, Oxford, and St. Mary's Hall, Coventry

In an evil hour, part of the council took up the notion that Henry's miserable deficiencies might be all supplied by marrying him to a princess of intelligence and spirit; and for the execution of this precious scheme, they fixed their eyes (of all the princesses in Europe!) upon Margaret of Anjou, the cousin of the French queen, and the devoted friend of Charles, in whose court she had passed much of her time. Margaret was handsome, of a womanly age, and noted for ability and decision of character, and she had not yet been intoxicated by power, or allowed opportunities of showing her pride, envy, and vindictiveness. The Earl of Suffolk, who negotiated the truce, and who was in high favour with the French court, also negotiated this fatal marriage. It appears that the original notion was his, but that, though opposed most strenuously by the Duke of Gloucester, who here spoke the sense of the English people, he was supported by Cardinal Beaufort and other members of the government. As for the signed and sealed authority to treat for this union, which Suffolk previously obtained from the king, it signified nothing, for Henry was notoriously incompetent to any great measure. The father of Margaret, though titular king of Sicily and Jerusalem, and lord of many states, was deplorably poor—a very Lackland. Suffolk, instead of asking, as usual in such cases, for a dower in money or in territory, consented to pay a price for the young lady's hand, and finally agreed to resign Anjou and Maine, which were wholly or in greater part in possession of the English, to her father, whose hereditary states they were. This was giving up, by a stroke of the pen, that which the French had not been able to obtain by the sword; and, from the geographical position of the territories ceded, it was putting the keys of Normandy into the hands of the enemy. If Suffolk and Beaufort had made up their minds to end the ruinous struggle, and to give up the whole of the English conquests in France, we might, perhaps, abstractedly, and in the cool philosophy of a better period, applaud both the justice and the wisdom of the cession; but such notions were not suited to the fifteenth century, nor to the conquerors of any other time:—the nation was bent on preserving at least a portion of what they had obtained at an enormous expense of blood and treasure, and the minister that had dared to propose any such measure would have been torn to pieces by the English people. The cession, in the circumstances of the times, savoured strongly either of treachery or fatuity. We are not quite so sure as to Suffolk, but we can scarcely imagine that the cardinal was bribed or bought with splendid promises, or, that in sheer opposition to his old rival, Gloucester, he went into the matter with his eyes open. He had always

followed Catharine's example, and married, to the great annoyance of the English court, Sir Richard Woodville, who was only a knight. She and her husband, however, after some persecution and payment of a fine of 1000*l.*, were allowed to live in peace. Catharine, besides a daughter, had three sons, by Owen Tudor. During the reign of their half-brother, Henry VI., Edmund, the eldest, was created Earl of Richmond; and Jaspar, the second, was made Earl of Pembroke. The first of these, by his marriage with the only daughter of John, Duke of Somerset, had Henry, who succeeded to the earldom of Richmond, and who afterwards ascended the throne as Henry VII.

been a strenuous supporter of the House of Lancaster, of which he was a member; and he had repeatedly shown a high feeling when the honour (true or false) of his country was assailed: but Beaufort was now nearly fourscore years old, and it is more charitable to suspect him of dotage than to accuse him of treachery.

As soon as the Earl of Suffolk returned to England with the bride, he was elevated to the rank of a Marquis, and from that moment he and the queen began to monopolize and divide between them the whole authority of government. They were constantly together, and people said that Suffolk looked more like her husband and King of England than the unfortunate Henry. There was a strong popular prejudice against French queens of any kind; nor did Margaret's conduct at all tend to remove it. She applied doctrines of government which she had learned in France to a country wholly and happily different, and she soon attempted to treat the English people with an absoluteness and imperiousness which they had not tolerated in the greatest of their native kings. The friends and admirers of the Duke of Gloucester, among whom the citizens of London were very conspicuous, said every where that he would have found them a better queen, and taken better measures for the preservation of the English conquests; but the Duke, either from fear of the prevalent faction at court, or from some other motive, gave his approval, in a very marked manner, in parliament to all the negotiations concluded by Suffolk.* It is quite clear, however, that there was no sincerity in these outward demonstrations, and that the Duke,—"the good Duke Humphrey," as he was called by the people,—would, on account of his great popularity, be a formidable obstacle in the way of the queen and her favourite. Besides, the passionate and vindictive Margaret was not likely to forget that Gloucester had at first strongly opposed the measures which made her a queen and gave to her father a respectable existence. On the other hand, the duke was imprudent and headstrong, and he had suffered things at the hands of Cardinal Beaufort's party (now in a great measure

* Rot. Parl.—Rymer.—Hall.

Marriage of Henry VI.

After a copy of a Picture formerly in the possession of Horace Walpole, and Engraved in Vol. III. of his 'Works.

identified in its members with the Suffolk party), which he could never forget.

In 1441, after an altercation with the cardinal, in which the duke was defeated and humiliated,* a strange prosecution was got up against his wife the duchess. Eleanor Cobham, who, it will be remembered, had the misfortune of being Gloucester's mistress before she became his wife, could never wholly efface the unfavourable impression made by this circumstance. She is represented as an avaricious, grasping, ambitious, and dissolute woman; but her enemies drew this portrait, and whatever she might be, she was dear to the duke, although he was not the most faithful of husbands. Horror and absurdity are mingled in about equal portions in the story which follows. The duke was much devoted to all the learning then in vogue, and exceedingly fond of the society of learned men, a circumstance which probably led indirectly to this tragedy. Among other doctors and clerks whom he entertained was one Roger Bolingbroke, whom he kept constantly in his house as chaplain. This Bolingbroke was much given to the sciences, especially to astronomy, and astronomy in those days was generally made to include astrology, or the art of predicting events by observing the movements of the stars and the accidents of meteors and exhalations. Gloucester's wife, aware that Henry was sickly, and that her husband stood next in succession, was probably anxious to know whether the stars would tell when the king would die; and she had frequent consultations with the chaplain and others. On a sudden, soon after her husband's last violent quarrel with Cardinal Beaufort, she was accused of treason, "for that she, by sorcery and enchantment, intended to destroy the king, to the intent to advance and to promote her husband to the crown." The duchess and Bolingbroke were arrested, together with Southwell, priest and canon of St. Stephen's at Westminster, John Hum, priest, and Margery Jourdayn, commonly called the Witch of Eye. The duchess was examined in St. Stephen's Chapel before the Archbishop of Canterbury: she was condemned to do public penance in three places within the city of London, and afterwards to pass her life a prisoner in the Isle of Man, under charge of Sir John Stanley. Roger Bolingbroke, the learned astronomer, who died protesting his innocence of all evil intentions, was drawn and quartered at Tyburn; Margery Jourdayn was burnt in Smithfield; Southwell died in prison before the time of execution; and John Hum received the royal pardon. The worst thing proved against the duchess was, that she had sought for love-philters to secure the constancy of her husband. The worst thing attempted to be proved against her was, that she kept by her a wax figure, made by the "cunning necromancers," and endowed with this remarkable quality, that, in proportion as it was sweated and melted before a fire, it would, by magical sympathy, cause the flesh and substance of the king to wither and melt away, and his marrow to be dried up in his bones. The notion of this process was not new, and there are unfortunately people still living in Europe who believe in the magical power of pieces of moulded wax. "The Duke of Gloucester," says the chronicler,* "bore these things patiently and said little." But his enemies were now preparing for him the safe silence of the grave. A parliament was summoned to meet in February, 1447, not in the usual place at Westminster, because the Londoners were devoted to the erring but generous-hearted victim, but at Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, where the favourite was in the midst of his dependents. Orders were given to the knights of the shire to come armed, and the men of Suffolk were collected and crowded in the town and neighbourhood. The king was conveyed to the town, and, as if his sacred person was in danger, a numerous guard was placed round the house he occupied. Gloucester, who was at his strong castle of Devizes, went to attend this parliament, and fell unsuspectingly into the snare. On the 11th of February, the day after the opening of the session, he was arrested on a charge of high treason, and, on the 28th day of the same month, he was found dead in his bed. There never was any positive proof of his being smothered or strangled, or otherwise put to death; but, as we have already remarked, such proofs are generally wanting in such cases. The whole nation believed that the duke was foully murdered, and, with a single but striking exception,† all the writers living at or near to the time, hint, more or less openly, that this was the case. The body of the duke was shown to the people at Bury St. Edmunds, and there were no marks of violence upon it; but all men remembered that the bodies of Edward II., of Richard II., and of the other great Duke of Gloucester, who had been taken off at Calais during the reign of Richard II., had been exposed to view in the same manner, and bore no signs of the murderous hands of their enemies. Suffolk's party wished it to be believed that he had died of apoplexy. Some said he had died of a broken heart; but, even in the latter case, Suffolk and the queen were his murderers. Humphrey, however, was not a man likely to die of grief and despair, for he knew his great popularity, which in all probability must have assured him that the parliament, however composed, would not venture to proceed to extremities against him. What followed was a miserable show designed to furnish a plausible justification of his arrest. Five of his retainers were seized, and accused of plotting to release the Duchess of Gloucester from her con-

* The subject of the quarrel was the liberation (upon ransom) of the Duke of Orleans and other prisoners taken at Azincourt. Gloucester opposed their liberation.

* Hall.

† This is Whethamstede, who was Abbot of St. Albans at the time, a warm friend of Gloucester, and a declared enemy of the Suffolk party, whom he calls "dogs, scorpions, and impious noisers." He asserts that the duke died of grief and sickness. It appears that the abbot could have no motive for concealing the truth if he knew it.

finement,—to come to the parliament in arms,—to murder the king, and proclaim the duke, their master, in his stead. They were convicted and condemned to die the horrible death of traitors; but when they were only half hanged, they were cut down, and, before the executioner could proceed in the bloody task of cutting up their bodies, Suffolk produced the royal pardon, and the men were easily restored to animation. The pains taken by the court to prove that this barbarous kind of mercy proceeded directly from the king without being suggested by any person, either layman or churchman, seems to us to prove directly the contrary; and knowing the state of nullity to which the imbecile Henry was reduced, we can scarcely conceive how any historian can venture to speak of him as a free and competent agent, and cite his merciful disposition and his religious feelings as proofs that Gloucester died a natural death.*

As if he had not already created odium enough, the Marquis of Suffolk seized all the estates of the deceased duke, and, after keeping what best suited him, divided nearly all the remainder among his own family and most devoted partisans.† The good Duke Humphrey left no legitimate children, and, on account of her conviction, Dame Eleanor could not claim any part of his property. The duke's friends in parliament boldly asserted his perfect innocence of treason, and laboured, session after session, to clear his memory from the imputations of his enemies. His old rival, his uncle Cardinal Beaufort, did not long survive him. He had for some time withdrawn from political affairs to his see of Winchester, where, however, in spite of the weight of fourscore years, he was still cherishing projects of ecclesiastical ambition, and dreaming of the triple crown of Rome which had so long eluded his grasp, but which he fancied was at last within his reach. He died in his palace of Walvesey, on the 11th day of April, and the *sign*‡ he gave of Christian feeling was shown in his will, whereby he bequeathed the mass of his property to charitable purposes. Two codicils to this will, which is still extant, were written on the 7th and 9th of April. With part of his money was built and endowed the still existing hospital of St. Cross at Winchester, and four thousand pounds of it (a great sum in those days) were distributed among prisoners for debt in London and Southwark. He was buried in Winchester Cathedral, in the beautiful chantry which bears his name.§

It has been said that Suffolk, in making the disadvantageous treaty of marriage, flattered himself that his liberality would secure an honourable peace, and that Margaret's father promised to protect to the best of his power the possessions which remained to the English in France. But these hopes, if ever entertained, were childish, and, with the national object in view of recovering their own kingdom, we may make a liberal allowance for the falsehood and delusive manœuvres of the French court. When the truce expired, Charles consented several times to renew it for short periods; but this suited his own purposes, and he knew that many of his lords would not permit their operations to be hampered by any armistice in case of a favourable opportunity for attacking the troops of Henry. The fact was, Charles had another civil war in the South upon his hands: the Count of Armagnac, favoured by the now discarded minister, La Tremoille, had organized a formidable league against him. The Dauphin, also, after making a wild expedition against the Swiss in favour of the House of Austria, was disaffected, and intriguing against his own father, whom he soon engaged in another civil war. France, indeed, was for some time in such a distracted condition that she must again have fallen under the yoke if the government of England had been able and willing to press her; but that government was now influenced by Margaret of Anjou, whose father, brothers, cousins, and a host of relatives were to benefit by its folly, weakness, and vacillation. There were a number of secondary intrigues, demonstrations, retractations, and treaties, which signified nothing; but we may pass at once to the decisive movements which were made by the French as soon as they were in a condition to undertake anything important.

A.D. 1449.—Maine, which lay so conveniently along the southern frontier of Normandy, and which Suffolk had so liberally surrendered to the queen's father, Réné of Anjou, had gradually been filled with French troops and companies of adventure in the service of King Charles, who insulted the English lines almost with impunity. The Duke of York had been for some time recalled from the command in France, and sent into Ireland. In vain his successor, the Duke of Somerset, represented to his government that he had no money,—no efficient army,—and that all the fortresses in Normandy were falling to ruin from want of proper repairs. Charles wanted a decent pretext for breaking the armistice, and such pretexts are always found when sought for. Some English soldiers, who had been expelled from their houses in Maine, plundered a town in Brittany, just as the French had plundered many a place in Normandy during the truce. Somerset, conscious of his weakness, offered a reparation in money; but Charles named a sum which it was impossible for him to pay, and then threw his troops across the frontiers of Maine, and called up his columns from all sides to fall upon both Lower and Upper Normandy. While the English were negotiating

* Rymer.—Rot. Parl.—Whetham.—Hall.—Grafton. Dr. Lingard's reasoning only goes to prove that the king was innocent; and this was the popular conviction:—the people laid the whole blame upon the queen and Suffolk.

† Rymer.

‡ "Lord Cardinal, if thou think'st on Heaven's bliss,
Hold up thy hand; make signal of thy hope:—
He dies, and makes no sign.'—
Hen. VI. part 2.

It is almost impossible to remove the impression made by Shakspeare's terrific death-bed scene; but that it is historically incorrect there can be little doubt. The great cardinal died almost in public, surrounded by the clergy of his diocese.

§ Hall.—Continuation Hist. Croyland.—Nichols, Royal and Noble Wills.—Milner's Hist. Winchester.

about the damage done in Brittany, Verneuil and Pont de l'Arche were surprised or betrayed. The Bastard of Orleans, now Count of Dunois, led the main body of the army to Rouen, within the walls of which he had many secret agents. His force was immense, but the capital of Normandy was taken rather through the treachery of the inhabitants than the valour of his troops. The Duke of Somerset, who saw the fortresses of Normandy falling around him, had been obliged to shut himself up in Rouen, and all that he had to oppose to an army without, and to a vast and disaffected population within, was a weak garrison of twelve hundred men; but the brave Talbot was with him, and where Talbot was the English were sure to do something to save their honour. One day a body of armed citizens, who pretended to be in the interest of King Henry, obtained the guard of a part of the walls, which they immediately took the opportunity of betraying to the French. The Bastard's soldiers scaled the wall and established themselves in force between two towers, but presently the cry was heard of, "A Talbot—a Talbot!" and that redoubted captain, charging with a part of the garrison, slaughtered both soldiers and city guards, or threw them into the ditch. But the situation of the English was too desperate to be saved even by the heroism of a Talbot: the whole town rose against them, opened their gates to the Bastard, and drove the garrison into the citadel, where Somerset capitulated on the 4th of November, 1449, being obliged to order the surrender of several other important fortresses as the price of his own liberty and that of his brave men. Talbot was given as an hostage,—Somerset retired to Caen.*

A.D. 1450.—Popular indignation obliged the minister Suffolk to do something; but all that he did, and it might be all that he could do, was to send a reinforcement of three thousand men into Normandy. Sir Thomas Kyriel, the leader of these men, had the old confidence of a captain of Henry V. and Bedford; and he did not doubt that, in case of the French meeting him in the open field, he could give a satisfactory account of them, however superior their numbers. He accordingly gladly joined battle at Fourmigni with an army under the command of the Count of Clermont; but, while he was engaged, a second army, led on by the Constable of France, made its appearance, and closed upon him in flank and rear. Some of his men then broke and fled, but more remained to fight desperately, and die with their swords in their hands. The victory of the French was complete, and they boasted of it without any reference to the enormous disparity of numbers.† Bayeux, Avranches, and other towns, immediately surrendered to them; and soon after the Duke of Somerset was driven out of Caen. The last siege the English sustained was at Cherbourg; but that place being furiously assailed both by sea and land, surrendered on the 12th of August; and the whole of Normandy was lost.*

The Count of Dunois and other captains had already made an impression on the English possessions on the Garonne: the Count of Penthièvre had recently been despatched with an army in that direction, and, soon after the conquest or submission of Normandy, the mass of Charles's forces marched against Guienne, where there were scarcely any English troops, and where the people, though not much attached to the French, from whom they still differed materially in language and habits, were wavering and divided. The nobles generally had declared against the English: when the French army began their campaign in earnest, in 1451, the castles were surrendered to them without any fighting. The burghers in the principal towns were not so submissive:—they generally held out until they had obtained favourable terms of capitulation, and the solemn engagement of the king to respect their municipal privileges and franchises. The English, collecting their weak and scattered detachments, retired to Bordeaux and the places in the neighbourhood of that fair and flourishing city, where their flag had floated for three hundred years. Castillon, St. Emilion, Libourne, Rions, were carried by assault; and the Sire d'Orval advanced with a body of horse to the environs of Bordeaux. At his approach the English garrison and eight or ten thousand of the citizens, with their mayor at their head, made a sortie with more spirit than discipline: D'Orval charged them rudely at several points, broke them, covered the roads with their wounded and their dead, and carried off a considerable number of prisoners to his quarters at Bazas. But Bordeaux was not lost by an unlucky sally; and this year the French were awed by its formidable attitude. In the following summer the counts of Dunois, Penthièvre, Foix, and Armagnac penetrated into Guienne from four different sides: the important town of Blaye surrendered to them; other places declared for Charles; and, hemmed in or crushed by numerous and still increasing forces, the English, who no longer possessed a foot of ground in the province except Fronsac, Bayonne, and Bordeaux, were forced to consent to give up those places by the festival of St. John, if they were not previously relieved and reinforced by troops from England. The time passed; not a man was sent to their succour; and on the appointed day the garrisons of Fronsac and Bordeaux piled their arms and opened their gates to the officers of Charles. Notwithstanding their stipulation, the garrison of Bayonne still attempted to defend that place; but they were compelled to capitulate soon after to Count Gaston de Foix, who besieged them with a great force of Basques and men of Béarn.

* Monstrel.—Hall.

† Monstrel.—Villaret.—Sir Thomas Kyriel had drawn some troops from the garrisons, and joined them to his three thousand; but his force was still very inferior to the army of Clermont, to say nothing of the second French army under Richemont.

* Monstrelet gives a curious account of the siege of Cherbourg, and of certain French batteries where the cannons and bombards were under water when the tide was in, and could only be used when the tide was out.

Thus was lost the last fragment of the brilliant heritage of Eleanor of Aquitaine, which had been secured by the policy and valour of Henry II. Nothing now remained to the English in France save Calais and a strip of marshy land commanded by its batteries. In Normandy and the other parts of France their expulsion was hailed with a general though not unanimous joy; but it was far different in Guienne, where the people, who did not consider themselves Frenchmen, and who were strongly attached to their old franchises, which the English, accustomed to liberties of the same sort, had respected, felt that they had much to lose and little to gain by being included in that national system, and placed under French governors. In spite of the solemn promises of Charles and the oaths of his captains, they presently found that their capitulations and guarantees were worth nothing. The seneschal who governed at Bordeaux in the name of the King of France refused to take the oath which the seneschals of the English kings had always taken, to respect the franchises, privileges, and customs of the city; their municipal rights were daily violated by the military and civil officers; their trade was almost destroyed, and the commercial habits of the people were made a subject of mockery by an arrogant soldiery, and a vain and beggarly nobility. Forgetting all their former complaints against the pride of the islanders, the people of Guienne long continued to regret the days when the red cross of England waved over their thriving cities and sea-ports. Nor did they submit to their new masters without an effort to restore the dominion of their old ones.*

The tables had been turned: the English began, under Henry V., to make their conquest of France when that country was cursed with a mad king, an intriguing and vindictive queen, and a factious nobility; and they finished losing all they gained; and a great deal more, when the same curses fell upon their own country. Happy would it have been for the nation had the loss of the territories in France been the only evils flowing from those copious fountain-heads of discord and misery. But the shame of those losses was not to be borne patiently by a high-spirited people, who felt that their honour had been sacrificed by treachery and fatuity. Before the final closing of the account of defeat and expulsion they took a terrible vengeance on the *Duke* of Suffolk,—for such was the title which this minister, rising as his country sunk, had now taken to himself.

Bitter complaints had been repeatedly made in parliament by a spirited minority, and as misfortunes thickened this minority became a majority, whose indignation was overwhelming. Towards the end of 1449, while the public mind was exasperated by the recent loss of Rouen, Suffolk was attacked in both houses. He had a short breathing-time during the Christmas recess,† but the popular clamour rose louder and louder; and when parliament met early in January, 1450, he complained of the accusations made against him, defended his loyalty and patriotism in an eloquent speech, and challenged his accusers to the proof. This challenge was readily accepted. Four days after, the commons, with very little ceremony, requested the lords to commit him to the Tower. The lords replied that they could not commit a peer without some specific charge against him. The commons took only two days to get up a direct charge, and, when they produced it, it was neither honest nor ingenuous: but we have repeated instances in these ages of the irregular way of proceeding in high state trials, the criminal being often accused of things of which he was innocent, and not being charged with the things of which he was notoriously guilty. In the present case it was difficult to touch the question of the war in France without wounding the queen, and Margaret had already made herself feared by her vindictive and daring character. The commons simply charged the duke with having furnished the castle of Wallingford with provisions and military stores, with the object of assisting the King of France, who, they asserted, was preparing to invade England. The lords, however, without hesitation, ordered the arrest of the obnoxious minister, and he was seized and conveyed to the Tower. The bill of impeachment, which the commons prepared in ten days, contained several additional charges. Indeed, the house seemed to have adopted all the popular rumours without scruple or examination; and instead of keeping to facts which might be proved, or which at least were supported by presumptive evidence, they embarrassed and weakened their accusation by inserting wild improbabilities. For example, they charged Suffolk with the design of destroying both Henry and his partial mistress Margaret, and placing the crown on the head of his own son; and they said that he had contracted engagements with the French, in the view of obtaining their assistance for these ends. To the charges of liberating the Duke of Orleans, and of ceding Maine and Anjou, he was certainly amenable as a minister; and these charges were now preferred against him. But the commons were still wavering and uncertain as to their proofs; and on the 7th of March, a month after laying their first impeachment of eight articles, they presented a new impeachment of a very different kind, which contained sixteen articles, some of which seem probable enough, but none of them amounted to absolute treason. They accused the duke of misprision of treason; making a profligate waste of the public money; of diverting the supplies voted by parliament to other objects than those intended by parliament in voting them; of giving evil advice to the king in the matter of grants from the crown, whereby the king had been impoverished, and improper and disloyal persons advanced; of betraying the secrets of the king's government to the enemy; and of protecting from justice an infamous outlaw named William

* Monstrel.—A. Thierry, Hist. Guyenne.—Hall.—Stow.

† During this interval the Bishop of Chichester, a friend of Suffolk and Keeper of the Privy Seal, was massacred by the people of Portsmouth for the part he had taken in the negotiations about Maine and Anjou.

Tailbois. The murder of the Duke of Gloucester, of which he was accused out of doors, was never alluded to in the present parliament; but we can hardly take this silence as a proof that Gloucester died a natural death.

On the 13th day of March Suffolk was brought to the bar of the lords, and falling on his knees before the king, he vowed that he was innocent of any treason. In pleading, he kept to the absurd impeachment in eight articles, never alluding to the charges of waste of money, improvidence, and corruption, or indeed to any other of the sixteen charges contained in the second bill of impeachment. As to the article relating to his project to secure the crown for his own son, he maintained that it was absurd, and the project impossible. He could not deny the cession of Maine and Anjou, but he urged that he was not alone in that guilt (if guilt it were), for the other lords of the council had authorized that measure, and the peers in parliament had afterwards sanctioned it. He pursued this line of argument in several cases, alleging that many of the lords had been partakers and co-operators in the matters laid to his charge. The commons were determined that he should not escape, and refused to vote any supplies: the court, by which could be meant little but the queen, were equally resolved that he should not be convicted; and the whole proceeding ended, as it began, in irregularity.

On the 17th of March Suffolk was again called up to the lords, the king being present. The chancellor* observed to the duke that he had not claimed the privilege of a peer, and asked him whether he had more to say in defence of his conduct. Suffolk said that he thought he had said enough to establish his innocence; and after asserting that he knew no more of certain conversations and other matters deposed against him than the child unborn, he threw himself upon the will of the king, his master. The scene had been arranged beforehand: the chancellor instantly rejoined, saying that, as the duke did not put himself upon his peerage for trial, the king would not declare him either innocent or guilty; but with respect to the second impeachment (to which Suffolk had given no answer), the king, not as a judge taking counsel of the lords, but as one to whose authority the prisoner had submitted of his own free will, commanded him to quit England before the 1st of May, and to remain in banishment for the space of five years, during which he was not even to set his foot in any of the continental possessions of the crown. The peers, upon this, made a protest, stating that this was the act of the king, and not their act, and that it should not be taken as a precedent to injure the rights and privileges of the peerage.†

If parliament had entered into this compromise, and were satisfied with it, it was far otherwise with the people of London. These were furious that the traitor, the cause of all the disgrace abroad, as they considered him, should be allowed to escape so easily; and, on the day of his enlargement, upwards of two thousand persons collected to take his life. Suffolk, however, evaded the rage of this mob, and went to his estates, where he summoned his relatives, friends, and dependents. In their presence he swore upon the host that he was a wronged and innocent man; and then he went to Ipswich, and embarked for the continent. On the 2nd of May, as they were sailing between Dover and Calais, the two small vessels which carried the exile and his retinue were brought-to by the "Nicholas of the Tower," a great ship of war. The duke was ordered on board the Nicholas, the captain of which said to him, as he stept upon the deck, "Welcome, traitor!" He was kept on board two days, during which the ship stood off and on, probably communicating with some great movers in the business on shore, and the duke employed himself with his confessor. On the third day a cock-boat came alongside, and in the boat were a block, an axe, and an executioner. Suffolk was handed over to the latter, who cut off his head as that of a traitor. A general cry had been raised that Suffolk still retained the confidence of Margaret, and that it was insupportable to see the "queen's darling" escape with a certainty of being soon recalled to power and to vengeance; but who were the directors of his assassination was never clearly proved. This much, however, is certain, that from the employment of the Nicholas of the Tower for the capture,—and there were several other great ships sent to intercept the duke,—the deed was done, not by the infuriated commonalty, but by persons having rank and authority. No investigation took place; the people rejoiced at the death, and their minds were soon excited by other events which were the faint prelude to the horrible wars of the Roses.*

John Cade was a native of Ireland, who had passed some time in France as a soldier of the English, or, according to other authorities, as an outlaw. It appears, however, that he had returned to his own country, and that he came from Ireland, then governed by the Duke of York, into England, at the moment when the excitement against the government was at the highest. Insurrections had broken out in several parts of the kingdom before Suffolk's fall, and Cade put himself at the head of a great popular movement immediately after that event. He assumed the noble name of Mortimer, and claimed a descent which made him a relation (though illegitimately) of the Duke of York. None but very questionable evidence was ever brought to show that this prince had employed him, yet it is certain that Cade, or rather the peculiar circumstances of the times, without which Cade would have been nothing, played the game of the duke, and encouraged the hopes that York had long entertained of grasping the royal

* This was the Archbishop of York. Suffolk's chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, resigned the seals at the first blush of the prosecution. According to some accounts, the present scene passed in the king's apartment, to which all the lords, spiritual and temporal, were summoned.

† Rot. Parl.

* Hall.—Cont. Hist. Croyl.—Stow.

power. The men of Kent had long been noted for their determined spirit; they were the boldest and least vicious of the insurgents who, under Wat Tyler, nearly overturned a former weak government; they were probably better informed than the people of the inland counties of what was passing in France; and they were now more violent in their complaints than the rest of the nation, where discontent was universal. It was said, probably without truth, that the queen held them guilty of the recent murder of her favourite, whose headless body lay for some time exposed on the beach near Dover, and that she had threatened to take a sanguinary vengeance. Cade threw himself among these men, who selected him to be their captain. He led them towards the capital; and about the middle of June, a great multitude, estimated at fifteen or twenty thousand, encamped at Blackheath, from which point Cade kept up a correspondence with the Londoners, among whom were many who wished success to his enterprise. The court sent to demand why the good men of Kent had quitted their homes. Cade gave their reasons in a paper entitled 'The Complaint of the Commons of Kent.' After alluding to the report, that Kent was to be destroyed by a royal power, and made a hunting forest, "for the death of the Duke of Suffolk, of which the commons of Kent were never guilty," Cade, or the pens that wrote for him, went on to complain, that justice and prosperity had been put out of the land by misgovernment; that the king was stirred to live only on the substance of the commons, while other men fattened on the lands and revenues of the crown; that the people of the realm were not paid for stuff and purveyance forcibly taken for the king's use; that the princes of the royal blood were excluded from the court and government, which were filled exclusively by mean and corrupt persons, who plundered and oppressed the people; that it was noised that the king's lands in France had been aliened and put away from the crown, and the lords and people there destroyed with untrue means of treason; that the commons of Kent had been especially overtaxed and ill treated; that their sheriffs and collectors had been guilty of infamous extortion; and that the free election of knights of the shire had been hindered. The court pretended to be preparing a proper answer to this startling list of grievances, but it employed the time thus gained in collecting troops in London. In this interval Cade sent in another paper, headed 'The requests by the captain of the great assembly in Kent.' This document, though conceived in respectful language, went more directly to the point. It required that the king should resume the grants of the crown, so that he might reign like a king royal; that he should instantly dismiss all the false progeny and affinity of the Duke of Suffolk, and take about his noble person the true lords of his royal blood, namely, the high and mighty prince the Duke of York, late exiled from the king's presence, and the mighty princes, the Dukes of Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk; that he should punish the false traitors who had contrived and imagined the death of that excellent prince the Duke of Gloucester, of their holy father, the Cardinal,* and of others, and who had promoted and caused the loss of Anjou, Maine, Normandy, and other parts of France. Among the great extortioners they mentioned by name Sleg, Cromer, Lisle, and Robert Est, and called for instant justice upon them. The court had now levied a considerable army; and this force was sent out to give the rebels their answer. Cade fell back from Blackheath to Sevenoaks, where, in a good position, he halted, and waited the attack of a detachment of the royal army, which had followed him in his retreat. This detachment was defeated on the 24th of June, and the commander, Sir Humphrey Stafford, was slain. The soldiers had not fought with good will at Sevenoaks; and when their main body, still at Blackheath, got intelligence of that affair, they began to say that they liked not to fight against their own countrymen, who only called for a reasonable redress of grievances, and who had taken the field for the rights and liberties of the nation. The court now found that concession was expedient; and they sent Lord Say, a very obnoxious minister, and some other individuals, who had been closely connected with the Duke of Suffolk, to the Tower, which Lord Scales undertook to maintain for the king. The army was disbanded, and the king was conveyed for safety to the strong castle of Kenilworth. While this was doing, Cade re-appeared at Blackheath, and, by the end of June, he had made himself master of all the right bank of the Thames, from Lambeth and Southwark to Greenwich. From Southwark he sent to demand entrance into the city of London; and this, after a debate in the common council, was freely granted to him by the lord mayor. On the 3rd of July, Cade marched over the bridge, and led his followers into the heart of the capital. He seemed anxious to preserve the strictest discipline—he issued proclamations forbidding plunder, and in the evening he led his host back to the Borough. The next day he returned in the same good order; but he forced the mayor and judges to sit in Guildhall, and pass judgment upon Lord Say, of whose person he had, by some means, obtained possession. Say demanded a trial by his peers, but Cade's men hurried him to the standard at Cheapside, and cut off his head. Soon after, they did the same by Say's son-in-law, Cromer, the sheriff of Kent.† When this was over, they retired quietly to the Borough for the night. In the course of the following day a few houses were pillaged, Cade himself, according to some accounts,

* This murder of old Beaufort was the most absurd statement in these documents. Surely it was natural enough for a man to die at the age of eighty; and the cardinal, as we have said, died almost in public.

† Bills of indictment were also found against the Duchess of Suffolk, the Bishop of Salisbury, Thomas Daniel, and several other friends of the deceased minister, who, fortunately, were out of reach of the insurgents.

setting the example by plundering the house in which he had dined. The citizens now took counsel with Lord Scales, who had a thousand soldiers in the Tower; and it was resolved that they should prevent Cade from entering the city on the morrow. The insurgents got news of this intention in the night, and instantly made an attack on the bridge. The citizens resolutely defended that passage, and, after a nocturnal fight, which lasted six hours, and cost many lives, they remained masters of the bridge. Part of this old work was of the nature of a draw-bridge; but it appears that Cade had destroyed the chains and machinery the first day that he crossed the bridge.

The insurgents retired into Southwark, and, in concert with the irritated citizens, it was resolved to delude them by promises of pardon, as had been practised with the followers of Wat Tyler. Both the chancellor and the ex-chancellor, the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, had taken refuge in the Tower, whence they despatched the Bishop of Winchester with a general pardon, under the great seal, to all such as should return to their homes. It appears that the prelate also promised a redress of grievances. His mission had the immediate effect of creating a division among the insurgents—one party being of opinion that they ought to accept the conditions; the other, that there was no faith to be put in them. Some began to retire into Kent: Cade accepted the pardon, and then the whole force began to disperse. But in two days, Cade was again in Southwark, with a considerable host, who maintained that it would be folly to lay down their arms until they had obtained some security from government for the performance of its promises. Dissension, however, broke out afresh, and, being awed by the warlike attitude of the Londoners, they retreated to Blackheath, and thence marched to Rochester, where their feuds terrified their leader. Cade, who expected to be murdered or delivered up to government, which had proclaimed him a traitor, and offered one thousand marks for his apprehension, got secretly to horse, and galloped across the country towards the Sussex coast. He was closely followed by one Alexander Iden, an esquire, who overtook him, and attacked him sword in hand. After a desperate fight, the squire proved the better man. The head of Cade was stuck upon London Bridge, with the face turned towards the pleasant hills of Kent; and Iden was made happy with the thousand marks. Pursuit was then made after Cade's companions, and many were taken and executed as traitors.* It was stated in a subsequent act of attainder, that some of these men confessed that their object had been to place Richard Duke of York on the throne; but this evidence is open to suspicion; and, moreover, it was not affirmed that the insurgents had been employed by the duke.† But whatever may have been the caution, prudence, and patience of the Duke of York, that prince's name was certainly put prominently forward at this time; and it is equally certain, if the question was to be decided by descent and birth, that York had a preferable right to the throne.

We have shown in what manner the claims of the old line of the Plantagenets rested in Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.* This Edmund, after faithfully serving the House of Lancaster in peace and in war, died in 1424; upon which, as he left no issue, and as his brother Roger and his sister Eleanor had died childless, his rights passed to his sister Anne, married to the Earl of Cambridge, who had been condemned and executed for treason in the beginning of the reign of Henry V. Anne Mortimer had a son, the present Prince Richard, who succeeded to the titles of his paternal uncle, the Duke of York, as also to the lineal rights of his maternal uncle, Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. But notwithstanding the growth of the doctrine of hereditary right,—a doctrine which had gradually made way in Europe,—it may be questioned whether the nation would have paid much attention to the genealogy of the Duke of York, if the notorious and still increasing incapacity of Henry, and the odium which his wife incurred, had not forced the subject upon their attention. The English, as compared with most of their contemporaries, had not been much given to precipitate measures and revolutions; the princes of the Lancastrian line had on the whole paid a delicate respect to the national liberties, and they had raised the military glory of the country to the highest pitch. The memory of Henry V. was regarded with feelings that had almost the fervour of a religious worship, and it was not forgotten that their present king was the only son of that hero. For many years they bore with and compassionated his weakness; they even reverenced his meekness and devotion, the only qualities he possessed susceptible of a favourable view. The Duke of York was well acquainted with all these circumstances, and he proceeded with a moderation and caution scarcely to be expected, under any circumstances, from a prince claiming a crown by hereditary right. He had been recalled from the command in France through the influence of Queen Margaret, and his post in Ireland was considered by his friends as a kind of exile. He had, however, acquired great popularity among the English and the descendants of the English in that country; and recently (in the year 1449) he had gained much credit by the ability he displayed in the suppression of an insurrection of the native Irish. Resigning his command there, he suddenly appeared in England in the end of August, 1451. It is said that attempts were made to prevent his landing, but that he came accompanied by a force more considerable than any the government had on foot near the coast. After paying a short visit to the king in London, he retired to his castle of

* Stow.—Fabyan.—Paston Letters.

† The act here alluded to was an act of attainder passed against the Yorkists, in November, 1459, when their enemies were triumphant.

* See ante, p. 6.

Fotheringay. He was mute as to his intentions, but the court took the alarm, and sought to oppose him by the Duke of Somerset, the nearest male relation to King Henry, and the head of the younger branch of the House of Lancaster. But it was under Somerset's government in France that the loss of Normandy was completed; and this circumstance, added to that of his being in high favour with the queen, rendered him almost as unpopular as the Duke of Suffolk had been.* Two years were spent in noisy discontent and silent intrigues. Each party stood in awe of the other, and measured its ground before proceeding to extremities. Some dark deeds were committed by both factions, but the scale of guilt seemed rather to incline to the side of the court. Tresham, the Speaker of the House of Commons which had prosecuted the Duke of Suffolk, was assassinated by some friends of the queen.

In the month of November, about two months after the return of the Duke of York, parliament assembled, and became the scene of angry debate. A member of the commons boldly proposed that, as Henry had no children, and was not likely to have any, the Duke of York ought to be declared heir to the throne; but the proposer was committed to the Tower. The commons, however, passed a bill of attainder against the deceased Duke of Suffolk,† and agreed in a request that the king would be pleased to dismiss from office and from the court the new minister the Duke of Somerset, and several lords and ladies related to Suffolk. The court resisted or evaded both measures. Violent quarrels arose between the adherents of government and the Yorkists; the former asserting that there was treason afloat,—the latter, that there were projects for depriving Duke Richard of his liberty, and treating him as the Duke of Gloucester had been treated at Bury St. Edmund's. In the beginning of the year 1452 the Duke of York repaired to his castle of Ludlow, in Shropshire, the neighbourhood of which was devoted to the Mortimer family. He collected a considerable armed force, but, by proclamation, declared that he had no evil intentions against the king, to whom he offered to swear fealty upon the sacrament. A royal army was sent against him; but while that force went westward by one road, York marched eastward by another, and appeared before the gates of London, which were shut in his face. He then marched to the borders of Kent, where he probably expected to be joined by the malcontents who had been out with Cade. It appears, however, that few joined him, and when Henry came up with him, at Dartford, he agreed to a peaceful negotiation. Two bishops were the negotiators on the part of the king; and, when they asked why York was in arms, he asserted that it was for his own safety, seeing that repeated attempts had been made to work his ruin. The king confessed that he had been watched with a jealous eye, but that this was on account of his suspicious conduct, and of the treasonable talk of his partisans, who had put forward his right to the succession.* This was the only allusion made by either party to the duke's hereditary claims during the present rising. Henry, however, said that he cleared York of all treason, and esteemed him as a true man and his own well-beloved cousin. Notwithstanding the coyness of the men of Kent, it may be presumed, from the high tone maintained by the duke, that his force was considerable. He insisted that all persons who had trespassed and offended against the laws, especially such as were indicted of treason, "and others being openly noised of the same," should be arrested and put upon their trial in a proper manner. The king, or those who directed him, promised all this, and more. A mock order was given for the apprehension of the minister, the Duke of Somerset, and York was assured that a new council, in which he should have a seat, should be appointed forthwith. Upon this Duke Richard disbanded his army, and agreed to a personal interview. With singular confidence, considering the prevailing treachery, he went unarmed and almost alone to the king's tent. One of the first persons he saw there was the Duke of Somerset, who called him felon and traitor, epithets which were retorted with interest. When York turned to depart he was told that he was the king's prisoner. Somerset, it is said, would have proceeded to a summary trial and execution, but this was prevented, though rather, it appears, by the fears of the other ministers and courtiers than by the mercy of the king, whom we cannot consider in the light of a free and competent agent, though we believe the concurring accounts of all writers, who describe him as having a horror of blood. York was then sent to London, and held partly as a prisoner, and "straighter would have been kept, but it was noised that Sir Edward, Earl of March, son to the said Duke of York, was coming towards London with a strong power of Welshmen, which feared so the queen and council that the duke was set at full liberty; and on the 10th of March he made his submission, and took his oath in St. Paul's to be a true, faithful, and obedient subject to the king, there being present King Henry and most of the nobility."† This oath was exacted from York as a condition of his liberation. He retired to his castle of Wigmore, and remained perfectly quiet till he was brought forward by the movements in parliament.

We have said that the people of Guienne did not submit without a struggle to the oppressive government of Charles VII. Soon after the pacification of the Duke of York‡ they sent a deputa-

* Rot. Parl.—Will. Wyrcester.—Hall.—Stow.

† In this bill Suffolk was set down as the murderer of Gloucester, and was also accused of abridging the days of other princes of the blood. We do not go so far as Dr. Lingard, in holding that the circumstance is a positive proof of Suffolk's innocence; but it is certain that parliament never produced these charges while Suffolk was living.

* The king, or those who managed for him, absurdly accused York of unlawfully slaying the Bishop of Chichester, who had been killed in a popular tumult at Portsmouth while the duke was in Ireland.

† Stow.

‡ Paston Letters.—Whethamstede — Rot. Parl.—According to Stow, the Duke of York was not allowed to go free and retire to Wigmore until after the arrival of the deputation from Guienne.

tion into England to request the assistance of a small army, to express their bitter regret at all the changes which had taken place, and to promise the most perfect loyalty and attachment to King Henry if he would enable them to throw off the French yoke. We have sufficiently explained the grounds upon which the burghers of Bordeaux and the other trading cities were dissatisfied; but the dislike of the change was not confined to that class. Nearly all the lords of the Bordelais were irritated against the French, and they united with the citizens in the project of recalling the English. The chief of these nobles—the men of the highest rank in the country—were the sires of Duras, L'Esparre, Monferrand, Rauzan, and L'Anglade. These noblemen repaired secretly to London, where they treated with good effect, for, weak as was the government, it was determined to make an effort to recover what had been lost by miserable negligence. Four or five thousand good soldiers were collected and equipped, and the command was offered to the brave old Talbot, who, notwithstanding the weight of nearly eighty years, accepted it joyfully. At his approach to Bordeaux there was a stormy debate in the municipal council; some wished to permit the French garrison and the civil officers of King Charles to retire safe and sound; others insisted that they ought to be thrown into prison and kept as hostages; and some, still more animated by hatred and vengeance, said that they ought to be given up to the fury of the populace. It was perhaps fortunate for the French that Talbot marched into the town during this debate: he made the garrison prisoners of war. The nobles of the country crowded to his honoured standard,—the people caught the flame of insurrection,—and in a brief space of time the red cross of England was again raised in nearly every town in Guienne. Charles, at the moment, was engaged in a senseless war with the Count of Savoy; but these startling events recalled him from the neighbourhood of the Alps to the hills of Gascony. Having failed in his attempts to win over the people by promises of better government, he advanced against the towns on the Dordogne and the Garonne with fire and sword. Some of them he took by assault; and in these cases his troops were even more merciless than is usual on such occasions. In order to strike terror, he also struck off the heads of several barons of the country who were made prisoners; and in all matters he treated Guienne as a revolted province. Being joined by some companies of adventure, and the forces of the counts of Foix and D'Albret, his army amounted to twenty-two thousand men. In the summer following he laid siege to the important town of Castillon. Talbot determined to relieve this place. On the 20th of July, between night and morning, he surprised and cut to pieces a considerable force, drove in the outposts, and fell upon the French in their intrenchments. Their position was strong, and defended by bombards that discharged stone shot; but Talbot had nearly carried it when the Count of Penthièvre came up with another army. The English withdrew from the works, formed in good order, and even then did not despair of fighting their way back to Bordeaux; but their brave "octogenarian chief" was slain, and his son was killed in attempting to save him; and then the troops fled. About a thousand men were made prisoners, most of them within the French works which they had carried. There was no second army,—there was no Talbot to prolong the struggle. The French army soon appeared before Bordeaux, which, after a bold resistance of nearly two months, was compelled by famine to capitulate on the 10th of October. The English garrison, amounting to about two thousand men, were allowed to depart with all their property, and the citizens were told that such of them as disliked the French rule might go with them. This permission was accepted by so many, that for a long series of years Bordeaux remained comparatively depopulated, and without commerce.*

A.D. 1454. The uneasiness shown by Parliament at the increasing incapacity of the king, and at the power of the queen and the Duke of Somerset, brought about the recal of the Duke of York to the council; and this measure was soon followed by the committal of Somerset, who was sent to the Tower at the end of the year 1453. Some proceedings in Parliament have an irregular and intriguing air; but what immediately followed was a great constitutional measure forced upon the nation, who were aware that Henry's unhappy malady had assumed so decided a character of derangement or imbecility as to render him unfit for any of the offices of government, or indeed of the common duties of civil life. On the 14th of February, 1454, Parliament was opened by the Duke of York, as lieutenant or commissioner of the king. For some time, the court had endeavoured to conceal Henry's real condition; but the lords were now resolved to ascertain it, and an accidental circumstance afforded them a good reason for forcing the privacy of Windsor Castle. Kemp, Archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of the kingdom, died, and, as it was usual for the House of Lords to confer personally with the sovereign on such high occasions, a deputation of twelve peers went to Windsor, and would not be refused entry into the castle. They found Henry incapable of answering them or understanding them;—in the words of their report to the House, "they could get no answer nor sign from him, for no prayer nor desire," though they presented themselves to him three several times. This report of the deputation was, at their prayer, entered on record in parliament, and was reasonably considered as authentic a testimony as could be procured of their sovereign's infirmity (of which there was no kind of doubt in the country), and after adjourning two days, they "elected and nominated Richard Duke of York to be protector and defender of the realm of England." York, still

* Monstrel.—A. Thierry, Hist. de Guyenne.—Hall.

advancing no hereditary claim to the crown, accepted of the humbler office with all the limitations put upon it by Parliament; but a weighty circumstance probably this time contributed to his moderation. Queen Margaret had been delivered of a son about a year before, and, though the outcry seems to have been almost universal that this was no child of Henry, the legislature could not entertain the popular clamour, but recognised the infant Edward, by creating him Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester. In accepting his post as protector, York took care to obtain the most explicit declarations from the peers, that he only followed their "noble commandments." This done, the peers carefully and strictly defined the amount and duration of his power: it was to last till the king's recovery, or, in case of his non-recovery, till Prince Edward became of age. In about nine months Henry recovered his memory and some degree of reason—perhaps as much as he had usually possessed. The court instantly claimed for him the full exercise of royalty; and York at once gave up the protectorate. The first use made of this resumed authority by the king was to liberate the Duke of Somerset.* This step and some others, which showed that it was the intention of the court to restore the unpopular minister, irritated a great part of the nation, and induced York once more to take up arms. He retired again to Ludlow, where he was joined by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, and other men of rank. Again Henry went, or was carried, with an army towards Ludlow; but this time the duke, instead of avoiding him by taking a different road, anticipated his movements, and met him near to the capital with an army equal to his own. It appears that neither force was very considerable, but that York had the superiority in the number or goodness of his archers.† On the 22nd of May, as the royalists were about to continue their march from St. Alban's, they saw the hills in their front covered with armed men, who were moving forward, and who did not stop till they came near to the barriers of the town. The banner of York, now for the first time raised in actual civil war, floated over this host, who were chiefly Welshmen, or men from the marches of Wales. The duke sent a herald into the town, professing great loyalty and affection for the king, but demanding the person of the Duke of Somerset. It was replied by, or for the king, that he would rather perish in battle than abandon his friends. Upon this, battle was joined. Unless the people of St. Alban's were disaffected—and we are inclined to think, from what followed, that they were—the royalists had every advantage of position, for they were within the town, and their enemy had to advance against them across barriers and through narrow lanes and streets. York was kept in check at the barriers, but another way into the town was pointed out; and, winding round part of the hill on which it stands, and crossing some gardens, the Earl of Warwick entered St. Alban's, and attacked the royalists in the streets. York then forced the barriers, and, after a very short contest, the royalists gave way, rushed out of the town, and fled in the greatest disorder.* The Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford were slain: the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Sudely, the Earl of Stafford, and the unfortunate king were wounded,—all by arrows. The Duke of York found Henry concealed in the house of a tanner: his wound, though in the neck, was not serious. He was treated with mildness and outward respect; his conqueror conducted him to the noble abbey of St. Alban's, where it appears that they prayed together before the shrine of England's first martyr. After this affair, which left the helpless Henry a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, it might have been expected that York would put forth his hereditary claim, but the disposition of parliament was not yet favourable to any such pretension, the nation apparently was still unconvinced of the dogma of the indefeasible right by birth, and York again displayed moderation. When parliament met in the month of July, it did little else than renew the protestations of allegiance to Henry and his son. After a prorogation, parliament met again on the 12th of November, when the Duke of York was appointed by commission to open the proceedings as lieutenant of the king. The commons, thereupon, sent up a message to the lords, stating, that as the Duke of York had been appointed to represent the king on this occasion, so "it was thought by the commons, that if the king hereafter could not attend to the protection of the country, an able person should be appointed protector, to whom they might have recourse for redress of injuries, especially as great disturbances had lately arisen in the west through the feuds of the Earl of Devonshire and Lord Bonvile." The new Archbishop of Canterbury, in his quality of chancellor, said that the subject would be taken into consideration by the lords. Two days after, the commons repeated their request—refusing to proceed with any other business until it should be granted. During the earlier Norman reigns, the archbishops and bishops had pretended more than once that the right of providing for the vacancy of the throne was especially vested in them; the great lay lords never left to the church the full exercise of any such power; but it was still held, that in the upper house, between the peers spiritual and temporal, lay the exclusive prerogative of appointing regents or protectors, and that the commons could not legally interfere in such high matters. But notwithstanding this theory, and several precedents, the lords submitted to the present interference, and granted the request of the

* Rot. Parl.—Rym.—Whethamstede.—Paston Letters.

† Whethamstede, Abbot of St. Alban's, who appears to have been in that abbey at the time, says that the Duke of York had only three thousand fighting men with him.

* The number of the Lancastrians killed in this affair has been absurdly exaggerated in most of our old histories. One of the Paston Letters, written immediately after the fight, says that only six score were slain.

commons, who were so decided and active, that they sent up a third message on the following day.* York, therefore, was again declared protector, and with this remarkable difference in the terms of his appointment:—he was to hold his authority till discharged of it by the lords in parliament, instead of holding it as before, during the king's pleasure. Still, however, parliament respected the rights of the infant prince, and it was declared in this session, as in the preceding year, that the protectorate should cease, in all cases, as soon as Edward attained his majority.† The ostensible reason for superseding Henry was his acknowledged incapacity, derived from physical maladies attended by mental derangement. There is no positive proof that he was worse than he had been a few months before; but if he were no better, the step need not surprise us. It happened to him, as to his reputed grandfather, the unhappy Charles VI.; being known to suffer fits of insanity, people could never count with any certainty on his lucid intervals, or put any trust in a king who was alternately declared to be sane or insane according to the rise or fall of a party. The House of Commons and the people would certainly have gone farther in the way of revolution; but the prelates, with one or two exceptions, and most of the lay lords were still averse to a change of dynasty. Indeed, they seem to have yielded to a strong popular demonstration on this occasion, and to have appointed York protector, contrary to their inclinations. The duke, however, had a majority in the council, and he gave some of the most important offices to his tried friends. The Earl of Salisbury was made chancellor, and the Earl of Warwick received the command of Calais, which soon became the stronghold and refuge of the party. No acts of vengeance were committed: it was considered that the Somerset faction had suffered sufficiently in the deaths of the lords in the affair of St. Alban's. Not a drop of blood was spilt, nor a single attainder passed.

Queen Margaret was not idle during this second short protectorate, and the powerful party of the court was put in motion. When parliament met, after the Christmas recess, in 1456, Henry, to the surprise of most people, attended, and demanded back, and received from the lords, all his authority as king. No doubt was raised touching his malady, and York resigned the protectorate without a struggle—apparently without a murmur. All the officers he had appointed were dismissed and replaced by persons devoted to the queen. Then York thought it time to look after the personal safety of himself, his sons, and adherents. He retired to his estates, where he kept his vassals on the alert; and most of the great lords of his party did the same. This was the more necessary, as the families and friends of Somerset and Northumberland, and the other lords who had fallen at St. Alban's, openly expressed their determination to take a sanguinary vengeance. Having once drawn blood, the Lancastrians and the Yorkists (we must now use these dreadful words) could no longer settle their differences by any other means than the sword; and they prepared to make England the seat of a civil warfare like that which had raged in France, under similar circumstances, between the Bourguignons and the Armagnacs. But there were some essential points of difference in the civil wars of the two countries: the objects of the English factions were loftier and better defined than those of the French parties; they deliberated a long time before they drew the sword; and, when they drew it, they wielded it in a more manly fashion. Instead of proceeding by surprises and assassinations, sieges of castles, and paltry skirmishes,—instead of dragging on an indecisive war year after year, harrowing and wasting the substance of the poor people, each party collected its forces at once, and hastened to try the issue on an open field of battle.

In the end of February a great council was held at Coventry, and a sort of pacification was there effected between the Yorkists and the court party, the duke and his friend Warwick being compelled to give fresh assurances and oaths of fidelity.* The king, who was, no doubt, sincere, whatever may have been the feelings of his wife and the courtiers, then endeavoured to reconcile York and his friends with the avengers of Somerset and Northumberland. London was chosen, by mutual consent, to be the scene of this great peace-making. The Yorkists were lodged in the city, where their protection was secured by the mayor and the armed burghers; the Lancastrian lords were lodged outside the walls and in the neighbourhood. After some days spent in deliberation, the king, who lay at Berkhamstead, and who had assumed the character of umpire, gave his award, signifying that the Duke of York and the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury should build a chapel for the good of the souls of the lords they had killed at St. Alban's; that both those who were killed there and those who had killed them should be held loyal subjects; that the Duke of York should pay to the widow and children of the Duke of Somerset the sum of five thousand marks; that the Earl of Warwick should pay to Lord Clifford the sum of a thousand marks, and that the Earl of Salisbury should release Percy Lord Egremont from the damages he had obtained against him for an assault, upon condition of Percy's giving securities to keep the peace for ten years. This award was accepted; the court came into the city; and king, queen, Duke of York, and all, walked lovingly together in procession to St. Paul's.†

* On this occasion the assent of the commons is formally introduced in the act passed to ratify the election of the peers.

† Rot. Parl.

* The transactions at Coventry, and those which followed soon after in London, are involved in considerable doubt. Some light is thrown on the obscurity by passages in the Paston Letters, but much will for ever remain dark. It is clear, however, that both in Coventry and London the Yorkists feared a plot on the part of the queen. According to some accounts, the Duke of York and the Earl of Warwick, by the terms of reconciliation, were to have places in the council. No such places were given to them.

† Whethamstede.—Rot. Parl. Long accounts of the procession

This was on the 25th day of March. In the month of May, Warwick, who had been allowed to retain the command at Calais, engaged, with great bravery, but without a due regard to the laws of nations, a strong fleet belonging the Hanse Towns, captured five or six ships, and carried them into Calais. The powerful Hanseatic league complained to the English court, which called upon Warwick for explanations. Warwick presented himself at Westminster; but in a few days he fled, alleging that his life was aimed at by the malice of the courtiers, who had set on men wearing the king's livery to assassinate him.* The truth is, neither of the two parties could trust the other; the reconciliation brought about through the gentle-hearted king was only apparent; the relations of the lords killed at St. Alban's thirsted for vengeance as much as ever; and the Yorkists believed that the queen kept a dismal record in which the names of all the leaders of their party were inscribed in letters of blood. Warwick joined his father, the Earl of Salisbury, and soon after they had a conference with the Duke of York and his friends. He then hastened over to Calais, where he was so popular, that his recal or dismissal by the government of Henry would have been but an idle ceremony. During the winter months he collected some veteran troops who had served in the French wars. In England the Yorkists were not less active; and as the court was raising an army as fast as the embarrassment of its finances would permit, it became evident that a fierce conflict was inevitable. The Yorkists asserted, as before, that they only armed for their own security. In the month of September, 1459, the Earl of Salisbury moved from Middleham Castle in Yorkshire, to join his forces to those of Duke Richard, who lay in the Welsh marches. At Bloreheath, near Drayton, in Shropshire, he found himself in presence of a Lancastrian army, commanded by Lord Audley, who had thrown himself between the earl and the duke with the view of preventing their junction. The Lancastrians were far superior in number;—they are estimated by some writers at ten thousand men; but Salisbury, by a feigned retreat, and by superior generalship, and the better discipline of his troops, gained a complete victory. Two thousand of the Lancastrians were slain, and Lord Audley himself was included in the number.

Salisbury joined the duke at Ludlow Castle, and Warwick, the true hero of these unhappy times, appeared there soon after with the fine troops he had raised at Calais.† The Lancastrians were not unprepared: sixty thousand men had been collected from different parts, and Henry was at Worcester with this force. After some negotiations, in which the Yorkists asserted that the king's promises and good intentions were things not to be counted upon, as the courtiers did their own will against his wishes, and had in the preceding year basely attempted to murder the Earl of Warwick, the Lancastrians advanced from Worcester against their enemies, who, notwithstanding the comparative smallness of their numbers, boldly awaited their attack. The positions occupied by the Yorkists showed the military science of Warwick and his father Salisbury; they had thrown up intrenchments and disposed in battery a number of cannons and bombards, and though as yet the field-artillery was very deficient, being clumsy, slow, and difficult to move, cannons had become of great importance in fortified camps or fixed positions of any kind. As the Lancastrians approached, they were cannonaded with some effect; the lines of the enemy were imposing; and it was resolved to put off the battle for that day. During the night Sir Andrew Trollop, who was marshal of the Yorkist camp, and who had the immediate command of most of the men brought from Calais, deserted with all his veterans to the standard of Henry. "When the Duke of York was advertised of this departing," says our old historian of the Wars of the Roses, "no marvel though his senses were moved and his wits disturbed, as a man that suddenly riseth out of a trance wotteth not what to do or say."* This defection finished the campaign: the Yorkists broke up from the intrenched camp near Ludlow, and retreated in different directions without being followed.

All this happened on the 13th and 14th of October, 1459. On the 20th of November a parliament met at Coventry, and attainted the Duke of York, his duchess, his sons, the Earl and Countess of Salisbury, their son the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Clinton, and many others. The Duke of York, who was thus doomed, had got safely to Ireland, where he was still popular from the remembrance of his former government of that island. The Earl of Warwick had retired to his sure asylum of Calais, conducting with him his father, the Earl of Salisbury, and the young Earl of March, the Duke Richard's heir. The court appointed the Duke of Somerset to the command of Calais; but when that obnoxious nobleman appeared before the port, the batteries opened upon him, and he was glad to escape to Guisnes. While he lay there, the mariners of his fleet deserted to a man, and went over to their great favourite, Warwick, carrying all the ships with them. This gave the "king-maker" the command of the Channel, and after taking two small fleets, fitted out by the Lancastrians, he sailed to Dublin.† From Ireland he returned to Calais, and then, crossing the Channel, he landed in Kent towards the end of June, 1460. He only brought fifteen hundred men with him; but manifestos had been previously circulated, and the men of Kent crowded to his banner. As he approached Canterbury, the archbishop, who had been pro-

to St. Paul's are given in Hall, Stow, and Holinshed. The Duke of York and the queen walked hand in hand. The great quarrel was between these two.

* As Warwick was leaving the court, one of his retinue was struck by a servant of the royal household, and a dreadful affray followed. It is not proved that there was a design to murder the earl; but it is quite clear that the parties were in such a state that any accident must bring them to a collision.

† Whetham.—Hall.—Stow.

* Hall.

† Whetham.—Paston Letters.

moted during the first protectorate of the Duke of York, went out to meet him and welcome him. The Lord Cobham and all the knights and gentlemen in the neighbourhood soon joined his army, which was swelled to thirty thousand men before he reached Blackheath. On the 2nd of July, the city of London welcomed him as a friend and deliverer; and he rode through the city, accompanied by his father and Edward the heir of York, to whose beautiful person and promising appearance all eyes were turned. Five bishops followed in the train of Warwick, who, without losing time, continued his march into the midland counties. He found the Lancastrians at Northampton, occupying an intrenched camp not unlike that which he and his friends had formed at Ludlow in the preceding year. There were other points of resemblance between these two affairs, for Lord Grey de Ruthyn now deserted the Lancastrians as Sir Andrew Trollop had deserted the Yorkists. The former, however, were not so fortunate in their retreat: they lost three hundred knights and gentlemen, besides the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lords Beaumont and Egremont.* It appears that in this, as in several other encounters, all the victims were men of condition, for Warwick adopted as a fixed principle that it was proper or politic to spare the common people, and to refuse quarter to the nobles and the leaders. The unhappy Henry was taken prisoner a second time, but Margaret escaped with her son Edward, and, after many adventures, got into Scotland. The victors marched back to the capital and summoned a new parliament, to meet at Westminster in the name of King Henry, whom they treated with great tenderness and respect. The parliament repealed all the acts passed at Coventry the year before, alleging that that parliament had not been duly and freely elected. Then the Duke of York, who had come over from Ireland, entered London with a splendid retinue all armed and well mounted. From the city he rode to Westminster, where he dismounted and entered the House of Lords. It was an exciting moment: he walked straight to the throne and laid his hand upon the gold cloth which covered it; but there he paused—looked round—and did not seat himself on the throne. He had, however, at last made up his mind to claim it. His friend, the Archbishop of Canterbury, asked him if he would not visit the king, who was in the palace hard by? The duke replied that Henry ought rather to wait upon him, —that he was subject to no man in that realm,—but, under God, was entitled to all sovereignty and respect. The peers maintained a dead silence, and the duke, leaving the house, took possession of the royal palace as his own.† In less than a week—on the 16th of October—the duke sent a formal demand of the crown to the lords, requiring their immediate answer. The lords told him that they refused justice to no man, but that they could give no answer without the advice and consent of the king. They, however, were forced to attend to the duke's paper, in which he traced his descent, and claimed as the representative of Roger Mortimer, whose right he maintained was according to all law preferable to that of a descendant of Henry of Bolingbroke, who had entered upon the thrones of England and France against all manner of right. There was probably much in this proposition unpalatable, even as constitutional doctrine, to the upper house. Many of the great lords, moreover, had attained to their greatness under Henry of Bolingbroke, his son, and grandson, whom it was now proposed to declare usurpers; and the Yorkists had irritated the tenderest susceptibilities of many of the lords by their repeated threats of resuming the estates and grants of the crown. At the same time, no doubt, they felt some sympathy for the inoffensive king, who, now that the queen was away, was pitied by the people at large. Indeed, a notion had gone forth that Henry was very likely to become a saint, and to be canonised, like his predecessor Edward the Confessor, whom he resembled in many respects. As the Duke of York would not brook delay, the lords waited upon Henry on the following morning. The captive king, or those who advised him, made a spirited reply, reminding the lords that he, as an infant, had inherited the crown which had been worn with honour by his father and his father's father,—that he himself had been permitted to wear it without challenge for forty years, and that the lords and princes had all repeatedly sworn fealty to him. Instead, however, of standing on the firm ground of former precedents, which had shown that England was not to be considered as heritable property, and that the order of succession could be altered by the estates of the kingdom, the lords were requested to make search for arguments and proofs against the duke's right. This was in fact giving up the question, for as soon as the laws of hereditary descent were assumed as decisive, the title of Richard became indisputable, and all the objections to it were idle and ridiculous, excepting always that derived from the oaths of fealty the duke had taken to the reigning king. The lords, greatly embarrassed, wished to have the opinion of the judges, but the judges asserted that such high matters could be decided only by the princes of the blood and the parliament, and refused to attend. The Upper House then summoned the king's serjeants and attorneys, who were obliged to attend against their will, the lords holding them as bound by their office to give advice to the House. The lords deliberated and voted with an appearance of perfect freedom, just as if Warwick had not been at hand at the head of a victorious army; and, on the 23rd of October, they presented their objections to Richard's title. These were—1. The duke's oaths of fealty and the oaths they had all taken to Henry; 2. Many acts of parliament passed since the accession of the House of Lancaster; 3. That entails had been made of the

* Whetham.—Stow.—Hall.
† Whetham.—Hall.—Rot. Parl.

crown on the male line only, whereas he claimed through a female. The other two objections were thoroughly ridiculous; they referred to York not having borne his proper coat-of-arms, and to a declaration made by Henry IV., which everybody knew to be utterly false.* The duke's counsel had an easy task in replying to these objections. Nothing was of much weight except the oaths, and these the duke offered to refer to the consideration of the highest spiritual court. The lords were compelled to acknowledge that the hereditary law was wholly in favour of York. At the end of this curious inquiry, they suggested a compromise which York had the moderation to accept. Henry was to retain the crown during his life; but at his death it was to devolve to Richard, and to be vested in him and his heirs, to the exclusion of Prince Edward, the son of Margaret of Anjou.†

But there was a powerful party whose voices were not heard in these deliberations, and the energetic Margaret was at large exciting them to take up arms for her son. Soon the gentle hills of England glittered again with hostile lances, and hostile bands, collecting from all quarters, advanced to meet in two great armies, the one under the Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Northumberland and Devon, and the Lords Clifford, Dacres, and Nevil; the other under the Duke of York, the Earl of Salisbury, and other lords. They met, on the last day but one of the year, at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, where Richard, who was as quick in the field as he was slow and cautious in the council, imprudently gave battle with forces very inferior in number. The onslaught was terrific; the men on both sides fought with savage fury, for the people had entered into the delicate questions of right and legitimacy, and their passions were worked up to frenzy. For a time the Yorkists maintained the conflict with a good hope of victory, for they were in a better state of discipline than their adversaries; but a sudden charge in their rear, made by some troops of borderers who had been brought up by Queen Margaret, proved fatal to them. The duke himself was slain; and of five thousand men who had followed him to Wakefield, two thousand remained upon the field. The Earl of Salisbury was pursued and taken during the night: he was carried to Pontefract Castle, where he lost his head. York's second son, the Earl of Rutland, a beautiful boy only twelve or thirteen years old, was stopped at Wakefield Bridge, as he was flying with a priest "called Sir Robert Aspall, who was chaplain and schoolmaster to the young earl." The poor boy fell on his knees to pray for mercy, but, as soon as he was known, Lord Clifford, whose father had been killed by the Yorkists at St. Alban's, plunged his dagger into his heart, vowing, by God's blood, that he would do the like to all of kin to York, and then the savage bade Aspall go on and tell his mother, the duchess, what had happened. England was not yet accustomed to such deeds, and a cry of horror ran through the land. Margaret vented what spite she could upon the lifeless body of Duke Richard; by her orders his head was stuck over a gate of the city of York, and a paper crown was put upon it in cruel mockery. If he had had less mercy and moderation he might have worn the real crown long before, and have sent the husband and the son of Margaret to their graves. Nearly all the officers and persons of note died fighting at Wakefield, where no quarter was given; but a few knights and esquires who escaped from the field were taken and executed by order of the queen at Pontefract and other places. This vindictive woman was mad for blood, and her fury was but too well seconded by such of the Lancastrians as had lost friends and relations in the war. "At this deadly blood-supping was much joy and great rejoicing; but many laughed then that sore lamented after, as the queen herself and her son: and many were glad then of other men's deaths, not knowing that their own were near at hand, as the Lord Clifford and others."*

A.D. 1461.—Edward Earl of March, now Duke of York, was lying at Gloucester when he received news of the death of his father, brother, and friends: he had raised a body of troops to reinforce the army in the north, but, being too late for that operation, he moved towards the south-east with the intention of throwing himself between the queen's army and the capital, within the walls of which was the main strength of his party. The fate of Duke Richard, which was proclaimed in manifestos, greatly irritated the vassals of the House of Mortimer, and thousands who had not moved before now left the Welsh marches and followed the standard of his son. Upon this he was encouraged to proceed directly towards the queen; but he found an enemy sooner than he expected, for a great force of Welsh and Irish had been detached under Jasper Earl of Pembroke, King Henry's half-brother, and a dreadful conflict took place on the 1st of February, at Mortimer's Cross, near Hereford. Edward gained a complete victory: three thousand six hundred of his enemies were left on the field; Owen Tudor, the second husband of Catherine of France, was taken, and, with eight other Lancastrians of rank, was beheaded at Hereford a few days after, as a retaliation for the queen's executions at Wakefield, Pontefract, and other parts in Yorkshire. Jasper, Owen Tudor's son, had the good fortune to escape out of the battle.

Before Edward could join him in the east, the Earl of Warwick was attacked and routed by the queen, who had followed the high northern road with good hopes of reaching London. At the

* Henry, it will be remembered, had claimed the crown as being "descended by right line of blood from the good lord King Henry III." (See Vol. i. p. 800.) He pretended that his ancestor, Edmund Earl of Lancaster, the great-grandfather of his mother the Duchess Blanche, was the elder brother of Edward I., but had been set aside in favour of Edward, in consequence of being deformed in body. This was simply a barefaced invention and untruth, in opposition to all evidence, and could not for a moment have deceived anybody. It seems to have been put forward merely as a decent superficial varnish, which might perhaps soften the irregular character of the transaction to formal consciences.

† Rot. Parl.—Whetham.—Hall.

* Hall.

town of St. Alban's, which was held by the Yorkists, she experienced a severe check; but, turning that position, she fell upon the army of Warwick, which occupied the hills to the south-east of the town. The combat was prolonged over the undulating country that lies between St. Alban's and Barnet; and the last stand was made by the men of Kent upon Barnet Common. At night-fall, Warwick found himself beaten at all points; and so precipitate was his retreat that he left King Henry behind him at Barnet. The queen and her son found this helpless man in his tent, attended only by the Lord Montague, his chamberlain. In this running fight the Yorkists lost nearly two thousand men, and, on the following day, the Lord Bonvile and the brave Sir Thomas Kyriel, who had been made prisoners, were executed in retaliation for the beheading of Tudor and his companions at Hereford. In this manner every battle swelled the account of individual and party vengeance, until the whole war took the dark character of a personal feud. On the 17th of February King Henry was freed again from the hands of his enemies: five days after, a proclamation was issued in his name, stating that he had consented to the late arrangement respecting the succession to the crown only through force and fear. Edward, "late Earl of March," was declared a traitor anew, and rewards were offered for his apprehension.

But Edward was now in a situation to proclaim traitors, and to put a price upon other men's heads himself. His victory at Mortimer's Cross, where more Lancastrians were slain than in any preceding battle, produced a great effect. As he marched eastward, every town and every village reinforced him, and when he joined the Earl of Warwick and collected that nobleman's scattered forces, he had an army more than equal to that of the queen. The favour of the Londoners, the cruelties of the queen, and the conduct of the undisciplined troops which she had brought from the north, made the balance incline wholly to the side of the Yorkists. It appears that Margaret and her party had no money, and that their troops subsisted by plunder. It was reported that the Borderers and the men of the north had expressly covenanted for the spoil of all things after they had once passed the river Trent, and their conduct seemed to verify this rumour. Wherever they stopped they laid the country bare, making free by the way with whatever they could carry off, and not making much difference between things sacred and things profane. After the battle, they not only plundered the town of St. Alban's, but also stripped the rich abbey.* These doings got them an evil fame in all the south, where every man who had been quiet before began to arm for the protection of his property. According to one of our old historians, "the wealth of London looked pale, knowing itself in danger from the northern army, in which were Scots, Welsh, and Irish, as well as English." At the same time the Londoners were told that Margaret had threatened to wreak her vengeance upon them for the favour they had so constantly shown to her enemies. She sent from Barnet to the city, demanding supplies of provisions; and the mayor, not knowing as yet that Edward was at hand, loaded some carts with "lenten stuff" for the refreshing of her army; but the people would not suffer them to pass, and, after an affray, stopped them at Cripplegate. During this disturbance some four hundred horse, who had ridden from Barnet, plundered the northern suburbs of the city, and would have entered one of the gates had they not been stoutly met and repulsed by the common people. A day or two after, on the 25th of February, the united forces of Edward and Warwick appeared in view, and were received as friends and deliverers. The northern army was in full retreat from St. Alban's, and Edward, who was a stranger to the scruples and indecision of his more amiable father, was fully resolved to seize the throne at once. He rode through the city like a king and a conqueror: and he was carried forward to his object by a high stream of popularity and the enthusiastic feelings of the people, who could not sufficiently admire his youth, beauty, and spirit, or pity his family misfortunes. One of the chroniclers is at a loss for words to declare "how the Kentish men resorted,—how the people of Essex swarmed,—and how all the counties near to London daily repaired to see, aid, and comfort this lusty prince and flower of chivalry, as he in whom the hope of their joy and the trust of their quietness then consisted."*

The Lord Falconberg got up a grand review of part of the army in St. John's Field; and a great number of the substantial citizens assembled with the multitude to witness this sight. Of a sudden, Falconberg and the Bishop of Exeter, one of Warwick's brothers, addressed the multitude thus assembled, touching the offences, crimes, and deceits of the late government,—the long-proved incapacity of Henry,—the usurpation and false title through which he had obtained the throne; and then the orators asked if they would have this Henry to reign over them any longer. The people, with one voice, cried "Nay, nay." Falconberg, or the bishop, then expounded the just title of Edward, formerly Earl of March, and drew a flattering, but not untrue, picture of his valour, activity, and abilities. Then they asked the people if they would serve, love, and obey Edward; and the people of course shouted "Yea, yea;" crying "King Edward! King Edward!" with much shouting and clapping of hands. But this scene in St. John's Field could scarcely be deemed a sufficient election or recognition. On the following day, the 2nd of March, a great council, consisting of lords spiritual and temporal, deliberated and declared, without any reference to the authority of parliament, which never met till eight months

* The plunder of the abbey entirely changed the worthy abbot's politics, and, from a zealous Lancastrian, Whythamstede became a Yorkist.

* Hall.

after, that Henry of Lancaster, by joining the queen's forces, had broken faith, and violated the award of the preceding year, and thereby forfeited the crown to the heir of the late Duke of York, whose rights by birth had been proved and established. On the 4th of March, Edward rode royally to Westminster, followed by an immense procession. There he at once mounted the throne which his father had only touched with a faltering hand; and from that vantage ground he explained to a favourable audience the doctrine of hereditary right, and the claims of his family. The people frequently interrupted him with their acclamations. He then proceeded to the abbey church, where he repeated the same discourse, and where he was again interrupted by shouts of "Long live King Edward!" On the same day he was proclaimed in the usual manner in different parts of the city.*

At the time he took these bold steps, Edward was not twenty one years old.

* Whetham.—Cont. Croyl.—Stowe.—Hall.—Paston Letters.

Edward IV.

Edward IV

From a Painting on a board, formerly preserved in the Manor House, Southwick, Northamptonshire.

A.D. 1461. Instead of staying in London to enjoy the pageant and festivity of a coronation, Edward was obliged to take the field instantly, and face the horrors of a war which became more and more merciless. The Lancastrians, after their retreat from St. Alban's, had gathered in greater force than ever behind the Trent and the Humber; and, by the middle of March, they took up ground in the neighbourhood of the city of York, being, horse and foot together, sixty thousand strong. Their chief commander was the Duke of Somerset, who acted in concert with Queen Margaret; for Henry still lay helpless at York, and the Prince Edward, Margaret's son, was only eight years old. Instead of awaiting their attack in the southern counties, the Yorkists determined to meet them on their own ground in the north. This resolution was adopted by the advice of the Earl of Warwick, who set out at once with the van of the army. Edward closely followed him; and, partly through good will to him and his cause, and still more from an anxious wish to prevent a second visit from the northern army, the men of the south flocked to his advancing banner, and, by the time he reached Pontefract Castle, he was at the head of an army of forty-nine thousand men. England had never before witnessed such a campaign as this. There was no generalship displayed; the ordinary precautions and manœuvres of war were despised, and Yorkists and Lancastrians moved on in furious masses, with no other plan than to meet and strike. They met in full force at Towton,

GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD IV.

on the 28th of March, and began a general combat in the midst of a terrible snow-storm. They fought from nine o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon, when the Lancastrians, who were more numerous than their adversaries, but not so well armed and equipped, were driven from the field, upon which they left twenty-eight thousand dead —a far greater number than had fallen in battle on the side of the English during the whole French war. Edward, who had none of the generous or merciful feelings of youth, had ordered that no quarter should be given. The Earl of Northumberland and six northern barons died fighting; the Earls of Devonshire and Wiltshire were taken prisoners, and beheaded as traitors. The Duke of Somerset, the commander-in-chief, escaped with the Duke of Exeter to York, whence they fled rapidly to the Scottish borders, carrying with them Queen Margaret, her son, and her husband. The previous battles of the Roses sink into insignificance when compared with this mighty slaughter: the loss on both sides had hitherto usually ranged between the moderate numbers of three hundred and five or six thousand; but at Towton there perished, between Yorkists and Lancastrians, thirty-eight thousand men.* The effect of this deplorable sacrifice of human life was firmly to fix, for a time, the crown upon the head of a prince who soon proved that he was unworthy of it.

Edward entered York a very short time after the flight of Henry, and having decapitated some of his prisoners, and stuck their heads upon the walls, from which he took down the heads of his father and young brother, he continued his march as far north as Newcastle. The people submitted to the conqueror, whose hands were yet reeking with the blood shed at Towton; but the Scots, who had contracted a close alliance with Henry, were disposed to give him farther trouble. But Edward, confident in his officers, and impatient for his coronation, soon left the army, and returned to London. On the 29th of June, he was crowned at Westminster, with the usual solemnities; and he then created his brother George, Duke of Clarence, and his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester. The Scots, who had been gratified by the gift of their old town of Berwick, laid siege to Carlisle, and assisted Margaret in making an incursion into the county of Durham: but both these operations were unsuccessful. Henry, who was carried about by the Lancastrians, had a narrow escape from being made prisoner near Durham; and the Scottish army before Carlisle was defeated with great loss by Lord Montague, one of Edward's commanders. By the time the new king assembled his first parliament, which was not till the 4th of November, all opposition had disappeared, and there was no armed force on foot in England, except such bands of his victorious army as he could afford to keep embodied. As the chiefs of the Lancastrian party were all proscribed, or about to be so, as some of the peers were absent, and others intimidated, and as the House of Commons and the city of London were declared and enthusiastic Yorkists, no opposition, no defence of the revolution which had placed the family of Lancaster on the throne, was to be apprehended. An act was passed to declare Edward's just title. No allusion was made to the mental derangement or incapacity of Henry, or to any of those demerits in the late government which might have justified this revolution. The position assumed was the high ground of legitimacy, which, however, would hardly have been thought of by the nation had it not been for the miserable weakness of the expelled sovereign. After stating Edward's right by descent, the act proceeded to declare the three kings of the Lan-

* Paston Letters.—Cont. Hist. Croyl.

castrian line tyrants and usurpers, and to recite how, upon the 4th day of the month of March last past, Edward had "taken upon him the realm of England and lordship of Ireland, and entered into the exercise of the royal estate, dignity, and pre-eminence, having on the same 4th day of March, amoved Henry, late called Henry VI., son to Henry, son to the said Henry, late Earl of Derby, son to John of Gaunt, from the occupation, intrusion, reign, and government of the realm."* The act thus confirmed Edward's title, and fixed the commencement of his reign from the 4th of March, the day on which he had been proclaimed. The other proceedings of this parliament were in keeping with this act: the grants made by the three Henrys were resumed, with certain exceptions, and bills of attainder were passed against the expelled king, the queen, Prince Edward, the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the Earls of Northumberland, Devonshire, Wiltshire, and Pembroke, the Lords Beaumont, De Roos, Nevil, Rougemont, Dacre, and Hungerford, and one hundred and fifty knights, esquires, and priests. Considering the fearful thinning the party had undergone on the bloody field of Towton, this proscription must have included most of the heads of the Lancastrian faction. As usual in such cases, the loyalty of the Yorkists was gratified and enlivened with gifts of the forfeited estates. Before the dissolution, Edward made a gracious speech to the commons, thanking them for the "tender and true hearts" they had shown unto him, and promising to be unto them a "very right wise and loving lord."† It was plain, however, from these unequivocal demonstrations, that this would be a reign of terror; and such it proved from beginning to end, being rendered horrible by blood, cruelty, and treachery.

If the deposed Henry had been left to himself, he would have found peace, and as much happiness as he was susceptible of, within the walls of some religious house; but Margaret was as resolute and as active as ever, and nothing was left to the proscribed nobles but their desperate swords. The queen, on finding her intrigues in Scotland counteracted by the money and the large promises of Edward, passed over to France, to see what assistance might be obtained from family affection and gratitude for past services. The Duke of Brittany, pitying her forlorn condition, gave her a little money; but Louis XI., who had succeeded in the preceding year to his father, Charles VII., was a most cunning, cautious prince—one that never gave anything without an equivalent, immediate or prospective, and who had even less family affection than the generality of kings. Louis explained how poor he was, how distracted the state of his kingdom; but when Margaret spoke of delivering up Calais as the price of his aid, he turned a more ready ear. He was not, however, in a condition to do much; and all that the fugitive queen obtained from him was the sum of twenty thousand crowns, and about two thousand men, under the command of Peter de Brezé, seneschal of Normandy, who, it appears, raised most of the men at his own expense. Such a reinforcement was not likely to turn the tide of victory. Margaret, however, returned to England, and threw herself into Northumberland, where she was joined by the English exiles and some troops from the borders of Scotland. She even obtained some trifling successes, taking the castles of Alnwick, Bamborough, and Dunstanburgh; but she was obliged to flee when the Earl of Warwick advanced with twenty thousand men: the French got back to their ships, all but five hundred, who were cut to pieces at Holy Island, where they thought they could maintain themselves. A storm assailed her flying ships; the vessels that bore her money and stores were wrecked on the coast, and she and De Brezé reached Berwick in a wretched fishing-boat. This was in the month of November. In December, Warwick reduced Bamborough and Dunstanburgh, or rather those places surrendered, on condition that the Duke of Somerset, Sir Richard Percy, and some others should be restored to their estates and honours, upon taking oaths of allegiance to Edward; and that the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord de Roos, and the rest of the garrisons of the two places should be allowed to retire in safety to Scotland. Alnwick Castle was garrisoned by more determined men; and an attempt was made by a Lancastrian force to relieve it; but Warwick got possession of it by capitulation early in January.

A.D. 1463. Edward gave Alnwick to Sir John Ashley; and this circumstance converted Sir Ralph Gray from a very violent Yorkist into a very violent Lancastrian; for Gray had expected to get Alnwick for himself. This kind of sudden political conversion became very prevalent: we mention the fact, which goes far to explain the otherwise unaccountable conduct of the public men of the time, but we cannot enter into details of the particular cases. Somerset and Percy got back their lands, and their attainders were reversed in Parliament. It is stated that King Henry was now conveyed for safety to one of the strongest castles in Wales. Meanwhile, Margaret sailed once more from Scotland, to solicit foreign aid. She landed at Sluys, in Flanders, attended by De Brezé, the Duke of Exeter, and a small body of English exiles. Philip, Duke of Burgundy and Lord of Flanders, with all the adjoining country, was the same Duke Philip that had so long been the ally of the Lancastrians, and that had repeatedly sworn oaths of fealty to Henry; but the whole political system of his early life had changed, and in his old age he had become cautious and reserved. He had no wish to quarrel with the predominant faction in England; his subjects of Flanders were intolerant of all measures likely to interrupt their trade with the English; the Duke therefore gave Margaret some money to supply her immediate wants, and sent her with an honour-

* Rot. Pari. † Ibid.

able escort to her father in Lorraine, counselling her to wait events and be patient. But patience was a virtue little known to Margaret of Anjou, who, though she remained some years on the continent, never remitted her endeavours to raise up enemies against Edward, and stir the people of England to fresh revolts.

A.D. 1464. As early as the month of April, the Lancastrians were again in the field. The Duke of Somerset, in spite of his recent submission, flew to the north, where Percy had raised the banner of King Henry, who had been brought from Wales to give the sanction of his presence to this ill-arranged insurrection. The Lord Montague, brother to the Earl of Warwick, scattered their forces or prevented their joining: he defeated Percy on the 25th of April, at Hedgley-Moor, near Wooller; he surprised Somerset on the 15th of May, at Hexham. Percy died fighting; the Duke of Somerset and the Lords de Roos and Hungerford were taken and beheaded; and their deaths were followed by a series of executions at Newcastle, Durham, and York. Sir Ralph Gray, who had been out in this affair with the Lancastrians, was taken by the Earl of Warwick in the castle of Bamborough some weeks after, and carried to King Edward, who, during the short, murderous, and inglorious campaign, had been detained at Doncaster by an illness brought on by vicious excesses. Edward treated Gray with the utmost severity; his knightly spurs were stricken off by the king's cook; his coat-of-arms was torn from his body, and another coat, reversed, put upon his back: he was sent bare-foot to the town's end, and then he was laid down on a hurdle, and drawn to a scaffold, where his head was struck off.* King Henry lurked for a long time among the moors of Lancashire and Westmoreland, where not a man was found capable of betraying him, or of refusing him assistance. About a year after the battle of Hexham he removed into Yorkshire, where he was recognised by some persons of the opposite faction, or, as some say, betrayed by a monk. In the month of July he was seized in Waddington Hall, as he was sitting at dinner, by the servants of Sir James Harrington, who, with his associates, the Tempests, Talbots, and other Yorkists of those parts, forwarded the royal prisoner with a good guard to the capital. As the captive king rode through Islington, he was met by the Earl of Warwick, who lodged him safely in the Tower. From the savage character which the contest had taken, it might be expected, that if not sent publicly to the block, Henry would have been disposed of by secret assassination; but whether from pity or contempt, or from an apprehension of popular feeling, he was allowed to live on, and was even humanely treated in his prison.

The destruction of the greatest of his enemies, the flight of Queen Margaret, the captivity of her husband, the truces and treaties he had concluded with Scotland, with the King of France, with the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Brittany, the Kings of Denmark, Poland, Castile, and Arragon, and the congratulations of the pope on his accession, seemed to prove that Edward's throne was safe and unassailable; but a sudden passion for a beautiful woman—the least dishonourable and ungenerous passion he ever indulged in—shook the throne until it fell; and he, in his turn, became for a season a fugitive in foreign lands. Jacquetta, the Duchess of Bedford, was still living with her second husband, Sir Richard Woodville, or Wydeville. One day Edward paid this lady a visit at her manor of Grafton, near Stoney Stratford. By accident or design, Jacquetta had with her at the time of this visit, her beautiful daughter Elizabeth, who was widow of Sir John Gray, a Lancastrian, who had been slain in the second battle of St. Alban's, and whose estates had been forfeited. This young widow, who is described as being as accomplished and eloquent as she was beautiful, threw herself at the feet of the young and amorous sovereign, imploring him to reverse the attainder of Sir John Gray, in favour of her innocent and helpless children. Whether the effect of this touching appeal were foreseen or not, it seems quite certain that the experienced Jacquetta contrived to turn it to the best account for the advantage of her daughter, and that it was through her ingenious manœuvres that the impetuous Edward was induced to contract a private marriage with Elizabeth at Grafton, on the morning of the 1st of May, 1464. The fears of Edward induced him to keep this union a profound secret for some months; but on the 29th of September, having prepared his friends, and gathered around him the relations and connexions of his wife, who, notwithstanding their having been all of them Lancastrians, were not slow in changing their politics when Elizabeth became queen, he summoned a great council of the prelates and lay lords to meet in the royal abbey of Reading. There the king's brother, the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick, who are generally supposed to have been incensed at the unequal and impolitic marriage, took the fair Elizabeth by the hand, and introduced her to the august assembly, by which she was welcomed as their good and right queen. In the month of December following, Edward summoned another great council at Westminster, which settled upon his wife four thousand marks a year. Early in the following year he began to make preparations for her coronation, being anxious to elevate her in the eyes of the people, and place her, by a solemn act, above the level of the noble dames of England who had affected to treat her as an inferior, or, at most, as their equal. Jacquetta, who was come of a princely line, suggested or seconded an invitation which Edward sent to her brother James of Luxembourg; and James came over with a retinue of a hundred knights and esquires to do honour to the coronation of his niece. On Saturday, the 25th of May, Elizabeth was paraded in a horse-litter through

* Stow

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Queen Elizabeth Woodville.

the streets of London, being most richly attired, and escorted by thirty-eight new-made Knights of the Bath, four of whom were citizens of London; and on Sunday she was crowned at Westminster. The feasts, the tournaments, and public rejoicings which followed were unusually magnificent.

Up to this time Edward had left most of the offices and emoluments of government to the great family of the Nevils, to whom he indisputably owed his crown. Warwick, the eldest brother, was chief minister, general, and admiral; he held, besides, the posts of warden of the West Marches, chamberlain, and governor of Calais—the last the most profitable of all. The second brother, the Lord Montague, after his victories at Hedgley Moor and Hexham, had received the title and forfeited estates of the Percies, Earls of Northumberland, and he had the wardenship of the East Marches besides. The youngest brother, whom Edward had found Bishop of Exeter, had received the seals as chancellor on the 10th of March, 1461, six days after Edward's accession; and he had very recently been raised to the archiepiscopal see of York. Other members of the family had found most liberal provisions in the spoil and estates of the Lancastrian families; and while Edward had employed himself in the pursuit of pleasure, the Nevils had their own way in the council. But now the Woodvilles, the Grays, all the relations and connexions of the new queen, rushed to the table with an enormous and undiscriminating appetite, every man, in right of consanguinity, seeking a title, an estate, a place, or a rich wife. The court had great influence in such matters; and as the fortunes of the family had taken a turn by an unexpected marriage, they seem to have determined to pursue the system, and actually contracted five or six profitable alliances in a very short time. In one of these matches they clashed with the Nevils. Warwick had solicited the hand of the heiress of the Duke of Exeter for his own nephew; but by the superior influence of Elizabeth, this young lady was contracted to Thomas Gray, her eldest son by her former marriage. The Nevils were incensed at this measure; and other things trenching on their monopoly soon followed. The queen's father, now created Earl Rivers, was made treasurer in the place of their friend Lord Mountjoy; and, shortly after, the hitherto insignificant husband of Jacquetta was made lord high constable, in lieu of the Earl of Worcester. Other great families were irritated by the queen absorbing five heirs of dukes or earls for her five unmarried sisters. For a time the history of this reign is nothing but a scandalous chronicle of match-making and match-breaking, and selfish family intrigues.

A.D. 1467. In this year a marriage was negotiated for Edward's sister, Margaret of York, whose hand was solicited by Charles, Count of Charolois, heir to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and by Louis XI. of France, Charles's deadly enemy, for one of his sons. This Count of Charolois, who, in a very few months, succeeded to his

father, and who obtained the name of Charles the Rash, had always been the declared friend of Henry VI. and the Lancastrians; but he changed, like other men, on seeing Edward firmly established, and even courted his alliance, in the hope that he would assist him against Louis. Edward inclined to these proposals, and was in this probably seconded by the nation, which considered the trade with Flanders as a primary object, and which never was well disposed to French marriages and alliances; but Warwick, who hated the Count of Charolois, insisted that it would be more honourable and advantageous to marry Margaret to the French prince. Edward yielded, or pretended to yield, to his arguments, and commissioned the great earl himself to go over to France and negotiate the alliance. Warwick went with his usual magnificence; and the astute Louis, who beat all his cotemporaries in king-craft, received him with the honours usually paid to a sovereign prince. The first interview took place at La Bouille, on the Seine, five leagues from Rouen, on the 7th of June. Warwick then proceeded to the capital of Normandy. "The inhabitants of the town went out to meet the earl as far as the gate of the Quay St. Eloy, where the king had ordered all the parishes to give him a most honourable reception, with banners, crosses, and holy-water presented to him by the priests in their copes. He was thus conducted in procession to the cathedral, where he made his offering, and thence went to the lodgings that had been prepared for him at the Jacobins. The queen and princesses came likewise to Rouen; and the king remained there with the Earl of Warwick the space of twelve days, when the earl returned to England."* During the whole or the greater part of the time that Warwick staid at Rouen the King of France lodged in the next house, and he visited the earl at all hours, passing through a private door with a great air of mystery. This looks like one of the usual mischievous tricks of Louis, who must have known that the best way to weaken and distract the English government was to provoke suspicions and a rupture between Edward and Warwick. The earl arrived in London on the 5th of July, and he was soon followed by the French king's ambassadors, the Archbishop of Narbonne, and the Bastard of Bourbon, who, it appears, were charged to put the finishing hand to the treaty of alliance. But another more prevailing bastard had been before them. Under pretence of performing a joust with Edward's wife's brother, Anthony Woodville, who, by marrying the heiress of the late lord, had become Lord Scales, Anthony, Bastard of Burgundy, had crossed over to England while Warwick was absent in France. According to the chronicler, this visitor performed his deeds of arms much to his credit; but the encounter did not last long—"for as it was done to pleasure the King of England, he would not suffer the combat to continue fierce any time, so that it seemed rather for pastime."* Indeed, Messire Anthony had come on another errand than to get his bones broken in Smithfield, where the joust was held. He was commissioned by the Count of Charolois to press the match with Margaret; and he had obtained the promise of Edward, who overlooked the commission he had given Warwick to treat with King Louis. If afterwards any obstacle arose, it was removed by the sudden death of Duke Philip, which happened at Bruges, on the 15th of July, and which left to the count, his heir, the succession of states and territories which exceeded in wealth, if not in extent, the whole kingdom of France as then possessed by Louis. Such a suitor was sure to prevail over a weak, young French prince with nothing but a narrow and uncertain appanage. But weighty as were these considerations, they did not prevent the proud Earl of Warwick from considering himself juggled, insulted, and disgraced; and as the king, who had resigned himself to the counsels of the queen's relations, took no steps to soothe his irritation, he soon retired, in the worst of humours, to his castle of Middleham.† Edward, upon this, pretended to be in danger from treasonable attempts; he no longer moved any where without a strong body-guard of archers, and he or his court circulated reports that Warwick had been won by Louis, and that that king considered him as secretly disposed to restore the line of Lancaster. The Nevils were now expelled from court; but the youngest of the brothers, George, Archbishop of York, notwithstanding the family resentment, put himself forward as an arbitrator and peacemaker; and chiefly by his means a reconciliation was effected in the beginning of the following year.‡

A.D. 1468. Warwick presented himself again at court and in the capital, where he was hailed by the people. He appeared with the king and queen in some public pageants; but he could not tolerate the abridgement of his influence. The Woodvilles and the Grays, on the other hand, thought that he was still too powerful; and Edward, who desired a life of ease and pleasure, was annoyed by the stern interference of the man who had made him a king. It was soon understood that all this was likely to end in another field of Towton. The intrigue, the perfidy, the action and re-action which ensued, were not likely to be divulged to the solitary chroniclers of the time; they have never been cleared up and authenticated in legitimate history, and they now defy research. Indeed, the pen seems to have fallen, through disgust

* Monstrelet, Contin.

* Monstrelet, Contin.

† The common account of the origin of Warwick's disaffection attributes it to his disgust at the king's marriage with Elizabeth Woodville, which took place, it is said, at the very time that he was in France negotiating a marriage for Edward with Bona of Savoy, sister to the wife of the French king. But this story, as Dr. Lingard has observed, is not found in the oldest authorities; it is inconsistent with the manner in which Warwick is known to have conducted himself at and immediately after the marriage; and, in certain particulars, it clearly appears to be false. Besides, it is sufficiently refuted by the other story given in the text, of which it seems to be a blundering misrepresentation.

‡ Wyrcest.—Rym.

or despair, from the hands of contemporary writers; and at this perplexed and disgraceful period, the records of Parliament become scanty, or are altogether silent. We will, therefore, grope our way, as fast as we can, through this darkness tinted with blood.

The Duke of Clarence, second brother to King Edward, was considered as next male heir to the throne; for Edward, as yet, had only daughters by his marriage with Elizabeth. The duke's position probably made him an object of suspicion and dislike to the queen, and, at the same time, of ambitious speculation to Warwick, whose society he much affected. The earl had a daughter, the fair Isabella, who, it appears, inspired the young prince with a sincere and, for a time, uncalculating passion. Edward and the queen's party endeavoured to prevent the union; but, in spite of all opposition, the Duke of Clarence married the Lady Isabella at Calais, in the month of July, 1469. While the Earl of Warwick and his brother, the Archbishop of York, were engaged abroad with this ceremony, an insurrection of the farmers and peasants of Yorkshire broke out, and assumed a very alarming character; and it appears that Warwick's other brother, the Earl of Northumberland, who was on the spot, did little to crush it. The rallying words of the insurgents varied several times; but at last they fixed in a general cry for the removal of the queen's relations—the taxers and oppressors—from the council. Edward advanced as far as Newark; but his army was weak and unsteady, and he fled, rather than retreated, to Nottingham. From Nottingham Castle, he wrote letters with his own hand to Calais, beseeching his brother Clarence, Warwick, and the archbishop to come immediately to his assistance. These personages did not appear for some weeks, and in the interval a royal army, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, was defeated at Edgecote, on the 26th of July. Pembroke fell in the battle, and it is said that five thousand of his men perished with him. The insurgents, in a hot pursuit, overtook and captured in the forest of Dean the Earl Rivers, the father, and Sir John Woodville, one of the brothers of the queen: they carried these victims to Northampton, and there cut off both their heads. The Earl of Devon, whose folly and pride had been the real cause of the wretched defeat at Edgecote, was also taken and beheaded. The court believed that the insurgents in these executions acted under orders received from Clarence and his father-in-law, Warwick.* These great personages, with the Archbishop of York, now arrived in England, and, being joined by the Archbishop of Canterbury, they repaired in a very friendly manner to Olney, where they found Edward in a most unhappy condition; his friends were dead or scattered, flying for their lives or hiding themselves in remote places; the insurgents were almost upon him. A word from Warwick sent the rebels quietly back to the north; but the king was scarcely freed from that danger ere he found that he was a prisoner in the hands of his pretended liberators, who presently carried him to the strong castle of Middleham. Thus England had two kings, and both prisoners.

At this remarkable crisis the Lancastrians rose in arms in the marches of Scotland; and, after some trifling successes in those parts, meditated an advance into the south. Warwick had at this moment no notion of restoring Henry. In conjunction with the parliament, he summoned all loyal subjects to the standard of King Edward, and immediately marched northward to meet these new insurgents. The murmurs of the army compelled him to release his captive; and at York Edward was presented to the troops as a free and happy king. Warwick then went on and dispersed the Lancastrians: he took their leader prisoner, and brought him to Edward, who ordered his immediate execution. Soon after—but not before Warwick and his associates had exacted sundry grants and places—Edward was allowed to return to London, where, for the first time since his leaving Olney, he became really free. Then family treaties were signed, pledges given, and the most solemn oaths interchanged—each party binding itself to forgive and forget all that had passed. Edward was to love his brother Clarence as before; and even the insurgents of Yorkshire and other parts were included in an amnesty.*

A.D. 1470.—In the month of February, when this family peace had lasted about twelve weeks, the Archbishop of York gave an entertainment to the king, the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick, at his manor of the Moor, in Hertfordshire. As Edward was washing his hands previous to supper, an attendant whispered in his ear that an armed band was lurking near the house. Without his supper, and without any examination as to the correctness of this report, the king got secretly to horse, and, riding all night, reached Windsor Castle. The Duchess of York, the mother of the king, and the friend of Warwick, laboured to dispel these jealousies and animosities, and another hollow reconciliation was brought about. But then there broke out an insurrection among the commons of Lincolnshire, who complained of the extortions and oppressions of the purveyors and other officers of the royal household. Although he believed that this new disorder was their own work, the king was obliged to permit the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick to take the command of some forces destined for its suppression. Edward, however, marched from a different point with a more numerous army: and, after some faithless and savage deeds, he came up with the insurgents before Clarence and Warwick could reach them, and beat them in a sanguinary battle, which was fought on the 12th of March, at Erpingham, in Rutlandshire. The common insurgents were permitted to

* It seems, however, probable that the unfortunate men were sacrificed by the spontaneous fury of the people. The Earl of Devon was beheaded at Bridgewater.

* Cont. Hist. Croyl.—Rot. Parl.—Paston Letters.

depart; but all the leaders who had not fallen in battle were sent to the block. The king then turned openly against his brother Clarence and Warwick, who, it was said, would have joined the insurgents on the following day. After some military manœuvres and long marches, the duke and the earl found it necessary to disband their forces, and listen to conditions which the king offered by proclamation from the city of York. These terms were not very harsh, if they had been honourably meant; but they were not, and this was well known. Warwick, therefore, turned from the north, fled into Devonshire, and, with his wife, daughter, and several other ladies, his son-in-law, Clarence, and a considerable number of friends, embarked at Dartmouth, and made sail for Calais. But when, after a tedious navigation, he reached his old place of refuge, he found the artillery of Calais pointed against his ships, and, on seeking an explanation, learned that a Gascon knight, whom he had left there as his lieutenant, was advised of all that had recently passed in England, and was resolved to keep the place for King Edward. While they lay at anchor before the town, the young Duchess of Clarence, who had been married at Calais about a year before, was brought to bed of a son, and great entreaties were used before Warwick's lieutenant could be persuaded to send her two flaggons of wine; "which," adds Comines, "was great severity for a servant to use towards his master."

Warwick then sailed away for the coast of Normandy, to seek a temporary asylum with his cunning friend King Louis, who was right glad to see him as he was; for, in the preceding year, as soon as Warwick had made his peace with Edward, it had been resolved to join the Duke of Burgundy, who was at war with the French, and to send a great English army to the continent under the command of the earl, whose military reputation stood very high. It was in the month of May that Warwick, Clarence, and their families landed at Harfleur, where the Lord Admiral of France received them all with great respect, showing much gallantry to the ladies. Their vessels were admitted into the harbour, though they were numerous enough to excite some suspicion.* After a short time, the ladies with their retinues were honourably escorted to Valogne, where lodgings had been prepared for them by order of the French king. Though a truce had been concluded, Louis was exasperated against his nominal vassal Charles the Rash, who, since his marriage, had become wholly English and Yorkist: he wore on all occasions the blue garter on one of his legs, and the red cross on his mantle, which, adds the chronicler, plainly showed how fierce an enemy he was to his liege lord, the King of France. When the Duke Charles heard of the honourable reception given to the fugitives, and of Warwick's men being allowed to sell the captured ships and goods of his subjects, in Normandy, he became still more furious, and, by way of reprisal, seized upon all the French merchants who had gone to the fair of Antwerp. Louis, who was prepared for a war, cared little for all this, and gave frequent audience to the fugitives at Tours, Amboise, Vendôme, and other places. He was happy in his own way; for never did sovereign so delight in political manœuvre and intrigue, and never was intrigue more difficult than the one he had now upon his hands.

In the month of June, in the château of Amboise, the fallen Lancastrian queen and Prince of Wales met (at first by secret appointment) their old enemy, the Earl of Warwick. It was a scene for Shakspeare. Warwick had accused the queen of an attempt to murder him, and he knew her to have been the person that had sent his own father, his friends and associates, to the block. Margaret had cursed the name of Warwick for fifteen long years of misfortune and humiliation. Through that nobleman's means her husband was a prisoner, and she and her son, after suffering the extremity of privation and peril, were exiles and wanderers, dependant on the stinted bounty of relations or political friends. But even the vengeance and hatred of Margaret of Anjou could give way to higher considerations, and, when Warwick joined in cursing Edward of York, and engaged to restore the Lancastrian line, either in the person of her husband or son, she took him to her heart as a friend and brother. The great earl, however, did not engage to do all this without driving another of his hard bargains. Margaret's son, Prince Edward, married the Lady Anne, Warwick's second daughter; and thus, though he destroyed the prospects of Isabella, Duchess of Clarence, he still provided, and in a more direct manner, that one of his children should be Queen of England. "An unaccountable match this," exclaims Comines, "to dethrone and imprison the father, and then marry his daughter to the son; but this was by King Louis's adroit management." "It was no less surprising," continues this chronicler, who wrote of state matters with the knowledge of a statesman and diplomatist, "that he should delude the Duke of Clarence, brother to the king whom he opposed, who ought, in reason, to have dreaded and endeavoured to prevent the restoration of the House of Lancaster; but affairs of this nice nature are to be managed with great craft and artifice, and not without." Up to this point it seems pretty evident that Warwick's scheme was to place his first son-in-law, the Duke of Clarence, upon the throne instead of his brother Edward; but this plan would never have found favour in the sight of King Louis, whose assistance was indispensable, and even the all-prevailing Warwick might have doubted whether the Yorkists, to whom he must have addressed himself in this case, would have been mad enough to divide against each other, and endanger a re-

* It is said, in the continuation or supplement to Monstrelet, that they sailed with about eighty vessels; but this number, no doubt, included a great many merchantmen bearing the flag of the Duke of Burgundy, which Warwick had picked up and appropriated during his voyage from Calais.

volution which had been effected with such difficulty. The Lancastrian party, on the contrary, weakened though it was, was quite ready for another desperate plunge into the vortex, and Warwick, who was determined to recover his ascendancy and vast property, and to be revenged on him whom he considered the ungrateful king of his own making by whatsoever means that offered, did not despair, when allied with Margaret and her son, of making that party believe in the sincerity of his conversion, though he had slaughtered their relations and friends in the field and on the scaffold. But, in that case, it was necessary to give up the duke; and we have some doubt whether Warwick, as has been usually asserted, either stipulated for the succession of this prince in case of Margaret's son dying without issue, or for Clarence having a principal share in the administration during the minority.

The Duke of Clarence was at this time not much more than twenty-one years old, and, judging from all that is recorded of him, he must have conjoined a weak, bad head to a very indifferent heart. He was not, however, so far gone in fatuity as to be insensible to Warwick's startling alliance, —perilous to the whole House of York,—or to be blind to his own false position; and now an excellent negotiator came to him from his brother's court in the person of a fair lady. Comines, who was actively engaged in some of these transactions as friend, agent, and confidential minister of the Duke of Burgundy, and who had gone to Calais to keep the lieutenant-governor "true to his principles," tells us that, one day, a lady of quality passed through that town into France to join the Duchess of Clarence. "But," he adds, "the secret business to be managed by this lady was to implore the Duke of Clarence not to contribute to the subversion of his own family, by going along with those who were endeavouring to restore the House of Lancaster,—to remember their old insolences, and the hereditary hatred that was between them,—and not to be so infatuated as to imagine that the Earl of Warwick, who had married his daughter to the Prince of Wales, and sworn allegiance already, would not endeavour to put that prince upon the throne to the exclusion of all the Yorkists. This lady managed the affair with so much cunning and dexterity, that she prevailed with the duke to go over to King Edward's party, the duke desiring first to be in England. This lady was no fool nor blabber; and being on her way to join her mistress, the Duchess of Clarence, she, for that reason, was employed in this secret mission rather than a man." This mission seems to have been the sole precaution taken by Edward or his court at this crisis. "The king seemed never concerned at anything, but still followed his gallantries and his hunting; and nobody was so great with him as the Archbishop of York and the Marquis of Montague, both brothers to the Earl of Warwick: these swore to be true to him against all enemies whatsoever, and the thoughtless king put an entire confidence in them."* Comines does not pretend to be so well informed as to matters passing on this side the sea. It is not likely that Edward put much trust in Warwick's brothers, but it is very likely that he was afraid publicly to show any distrust of them. His brother-in-law, Charles the Rash, was both prudent and active on this occasion: he got ready a strong fleet to blockade Harfleur and the mouth of the Seine; he sent Edward word of the very port where Warwick designed to land; and, as the sea was an uncertain element, and the earl might break his blockade and escape his ships, he repeatedly warned him to take care of himself, and put his kingdom in a posture of defence. But Edward only laughed at these fears: he said he wished his adversary were landed; and only begged the duke to keep a good look-out at sea, so as to prevent the earl from again escaping into France, when he, Edward, should have beaten him in battle by land.

Warwick did not make him wait long. The Duke of Burgundy's fleet, which lay in battle array at Havre, was dispersed by a storm: as soon as the weather cleared Warwick set sail with a fair wind, and on the 13th of September landed safely on the Devonshire coast. We are not informed as to the force he brought with him, but, as King Louis had aided him both with ships and men, and as many persons had gone over to him from England, it must have been considerable. Edward at the moment was in the north, whither, it appears, he had been drawn by a feigned revolt headed by some of the Nevils. The great earl had not been landed above five or six days before the whole country flocked to his standard. "Fully furnished on every side by his kindred and friends, he took his way toward London, where he expected to find more open friends than privy enemies."† The capital, indeed, had been greatly excited by one Dr. Godard, who had preached at St. Paul's Cross in favour of the king in the Tower; and, in the neighbourhood, the men of Kent had taken up arms. As London seemed secure, and as news was brought that Edward had retraced his steps to Nottingham, Warwick soon changed his direction, and marched straight towards the Trent, summoning every man between the ages of sixteen and sixty to join him. Edward, in the mean time, found that the men he summoned did not come, and that those who were with him began to desert. One day, as he sat at dinner, news was brought him that the Marquis of Montague, Warwick's brother, and several other persons of quality had mounted their horses and caused the soldiers to toss their bonnets into the air, and cry "God bless King Harry!" It appears that Edward was at this moment in Lincolnshire, near the river Welland: he instantly armed himself, and posted a battalion of his guards at a neighbouring bridge in order to prevent the passage of the enemy, for Warwick's van was within half a day's march of him. The Lord Hastings was with Edward with a body of

* Comines. † Hall.

three thousand horse; but Hastings had married a sister of the Earl of Warwick, and, while the king had probably no great confidence in him,* the soldiers possibly had no great affection for the queen's brother, the Lord Scales, now Earl Rivers, who was also in attendance. Edward, at all events, determined to fly without fighting; and as his bravery, almost his only virtue, was always conspicuous, we must conclude that resistance was hopeless.

It happened that his quarters were at no great distance from the sea, and a small ship that followed with provisions for his army lay at anchor with two Dutch vessels hard-by, apparently in the Wash.† He had but just time to get on board these vessels, with a few lords and knights and about three hundred men. Before leaving the rest, they were exhorted to go and join the Earl of Warwick, pretending great friendship, but at the same time to retain secretly in their hearts their old affection and allegiance to King Edward,—a lesson which, as it has been remarked, might have been spared; for upon this principle high and low on both sides now acted whenever occasion called for dissimulation. The three vessels presently weighed anchor: not one in twenty of Edward's followers knew where they were going, and they were all without any clothes except the warlike gear they had on their backs, and no money had they in their pockets.‡ Edward sailed directly for Holland. The Easterlings, who joined the calling of privateers to that of merchants, and who at times appear to have been pirates as lawless and cruel as the corsairs of Tunis or Algiers, were then at war both with the English and French: they had many ships in the narrow seas, and had done the English much prejudice this year already, having taken several of their ships. Eight of these Easterlings gave chase to Edward's weak squadron. Edward ran his ships ashore on the coast of Friesland, near the small town of Alkmaar. Grutuse, the governor or stadtholder of Holland, Friesland, and Zealand, was at that time in Alkmaar, and he, by his prompt protection, saved the whole party from captivity,—for the Easterlings had brought their ships close in shore, and only waited the turn of the tide to board the three vessels. "The king," says Comines, "having no money, was forced to give the master of his ship a gown lined with martens, and to promise to do more for him another time; and sure so poor a company was never seen before; yet the Lord de la Grutuse dealt very honourably by them, giving them clothes, and bearing all their expenses till they came to the Hague, to which place he safely conducted them." From the Hague the governor despatched news to the Duke of Burgundy, Edward's loving brother-in-law, "who," adds the chronicler, "was much surprised when he heard it, and would have been much better pleased if it had been news of Edward's death, for he was in great apprehension of the Earl of Warwick, who was his enemy, and now become absolute in England." On the other side, King Louis, whose many agents soon carried him the intelligence, was overjoyed, and, being a religious sovereign, he gave orders that the nobles, the clergy, and the good people of Paris should make processions in honour of God and the Virgin Mary, and continue them for three days, with praise and thanksgiving for the great victory which Henry of Lancaster, lawful King of England, had gained over the foul usurper, the Earl of March, as also in gratitude for the happy peace that would now subsist between the two countries. Processions were afterwards performed in all the principal towns in Louis's dominions. This calculating monarch was all the better pleased by Warwick's sending immediately to repay some money he had borrowed from him for the expedition: the money and the messenger, it is true, were captured by one of the Easterlings; but the earl's good intention was made evident, and Louis comforted himself with the thought that his confederate was in a situation not only to pay his debts, but to render him more important service.

Warwick was now indeed possessed, in appearance, of all the power in England. From the neighbourhood of the Welland he turned back upon London, which he entered in triumph on the 6th of October, in company with Clarence,—for as yet this son-in-law concealed his disaffection and hostile projects. Warwick went directly to the Tower, and released King Henry, whom five years before he had himself committed to that prison. "When he imprisoned him he went before Henry, crying 'Treason! treason!' and 'Behold the traitor!'—but now he proclaimed him king, attended him to his palace at Westminster, and restored him to his royal title; and all this in the presence of the Duke of Clarence, who was not at all pleased with the sight."* A great number of persons of the first rank, who were in King Edward's interest, and who afterwards did him good service, took sanctuary in different religious houses. The queen, with her mother Jacquetta and her three daughters, had fled to the sanctuary of Westminster, where, being in great want of all things necessary, Elizabeth was shortly after delivered of her first son. Save that of the Earl of Worcester, who was hated for his cruelty by the people, who styled him "the butcher!" no blood was shed in this rapid revolution. We are left in the dark as to the proceedings of the parliament which met in the month of November, for its acts were erased from the rolls at the subsequent counter-revolution. It is stated, however, on good authority, that an act of settlement entailed the crown on Henry's son Edward, Prince of Wales, and, in case of that prince's death, on the Duke of Clarence. Warwick, of course, would take care to attaint his enemies and reward his friends: this "king-maker," in fact, was in all

* Hastings, however, remained true to Edward, accompanied him in his flight, contributed to his return, and continued to serve him faithfully, with the exception of taking "bribes from France."

† Hall says that Edward embarked at Lynn on the Wash.

‡ Comines.—Hall.

* Comines.

essentials king, and the imbecile Henry was still a captive, and in all probability a more unhappy one than he had been in his undisturbed prison in the Tower.*

A.D. 1471.—But if Edward had lost a crown like a game at cards, he regained it with equal rapidity. On the 12th of March, about five months after his flight from the Wash, he appeared with a fleet off the coast of Suffolk, having been assisted in secret by the Duke of Burgundy, who played as double a part in this business as might have been expected from his great rival Louis XI. He had issued a proclamation forbidding any of his subjects to join Edward, but, underhand, he sent him fifty thousand florins, with St. Andrew's cross, furnished him with three or four great ships of his own, which he had equipped for him at Vere, in Walcheren, and hired secretly fourteen Easterling ships all well armed,—"which supply was very great considering the times."† As Edward's troops, however, did not exceed twelve hundred men, he was deterred from landing in the Wash, on the shores of which was assembled a Lancastrian army, but, bearing to the north, he sailed into the Humber, and landed on the 16th of March at Ravenspur, the place where Henry of Bolingbroke had disembarked when he came to dethrone Richard II. Finding the people in the north not very favourable, he veiled his designs; and even at York he only engaged the citizens to assist him to recover his honour and estate as Duke of York, solemnly swearing not to attempt to recover the crown. A few oaths cost nothing in these times, and, in the present case, the necessity for dissimulating soon passed. At Pontefract, Warwick's brother, the Marquis of Montague, who already repented of the revolution he had helped to make, opened a correspondence instead of fighting, and permitted Edward's weak column to march within sight of his quarters, where a great force was collected. As soon as the Yorkists crossed the Trent they were on their own ground, and the people flocked from all sides to the standard of Edward, who then reassumed the royal title. In the neighbourhood of Coventry he found himself in presence of a Lancastrian army, under the command of the Earls of Warwick and Oxford and the Duke of Clarence: now was the moment for the latter to act, and, making his men put the White Rose of York over their gorgets, he went over with colours flying to his brother Edward. Upon this sudden manœuvre of his son-in-law, Warwick found himself compelled to decline the battle which was offered to him, and then Edward threw himself fearlessly between his enemies and the capital, which had forgotten the sermons of Doctor Godard and the roast-meats ‡ of the Earl of Warwick, and was once more all for Edward. Comines attributes the enthusiastic reception he met with in London to three things especially:—the first was, he says, the great number of his partisans in sanctuary within the walls, and the recent birth of a young prince; the next, the great debts which he owed to the richest of the merchants, who could only hope for payment through his restoration; and the third was, that the ladies of quality and rich citizens' wives, whom he had formerly delighted with his gallantries, forced their husbands and relations to declare themselves of his side. Whatever were their motives, it seems certain that the return of the White Rose of York was hailed with enthusiasm, though the citizens took good care not to declare themselves openly until they saw which way the campaign would turn. But Edward had short time to enjoy these demonstrations,—the Lancastrian army had collected in one mass, and Warwick was advancing upon the capital by the high north road. After passing only two days in London, Edward took the field. He found Warwick's force drawn out in order of battle on Barnet Common, only twelve miles from London. About forty thousand Englishmen prepared to draw the sword and bend the bow against each other,—the two armies, it appears, being nearly equal in number. But it was late in the day, and it was the eve of Easter Sunday, and so the battle was delayed till the morrow. The Duke of Clarence was in a trying position, for his wife, who had great influence over him, was daughter to the Earl of Warwick, and his own happiest days, as well as his unhappiest, had been spent in the society of that nobleman. He sent to make an offer of his mediation, but this was indignantly rejected by his father-in-law. "Go tell your master," cried the proud earl to the messenger, "that Warwick, true to his oath, is a better man than false perjured Clarence, and will settle this quarrel by the sword to which he has appealed." At an early hour on the following day, battle was joined. "Both sides fought on foot, and the king's van-guard suffered extremely in this action; the earl's main battle advanced against his, and so near; that the king himself was engaged in person, and behaved himself as bravely as any officer in the army. The Earl of Warwick's custom was, never to fight on foot; but when he had once led his men to the charge, he mounted on horseback himself, and if he found victory inclined to his side, he charged boldly among them; if otherwise, he took care of himself in time and provided for his escape. But now, at the importunity of his brother the Marquis of Montague * (who was a person of great courage), he fought on foot and sent away his horses. The conclusion of all was, that the earl, the Marquis of Montague, and several other brave officers, were killed; for the slaughter was very great, King

* Cont. Hist. Croyl.—Fabyan.—Hall.—Comines. Comines.

‡ One of the secrets of Warwick's popularity lay in his kitchen and buttery. His hospitality was as boundless as his wealth. "When he came to London," says old Stow, "he held such an house, that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast, and every tavern was full of his meat; for he who had any acquaintance in that house, he should have had as much boiled and roast as he might carry on a long dagger."

* After what had passed at Pontefract, it is curious to find the Marquis on the side of Henry at Barnet. But there were all kinds of changings, and sudden changings again, during this contest. Some accounts make Montague a traitor at Barnet, and hold him answerable for the defeat and death of his brother.

Edward having resolved at his departure from Flanders to call out no more to spare the common soldiers and kill only the gentlemen, as he had formerly done, for he had conceived a mortal hatred against the commons of England for having favoured the Earl of Warwick so much, and for other reasons besides, so that he spared none of them at that time. This battle was bravely fought, for on the king's side there were killed fifteen hundred men.*

This battle of Barnet lasted from four o'clock in the morning till ten, during which time there was a thick mist, raised, as was once generally believed, by Friar Bungy, a great magician. There is a mist of another kind, and one which we cannot now clear, hanging over nearly the whole history of the battle, which, notwithstanding the time it lasted and the statement of Comines, we are disposed to believe was much less fierce and murderous than most of the preceding conflicts.† The results, however, are well authenticated. Of all the great Lancastrian lords who had fought on the side of the king-maker, not one escaped except the Earl of Oxford, who joined Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, who was in arms for King Henry in Wales.‡ Edward lost Lord Cromwell, Lord Say, and the son of Lord Berners, with Sir John Lisle, Thomas Par, and John Milwater, who were esquires to his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester. The common dead were buried on the same plain, half a mile from Barnet, where a chapel was erected for the good of their souls.§ The body of the "king-maker," with that of his brother Montague, was carried to London, and lay naked in the church of St. Paul's for the space of three or four days, that all men might see the end he had met with. The bodies of both were afterwards buried among their ancestors at Bisham Priory in Berkshire. King Henry, who had been taken in London, defenceless and helpless, was sent back to his old apartments in the Tower. But Margaret of Anjou, who was as active and resolute as ever, called the victorious Edward again into the field only five days after the battle of Barnet. Many circumstances had detained her on the continent, and it was her fortune to land at Plymouth with her son Prince Edward and a body of auxiliaries, chiefly French, on the very day on which Warwick was defeated and slain. In part, probably, on account of their old antipathy to the French queen, who now came surrounded with Frenchmen, and in part because they were weary of this civil war, the people opposed her progress, and, by securing the bridges and fords of the river Severn, prevented her joining the forces under the Earl of Pembroke in Wales. On the 4th of May, King Edward, with his brothers Clarence and Gloucester, fell upon her on the left bank of the Severn, near Tewkesbury. Her troops had thrown up some intrenchments from which they had repulsed the Yorkists; but the Duke of Somerset had the folly to quit this position, and, sallying forth, he ordered the mass of his troops to follow him, which some did, and others did not. Those who sallied were driven back with dreadful loss, and those who stayed behind were suspected of treachery, for no general was now sure of his officers. Somerset rode up to the Lord Wenlock, who had remained behind the intrenchments, and knocked out his brains with his battle-axe. The banner of the audacious Richard Duke of Gloucester was already within the Lancastrian lines; Edward and Clarence now followed, and the affair of Tewkesbury terminated in panic, confusion, and murder. Margaret of Anjou, who had survived so many catastrophes and escaped from so many battles, remained a prisoner at last, and with her was taken her son, the Prince of Wales, who was now only in his eighteenth year. "What brought you to England?" cried the ungenerous Edward. "My father's crown and mine own inheritance!" boldly replied the royal youth. Edward brutally struck him on the mouth with his gauntlet, and then Clarence and Gloucester, or their attendants (or, according to an earlier account which does not mention Clarence and Gloucester, Edward's servants), despatched him with their swords in the king's tent.* The Duke of Somerset, with the Grand Prior of St. John's, Sir Humphrey Audely, Sir Gervis of Clifton, Sir William Gainsby, Sir William Cary, Sir Henry Rose, Sir Thomas Tresham, and seven esquires, escaped from the field and took sanctuary in a church in Tewkesbury. This sacred kind of asylum had long been respected, and to this principle and feeling Edward had recently owed the preservation of his wife, his children, and his best friends, whom the Lancastrians had permitted to live undisturbed in the sanctuaries they had chosen in London and Westminster. But the king and his brothers were regardless of these circumstances, and Edward broke into the church at Tewkesbury sword in hand. A priest, bearing the sacrament, threw himself between the savages and their victims, and would not move till the king promised to pardon all who had taken sanctuary there. These men, who might have

* Comines.

† Sir John Paston, who, along with one of his brothers, fought in the battle on the Lancastrian side, says, in a letter to his mother, written on the Thursday following, that the killed of both parties amounted to more than a thousand. Paston Letters, ii. 64.—Some historians make the amount of the slain ten thousand.

‡ The Duke of Exeter was left for dead on the field, but his servants, it appears, recovered him, and carried him for safety to the sanctuary at Westminster. A few months after, his body was found floating in the sea, near Dover.

§ Stow says that this chapel, which marked the field of battle, was standing in his time. Lysons (see Environs of London) gives it as his opinion that the battle was not fought on Barnet Heath, but rather to the south-east, about East Barnet; but he quotes no authority, and all tradition is strongly opposed to his opinion. The conflict seems really to have taken place on the elevated plateau to the north of the town of Barnet, and is probably marked with sufficient accuracy by the modern stone column at the end of the common, where the high road forks. The night preceding the battle, King Edward slept at Barnet, and Warwick was certainly not between that town and London.

* Con. Hist. Croyl.—Fabyan.—Hall.—Stow. The Monk of Croyland, a contemporary, says the prince was slain "ultricibus quorundam manibus" (by the avenging hands of certain persons), but names nobody as the murderers. Fabyan, who was a boy at the time, says, "he (the king) strake him with his gauntlet upon the face; after which stroke, so by him received, he was by the king's servants incontinently slain." Hall, who wrote in the time of Elizabeth, was the first to name Clarence and Gloucester.

escaped, tarried in the church, trusting in the royal pardon, from Saturday the 4th of May till Monday the 6th, when they were dragged from the foot of the altar and beheaded.

Margaret of Anjou's heart did not break at these executions and the murder of her child; she lived for five years the prisoner* of her conqueror, was then ransomed by Louis XI., and died in France about eleven years after the fight at Tewkesbury. The death of her husband, which immediately followed Edward's return to London, probably did not much affect her. The triumphant party had now evidently made up their minds to show no mercy; but that event was probably precipitated by a desperate attempt made on the 14th of May, by Thomas Nevil, the Bastard of Falconbridge, Warwick's vice-admiral, to release Henry from his confinement and proclaim him once more. On the 21st of May, King Edward entered London in great pomp with thirty thousand men, and on that evening, or the following morning, King Henry was found lifeless in the Tower. The best of the contemporary chroniclers, though he does not name the murderer, hints clearly that he *was murdered*, and that the deed was done, or ordered by Edward, or by his brother Clarence, or Richard Duke of Gloucester, or some other member of the royal House of York. "May God," he exclaims, "grant time for repentance to the person, whoever he was, who laid his sacrilegious hands on the lord's anointed."* The dead body, surrounded by guards and torches, was exhibited to the people in St. Paul's, and afterwards quietly buried in the Abbey of Chertsey. But this unhappy prince was not allowed rest even in the grave. A few years after, Gloucester, then Richard III., was made uneasy by the popular belief that miracles were wrought at his tomb, and ordered his bones to be removed,—some say to Windsor: then, on the fall of Richard, Henry VII. wished to remove them to Westminster, but it appears that they could not be found.

The episodes to the lamentable history of the fall of the House of Lancaster are numerous, and, in some respects, exceedingly romantic. Some of the leaders, like the Duke of Exeter, appear to have been secretly assassinated; others, like the Earl of Oxford, were shut up in different castles; and others, like the Earl of Pembroke, the late king's half-brother and uncle to Henry VII., escaped to the continent, where, for the most part, they lived in extreme poverty. Some Lancastrians,

* She was at first confined in the Tower of London, afterwards at Windsor, and then at Wallingford. All that Edward would allow for the support of herself and servants was a pittance of five marks per week.

* Cont. Hist. Croyl. The monk uses the words *tyrannus* and *quicunque*. If used strictly in its classical sense (which probably it was not), the term *tyrannus* could only apply to Edward or to Richard, who were both kings. Walpole, in his ingenious, but in part paradoxical, "Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard III.," says, that he *thinks* the monk alluded to Richard as the murderer; but he goes on to maintain that there is no proof that the Duke of Gloucester really did the deed. As far as this goes, Walpole is certainly right here, as also in the case of the murder of Prince Edward at Tewkesbury; and on the same ground he might object to the commonly received accounts of fifty other state crimes. Fabyan, who was living in London at the time, says, "Of the death of this prince (Henry VI.) divers tales were told; but the most common fame went, that he was sticked with a dagger by the hands of the Duke of Gloucester, which, after Edward IV., usurped the crown, and was king, as after shall appear."

The Sanctuary at Westminster.

From a Sketch by Dr. Stukeley, before its destruction in 1775.

whose learning and abilities were worth purchasing —as Dr. Morton and Sir John Fortescue, lord chief justice to Henry VI. and the greatest English lawyer of his time—obtained the reversal of their attainders, together with fresh employments from the Yorkists.

Now seemed the "glorious summer" of that house. The young Prince Edward, who had been born in the sanctuary of Westminster during his father's flight and absence in Holland, was created Prince of Wales, and recognised as lawful heir to the crown—not in parliament—but in a great council of prelates and lay lords. The Lancastrians as a party were annihilated. Except some risings among the Welsh, the temporary occupation of a castle in Cornwall, and some insignificant piratical excursions at sea, there was nothing to disturb the tranquillity of the Yorkists but the base and selfish passions of the three royal and most legitimate brothers; but these passions were violent enough to renew all the past horrors and iniquities. The Duke of Clarence, the second brother, it will be remembered, had married the Earl of Warwick's eldest daughter, Isabella, and, in her right, he now demanded the entire property of his deceased father-in-law; but Richard Duke of Gloucester, the youngest brother, was eager to divide the great prize with him, and therefore proposed to marry Anne, Warwick's younger daughter and widow to Prince Edward, whom the brothers between them had murdered at Tewkesbury. Clarence, to defeat this project, concealed the young lady; but Gloucester had far too much activity and cunning to allow himself to be duped by so miserable a manœuvre,—he soon found out the Lady Anne in London, where it is said she was disguised as a cook-maid, and, getting possession of her person, he lodged her, for present security, in the sanctuary of St. Martin's. Richard then appealed to Edward and the council, and was allowed to marry the Lady Anne; but Clarence swore that he would not "part the livelihood with him." The loving brothers pleaded each his cause in person before the king in council, and every man, says the monkish chronicler, admired the strength of their respective arguments. In the end, but not until the whole capital had been agitated as if by the approach of another civil war,* the king composed these differences, allotting a handsome portion to the Lady Anne, and leaving all the rest of the property to the elder sister, Isabella, the wife of Clarence. As it has been remarked,* the greatest sufferer in this adjustment was the widowed Countess of Warwick, who was mother to both the ladies, and who had brought the mass of the property into the family, for Clarence and Gloucester got the whole between them, and the countess was reduced to absolute want. These iniquitous proceedings in council, together with other precautions to bar the claims of Warwick's family, were voted good law by a subservient parliament, in the year 1474; but to reconcile sincerely the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester was beyond the power of parliament, council, or king.†

A.D. 1475. After some curious negotiations with the Duke of Brittany and his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, who was finding himself overmatched by the policy and craft of Louis XI., Edward contracted an alliance offensive and defensive with the two dukes; and in order, we presume, to give a startling effect to his beginning, he sent a herald to demand from the French monarch the immediate surrender of his kingdom, which he claimed on the old grounds. Comines says that this was only a letter of defiance,‡ and that it was written in such an elegant style, and such polite language, that he could scarcely believe any Englishman wrote it. When Louis had read the letter to himself, he wisely withdrew into another room, and, sending for the herald that brought it, he told him that he had a wonderful respect and affection for his master, King Edward, whom he knew in this matter to be set on and deluded by the Duke of Burgundy, a weak and treacherous ally. "Besides which," continues Comines, who had changed sides, and was now in the service of Louis, "the king used several good arguments to induce the herald to persuade his master to a peaceful accommodation, secretly putting three hundred crowns with his own hands into his pouch, and promising him a thousand more when the good peace should be concluded; and then, in public, his majesty ordered that a piece of crimson velvet thirty ells long, should be presented to the said herald, who was garter king-at-arms."§ His chivalrous occupations did not render him insensible to a good bribe. Garter promised to do what he could, and advised Louis to open a correspondence with the Lord Howard, or the Lord Stanley, two of Edward's favourites and ministers, whom he knew to be averse to the war. The following is the account given by Comines of his own share in the business: "There were many persons waiting outside during the king's private discourse with the herald, all of them impatient to hear what the king would say, and to see how his majesty looked when he came forth. When he had done, he called me, and charged me to entertain the herald till he ordered him some other company, that might keep

* Sir John Paston, writing to his brother, on the 17th of February (1471), says,—"Yesterday, the king, the queen, my Lords of Clarence and Gloucester, went to Shene to pardon; men say, not all in charity; what will fall men cannot say. The king entreateth my Lord of Clarence for my Lord of Gloucester; and, as it is said, he answereth, that he may well have my lady, his sister-in-law, but they shall part no livelihood, as he saith; so what will fall can I not say." On the 15th of April, 1473, he writes: "The world seemeth queasy (uneasy) here; for the most part that be about the king have sent hither for their harness, and it is said for certain that the Duke of Clarence maketh him big in that he can, showing as he would but (only) deal with the Duke of Gloucester; but the king intendeth, in eschewing all inconvenience, to be as big as they both, and to be a stiffler (stickler) between them; and some men think that under this there should be some other thing intended, and some treason conspired; so what shall fall can I not say.'—Paston Letters, ii. 91 and 129.

* Walpole, Hist. Doubts.

† Cont. Hist. Croyl.—Rot. Parl.—Paston Letters.

‡ He states, however, that Edward demanded the French crown as "his inheritance."

§ Comines.

him from talking privately with any body. He commanded me likewise to give him a piece of crimson velvet of thirty ells; which I did. After which, the king addressed himself to the rest of the company, gave them an account of his letters of defiance, and calling seven or eight of them apart, he ordered the letters to be read aloud, showing without the least sign of fear in the world; and, indeed, he was much revived by what he had got out of the herald."

Having prolonged a truce with Scotland, and concluded a matrimonial treaty with that court, and being most abundantly furnished with money by means of repeated grants voted by parliament, and of benevolences—an unheard of species of imposition first introduced in the present period—Edward collected a fine army of sixteen or eighteen thousand men. With this force he landed at Calais, on the 22nd of June. The first check to this mighty enterprise proceeded from his brother-in-law of Burgundy, who had agreed to join him in force, but who, having wasted his resources in one of his rash expeditions in another direction, came to the rendezvous with a mere handful of troops. Edward, irritated at this circumstance, and still more at seeing that Charles and his subjects entertained the greatest jealousy of the English, refusing them admittance into the towns of Artois and Picardy, soon inclined his ear to the skilful negotiations of Louis and the lords of his own council, who, through conviction or bribery, recommended an immediate peace with the French king. The English army lay inactive for nearly two months at Peronne, where all the preliminaries were settled, and where the money of Louis was made to circulate freely among the corrupt minister and courtiers of Edward. The French diplomatists promised whatever was asked, and agreed, among other things, to pay fifty thousand crowns for the release of Margaret of Anjou. One day the King of France sent the King of England three hundred cart-loads of the best wines of the kingdom; and a few days after, the two sovereigns agreed to a personal interview on a bridge thrown across the Somme at Picquigny, near Amiens, there being a strong barricade of wood between them—for Louis was very suspicious, and he knew the old story of the bridge of Montereau, in which his own father figured. Comines and another agent were sent to survey the river and neighbourhood. "On the one side, by which our king was to come," says this historian, "was a fine open country; and on the other side, indeed, was the same, *only* the king of England, to come to the river, was obliged to pass a causeway about two bow-shots long, with marshes on both sides of it, which might have been of very dangerous consequence to the English, if our intentions had not been honourable. And certainly, as I have said before, the English do not manage these matters with so much cunning and policy as the French do, let people say of them what they will, but proceed more ingenuously, and with more frankness; but one must be patient with them, and take care not to quarrel." The barricade in the midst of the bridge is described as being made of strong grating or lattice-work, such as lions' cages are made of, the space between the bars being no wider than to admit a man's arm. On the 29th of August, in the morning, the two kings appeared on opposite sides of the river. Louis went first to the grating, attended by about twelve persons of the greatest quality in France, among whom were John Duke of Bourbon, and the cardinal, his brother. "The King of England advanced along the causeway, very nobly attended, there being in his train his brother, the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Hastings, his chamberlain, his chancellor, and other peers. He was dressed in cloth of gold, and he wore upon his head a black velvet cap with a large *fleur de lis* made of precious stones. In truth, he was a prince of a most noble, majestic presence; his person graceful and erect, but now a little inclining to fat. When he came within a short distance of the railing he pulled off his cap, and bowed to within a foot of the ground; and Louis, who was leaning against the barrier on the other side, bowed in the like manner. They embraced through the holes of the grating; and the King of England, making another low bow, the King of France said, 'Cousin, you are right welcome—there is no person living I was so ambitious of seeing, and God be thanked that this interview is upon so good an occasion.'" The King of England returned the compliment in French; and Comines tells us that his French was very good. When the compliments and ceremonies were over, they proceeded to business, and, in the end, a missal and a crucifix, said to contain some of the wood of the true cross, were brought to the grate, and the two kings, putting one hand on the book, and the other on the crucifix, swore religiously to observe the present treaty. When the two kings had sworn, "our king," continues Comines, "who had always words at command, told the English king, in a jocose way, that he should be right glad to see him at Paris; and that if he would come and divert himself with the gay ladies there, he would assign for his confessor the Cardinal of Bourbon, who he knew would grant him easy absolution for any peccadillos in the way of love and gallantry. The King of England was much pleased with this raillery, and made his majesty several smart repartees—for he knew that the cardinal was a gay man with the ladies, and a boon companion." After a few words spoken in secret to one another, the lords being sent to a distance, these gracious sovereigns shook hands through the grating, and departed, each his own way, Louis riding back to Amiens, and Edward to his army. The King of England was accommodated out of the King of France's stores with whatever he wanted, to the very torches and candles. The

minute relater of these events expressly tells us that Richard Duke of Gloucester, and some other Englishmen of high rank, were not present at the interview of Picquigny, as being averse to the whole treaty, and esteeming it dishonourable to their country; but he adds that they recollected themselves after the treaty was signed, and went into Amiens to King Louis, who splendidly entertained them, and generously presented them with plate and some fine horses. Louis, while thus buying and bribing, hated, feared, and despised Edward, all in a breath; and his caution, timidity, and contempt are hit off as if involuntarily by his confidential agent. During their ride to Amiens, he told Comines that he was rather uneasy at the readiness with which Edward had accepted his invitation to Paris. "Certes," said he, "our brother of England is a very fine king, and a warm admirer of the ladies; he might chance to find some dame at Paris so much to his taste as to tempt him to return; his predecessors have been too often in Paris and Normandy already, and I have no great affection for his company on this side the Channel, though ready to hold him as friend and brother on the other side of the the water." "Nor," continues Comines, "ought any man to wonder, considering the mighty mischiefs which the English had brought upon France, and the freshness of their date, that the King of France should be anxious to send them home again, and to do all he could, by money or otherwise, to keep them in a good humour." That same evening, as they were going to supper, Lord Howard, who was to remain some time with the court, made Louis quake again, by telling him in his ear, with great glee, that it should go hard, but he would find a way to induce his master to go to Paris to be merry awhile with him. "Though this proposition was not in the least agreeable to the king," adds Comines, "yet he dissembled pretty well, and fell a washing his hands, without giving a direct answer to the Lord Howard; but he whispered me, that he feared his forebodings were coming to pass. After supper, they fell upon the same subject again, but the king put them off with the greatest gentleness and wisdom imaginable, pretending that his expedition against the Duke of Burgundy would require his immediate presence in a different part of France." In private, Louis expressed his opinion of Edward in pretty strong terms; but if he perceived that his words were overheard by any save his most confidential friends, he fell into a tremour and trepidation, and took great pains to prevent his words from being repeated.* Although this strange being preferred craft to force, he was not, on proper occasions, destitute of courage; but he knew the factious spirit of his great lords, whose power he was slowly undermining, and he preferred buying a peace to risking a dangerous war with the English, who were sure to find several allies, besides the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, in the very heart of his kingdom. Some of his friends, and the chivalry of France generally, considered the treaty of Picquigny as very dishonourable to the nation; but he let them talk on, and felt himself a happy man when he saw Edward's back fairly turned, and heard that he and his army were on the other side of the Channel. If the French thought it disgraceful to buy, the English thought it disgraceful to be bought; and as they had given immense sums for carrying on the war, and had flattered themselves with recovering Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Guienne, at the very least, they were greatly incensed at the transactions of Picquigny, though all the corruption of Edward's ministers and courtiers was not revealed to them, and but few understood the fact, that both the king and his cabinet had become pensioners to France. The principal articles of the treaty of Picquigny were, that Louis should pay instantly (which he did) the sum of seventy-five thousand crowns; that he should pay Edward an annuity of fifty thousand crowns; that he should marry his son, the dauphin, to Edward's eldest daughter Elizabeth, or, in case of her death, to her sister Mary, such marriage to be concluded when the parties were of proper age; and that a peace or truce for seven years, at least, should be secured, together with a free trade between the two countries. On many accounts we, in the present day, should prefer a settlement of this kind to the most glorious war; but the sons of the men who had fought at Azincourt judged very differently; and it is also not to be forgotten, that the pay and pensions of a foreign king would go to make Edward too independent of his parliament, and were on that account constitutionally objectionable, as well as disgraceful. Following their master's example, the Lord Hastings and the chancellor got pensions of two thousand crowns each; and Louis agreed to distribute annually twelve thousand crowns more among the Marquis of Dorset, the Lord Howard, Cheney, the master of the horse, Sir Thomas Montgomery, Thomas St. Leger, and some others of the profligate courtiers. It was fortunate for this immoral government that the trade and industry of the country made rapid strides, and that the people, tired of civil war, and left without leaders, were not to be easily roused to a fresh struggle.

On the whole, the country seems to have been tranquil and happy for some years, till the House of York became suddenly involved in one of the darkest tragedies. It was impossible for a nature like Edward's to forget conduct like that of his brother Clarence; and that weak-headed prince appears to have accelerated his fate by fresh imprudence, and the betrayal, on all occasions, both public and private, of a provoking suspicion and jealousy of his brothers, the king and the Duke of Gloucester. Nobody of any consequence was now allowed to die a natural death. The use of witchcraft—one of the commonly reported causes of

* For some very amusing instances see Comines.

death—was a monstrous absurdity; and probably more than half the cases of poisoning and secret smothering had no better foundation; but the prevalence of such opinions proves the vicious and detestable state of society. In 1476 Clarence's wife, Isabella, died after an illness of two or three months; and one of her female attendants was condemned and executed for poisoning her. About the same time, Charles the Rash was killed at the battle of Nanci, and, leaving no heirs male, his immense estates fell to his daughter Mary. Taking advantage of his opportune widowhood, Clarence immediately proposed himself as a husband to this great heiress, whose step-mother (Clarence's sister) seconded his suit. But as soon as Edward heard of this negotiation, his jealousy took the alarm; he opposed it with all his might, and caused it to miscarry. Clarence, who had not been guarded in his expressions before, could now put no restraint upon his tongue. The court, probably well informed of all this incautious man did and said, soon made him feel its vengeance. At first they attacked him through the sides of his friends. One Stacey, a priest in his service, was accused of having recourse to damnable magic (much like that laid to the charge of Eleanor Cobham, the wife of the unfortunate Duke Humphrey) to hasten the death of the Lord Beauchamp, by the slow melting of certain images. Being put to torture, that he might be forced to confess who were his setters on and accomplices, he named Thomas Burdett, a gentleman of Clarence's household, and one to whom the duke was greatly attached. These unfortunate men, it appears, were tried in a hurried manner by the judges and some temporal peers, convicted, and executed. They both died protesting their innocence. Clarence, who was too late to save their lives, presented himself in the council, which for some time he had rarely attended, to prove that his servants had met with an unjust doom; and for this attempt, which was called an interference with justice, his brother, the king, in a public manner committed him to the Tower. Everything was conducted in a public manner except the execution. A parliament was summoned on the 16th of January, 1478, when the king appeared in person to prosecute his own brother, Clarence, who was brought to the bar of the lords. The charges were monstrous, and for the greater part absurd; but Edward had witnesses to swear to them all, and the impossible part of the guilt was probably that which made the greatest impression. Clarence was accused of dealing with the devil by means of conjurors and necromancers; of having plotted to dethrone the king, and disinherit the king's children; of having given to his servants large sums of money, venison, &c., that they might assemble and feast the king's subjects, in order to induce them to believe that Thomas Burdett had been wrongfully executed, and to spread a rumour that the king himself was notoriously guilty of the black art and dealing with the devil, and secret poisoning, and was, besides, a bastard, without right to the crown. After all this, it was charged that Clarence had induced divers of the king's subjects to be sworn upon the sacrament to be true to him and his heirs; that the duke had engaged to restore the confiscated estates of the Lancastrians; that he had gotten and preserved an act under the great seal of Henry VI., late king, whereby he, Clarence, was declared next heir to the crown in case of the death of Edward, Prince of Wales, and that the duke had ordered his retainers to keep themselves ready to take up arms for him and his rights at an hour's notice. None of the peers spoke in his behalf; but Clarence, it appears, vehemently denied every charge. His reply, however, has not been preserved; for, during the greater part of this reign, nothing was inserted or allowed to remain on the rolls of parliament that was displeasing to the king. The Duke was found guilty, and received sentence of death on the 7th of February. Soon after, the House of Commons were induced to appear in the Lords, and petition for the immediate execution of this sentence.* But, notwithstanding these high sanctions, it was not thought proper to execute the sentence in an open manner, or, indeed, to allow that it had been executed in any way. On the 18th of February, or, according to some authorities, on the 11th of March, it was whispered that the duke had died in the Tower, upon which people speculated in their usual manner as to the mode of his death; the most popular belief—which there is nothing either to prove or disprove—being, that his brothers had secretly caused him to be drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine. Suspicion rested on Richard Duke of Gloucester, on account of their old enmity, and because Richard kept fair with the queen, and profited by Clarence's forfeiture.

Edward, it is said, felt the pangs of remorse at this murder; but his outward conduct never betrayed such feelings—his life continued in the same round of dissipation and debauchery. His thoughts seemed wholly employed upon the ladies, hunting, and dressing. In his summer hunting it was his custom to have gay silk tents set up for the ladies, "wherein he treated them after a splendid and magnificent manner." "And, indeed," adds Comines, who knew him well, and drew the comparison from a personal acquaintance with most of his royal contemporaries, "his humour and person were as well suited to gallantry as those of any prince I ever saw in my life; for he was indisputably the most beautiful man of his time—I mean before he grew too corpulent."

A.D. 1480.—In this year the pleasant life of the king was somewhat disturbed by a war with Scotland; but, though greatly irritated, Edward did not take the field, but intrusted the command to his brother Richard, who had an indefatigable

* About the same time an act was passed, reversing, as illegal, the judgment passed upon the female servant accused of poisoning the Duchess of Clarence.

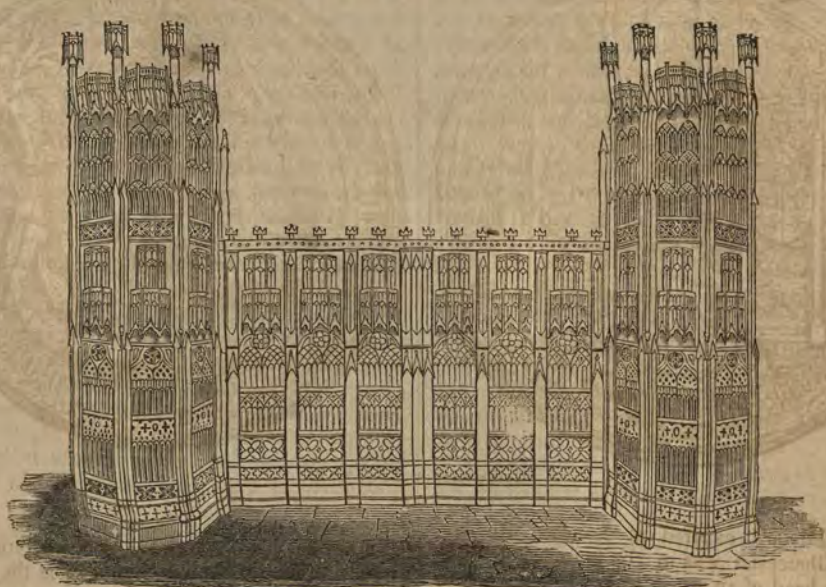
activity, a good military reputation, and the favour of the army. At the northern court, brothers were intriguing against brothers, and the king, James III., whose tastes and habits were little suited either to overawe his boisterous nobles, or to secure their willing obedience, was tottering on his throne; yet, notwithstanding these auspicious circumstances, the English made no impression upon Scotland. Richard of Gloucester failed in an attempt upon Berwick; and for two years the war was nothing more than an alternation of those raids on the borders of the two countries, which no truce or peace ever yet prevented. But matters took a different turn when the Duke of Albany, the brother of King James, returned from a short exile in France, and laid claim to the crown, pretending that his brother was a bastard. On coming to the English court, Albany proposed that Edward should lend him a good army, and, in return for such assistance, he offered to surrender Berwick, to acknowledge himself the vassal of England, to renounce all alliance with Louis of France, and to marry one of Edward's daughters, if the church would permit—for he had two wives already. Without pausing at the consideration that Albany was pursuing that very line of conduct for which only four years before he had procured sentence of death against his own brother Clarence,—without reflecting that every throne in Europe must be shaken by such insidious measures,—Edward joyfully listened to the traitor Albany, and concluded a treaty with him in the month of June, 1482, at Fotheringay. The army was again intrusted to Gloucester, who marched to Berwick and invested that town. Richard had upwards of twenty thousand men; and Albany, who co-operated, had a Scottish force, and a party within the walls of Berwick. The gates of the town were opened, but the castle defied the enemy; and King James, having assembled his barons, marched towards the borders. As that sovereign lay at Lauder, his nobles, headed by Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, commonly called, after this event, "Archibald Bell-the-Cat," burst into the royal tent at an early hour between night and morning, carried off the chief favourite, Robert Cochran, together with five more of the king's habitual associates, and hanged them all over the bridge of Lauder. Upon this summary execution, James fled, or was carried a prisoner, to the castle of Edinburgh. The army disbanded, and the road to the capital was left open to the Duke of Gloucester and Albany, who appeared there in the month of July, the Queen of Scotland and her son being obliged to take refuge in the castle of Stirling. The presence of an English army seems to have made some of the great lords sensible of the madness of their conduct; and the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the Bishop of Dunkeld, Lord Evandale, the Chancellor, and the Earl of Argyle, collected a small army of patriots, and posted themselves at Haddington, between Edinburgh and the English borders. These noblemen summoned all true Scots to their standard, but, at the same time, opened negotiations with the Duke of Albany, who, on the 2nd of August, concluded a treaty, the principal clauses of which were, that he, on his part, would be a true and faithful subject to his brother, and that the court should restore to him all his estates and honours, and grant to him and his adherents a pardon for all past offences. There was, however, a third party to conciliate: this was the King of England, who obtained the town and castle of Berwick, and the restitution of certain sums of money which he had paid to James on a now exploded treaty for a marriage between his daughter Cecily and the son of the Scottish king. The Duke of Gloucester returned into England; and his companion, the Duke of Albany, liberated his brother from the castle, rode with him to Holyrood House, on the same horse, and slept with him in the same bed—for these things in Scotland, as in France and other countries, were considered the best proofs of a perfect reconciliation. In less than six months Albany was again intriguing to deprive his brother of his throne; and to this end he opened a fresh negotiation with the English king. But the mind of Edward was at the moment occupied by another affair; and death soon prevented him from joining the Scottish traitor.*

By the treaty of Picquigny, the dauphin was to marry Edward's eldest daughter as soon as she was of proper age. By the usage of the times, a princess was marriageable at the age of twelve; but Elizabeth was now sixteen, and yet the French court never sent to claim her. Edward had been told repeatedly that Louis would not keep to this family engagement; but he believed, or pretended to believe, that that sovereign would not dare to insult him in so tender a point. But the old fox of France was now in a very different position from that in which he stood when he was fain to bribe, and fawn, and flatter through the grating on the bridge at Picquigny: his consummate craft had reduced his factious nobles to obedience; his great rival the Duke of Burgundy was in his grave, and he had cut off the head of the Duke of Brittany, that other ally of the English. While princes were disputing for the hand of Mary, the daughter of Charles the Rash, Louis had seized most of the territories which belonged to that orphan, and now he saw an opportunity of giving a colour to that appropriation, and of rounding his kingdom, by means of union with the House of Burgundy. In the month of February, 1482, the Duchess Mary, who was holding her court in the rich city of Bruges, went out one day with a small retinue to fly her hawks at the herons which abounded in that neighbourhood. In following the sport, her palfrey, in taking a leap, burst the girths of the saddle, and she was thrown with great violence against the trunk of a tree. She died in consequence of the injury she sustained in the month of March. She was only twenty-five

* Rym.—Buchanan.

years old; and her short life, say her historians, had been rendered more agitated and unhappy than her gentleness and innocence seemed to merit. She left three children by the Duke Maximilian of Austria: Philip, born in 1478; Margaret, called "Margot la gente demoiselle," born at the beginning of 1480; and Francis, born at the end of 1481. Her old persecutor, King Louis, was in a very languishing state of health at the time; but the joy he felt at the death of his fair neighbour and relative revived him wonderfully, and he instantly prepared to take advantage of the event. With all their turbulence, the people of Flanders had entertained some respect and affection for the fair Mary of Burgundy; but they had none for Maximilian, whom they considered, not as their prince, but only as the husband of their duchess, whose authority or influence was terminated by her death. Louis, who was well informed of all this, opened a secret correspondence with the people of Ghent, and then demanded the hand of the "gente demoiselle" for his son, the dauphin, the affianced of the Princess Elizabeth of E gland. Maximilian, the father of the infant, was averse to the match; but Louis expected this, and had provided against it. The citizens of Ghent, who had all three children in their custody, forced a consent, and delivered up Margot to the agents of the French king, who settled upon her, as her marriage portion—which she was to convey to his son, the dauphin—all the broad and rich provinces which he, Louis, had gained from her mother Mary by fraud and by force of arms. The infant Margot, thus affianced at the age of three years, was carried from Flanders into France to be "nourished and brought up." As long as it was necessary, Lord Howard, the English ambassador, was bribed, and Edward was amused with fine assurances; for, if the English had supported the Duke Maximilian at the proper time, they might have defeated the project—the last great achievement of the greatest politician of his day. But now the veil was dropped; the contract of marriage was confirmed publicly by the parliament at Paris, and great rejoicings and feastings were held in that city. Edward felt himself duped, insulted, and disgraced, and he vowed that he would punish the old traitor, and carry such a war into France as had not yet been seen in that country.* The excess of his rage is supposed to have hastened his death; but, from his habitual excesses and the dissolute life he had led for twenty years, Edward was not likely, under any circumstances, to reach an old age. Whatever were the causes of his death, he died, after an illness of a few weeks, on the 9th of April, 1483, in the twenty-first year of his reign, and the forty-first or forty-second year of his age. He spent his few last days in a very penitent and devout manner: it was said that he ordered repayment out of his treasury to all persons whom he had cheated out of their money, or from whom he had forced "benevolences;" but so great a spendthrift was not likely to leave much money behind him; and the people by whom he was surrounded on his death-bed were still less likely to make any such restitution. After his death he was exposed on a board, naked from the waste upwards, in order that people might see he had not been murdered. The body was buried with great pomp in the new chapel at Windsor.

* Comines.—Barante.



Tomb of Edward IV. at Windsor.

EDWARD V.

EDWARD V.

From a MS. in the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth.

GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD V.

When Edward expired at London, Richard Duke of Gloucester was in the marches of Scotland at the head of an army devoted to his service; the Prince of Wales, a boy of thirteen, was at Ludlow Castle, with his maternal uncle, the Earl of Rivers; and Edward's second son, who was only eleven years old, was in London with his mother. It is apparent that all eyes were from the very beginning fixed with doubt upon the powerful uncle, whose first movements however were calculated to remove suspicion from the public mind. Upon receiving the news of his brother's death, he

rode southward to York, which city he entered with a retinue of six hundred knights and esquires, all clad, like himself, in deep mourning. His first care was to order a grand funeral service in the cathedral; his second to collect all the nobles and gentlemen of that neighbourhood, who swore fealty at York to his nephew, Edward V. Richard himself was the first to take this oath; he then wrote to the widowed Queen Elizabeth and to his brother the Earl Rivers, assuring them of his loyalty and affection. When he again put himself in motion for the south, it was observed that the number of his followers was greatly increased; but, as he asserted that this force was only meant to give security and dignity to his nephew's coronation, this circumstance did not awaken any great suspicion. But though they had been sworn friends and confederates, the queen mother had her misgivings, and the fear and imprudence of Elizabeth contributed not a little to the ruin of her children. She had written to her brother, Earl Rivers, to bring up the young king to London, with an escort of two thousand armed horsemen, and she had attempted to collect another army against the advice of the council. At this moment, the Marquis of Dorset, her son by her first marriage, had possession of the tower, other Woodvilles and Grays had commands in different places, and the young princes were both in the hands of the queen's relations, who, unrestrained by the frightful executions made by Warwick on the insurgents, were ambitious and daring. On his death-bed, Edward, foreseeing evil consequences to his children, had patched up a reconciliation between his wife's relations and their rivals, the Lords Howard, Hastings, and Stanley, and they had all embraced, and sworn oaths of mutual forgiveness and future friendship. But we have seen the value of such ceremonials: the Howards, the Stanleys, and the rest of the great lords hated the aspiring family as much as ever, and the instinct of self-preservation alone would have excited a lively alarm at seeing the whole power of the State divided among them. The queen mother too, disregarding the precedents which established as a principle of the constitution that the right of regulating regencies belonged to parliament alone, betrayed, or at least she was suspected of, a design to assume the regal power during the minority of her son, and this the great lords knew would lead to an administration composed exclusively of her relations, who had most of them the passion of revenge to gratify, as well as the passion of ambition. Before Richard began his march from the borders, the most violent altercations took place at the council board. The Lord Hastings was so irritated at one moment, that he threatened the queen. But the greatest of the malcontents was the Duke of Buckingham, a prince of the blood.* Richard, it appears, sent secret emissaries to Buckingham from York, and probably this adroit plotter did not forget Hastings and other lords. He so calculated time and distance that he arrived from the north at the town of Northampton on the same day (the 22nd of April) that his nephew, travelling from the north-west, reached Stoney Stratford, only ten miles distant. The Earl Rivers and the Lord Richard Gray rode back to Northampton to salute the Duke of Gloucester on the part of the king. Richard received them with much courtesy, and invited them to sup with him; but immediately after their arrival there came another visitor of higher rank, and whom he received with a more sincere welcome;—this was the Duke of Buckingham, who brought with him a retinue of three hundred horse. The two dukes, the earl, and the lord spent the evening together in a pleasant convivial manner, but after supper the two latter retired to quarters assigned to them in Northampton, and, while guards were placed over them, and all the outlets from the town secured, Gloucester and Buckingham remained in secret debate. On the following morning the Duke of Gloucester continued his march to Stoney Stratford, riding a-head in company with the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl Rivers, and the Lord Gray, and still maintaining a friendly appearance with the two latter. As soon, however, as he was within the town, and found the young king within his grasp, he changed his tone, accused Rivers and Gray of estranging the affections of his nephew, and ordered them both under arrest. Then, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, he waited on the king. The two dukes bent their knees and saluted the poor boy as their sovereign, but in the next minute they arrested Sir Thomas Vaughan and Sir Richard Hawse, two of his favourite servants, and ordered all the rest of his attendants to disperse immediately. All this part of the story is somewhat obscure; it is not explained very clearly whether the two thousand horse that came from Ludlow retired at this order, or joined the dukes; but it appears pretty certain that the Earl Rivers, Lord Richard Gray, Vaughan, and Hawse were immediately conveyed northward under a strong guard to Pontefract Castle, and that from this moment young Edward remained a prisoner in the hands of Gloucester and Buckingham.*

The news was soon carried to London: the queen mother received the tidings "a little before the midnight following, and that in the sorest wise; that the king, her son, was taken, her brother, her son, and her other friends arrested, and sent, no man wist whither, to be done with God wot what," and in "great heaviness," at the dead of night, she fled to her old sanctuary at Westminster, taking with her her second son, the Duke of York, and her five daughters. Meanwhile the Lord Hastings assured the people that the two dukes were loyal and acting for the public weal. From the fate he met with we must conclude that Hastings was a dupe, or that though he was ready to go to a certain length in order to displace the queen mother and her relations, he was not prepared to abandon the cause

* This weak man was a lineal descendant of Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest son of Edward III.

* Cont. Hist. Croyl.—Sir Thomas More.—Hall.

of the children of his deceased master and friend. He, however, obeyed the summons of the dukes, and went from London to meet them. Rotherham, Archbishop of York and Chancellor, went to the queen mother and endeavoured to comfort her and soothe her alarms; he delivered to her a friendly message which he had received from Hastings. Elizabeth suspected the faith of this nobleman, and she exclaimed—" A woe worth him, for he is one of them that goeth about to destroy me and my blood!" The archbishop replied—" Madame, be of good cheer, for I promise you if they crown any other king than your son, whom they have now with them, we shall on the morrow crown his brother whom you have here with you." He then delivered the great seal to Elizabeth and departed home again, as day was dawning, by which time "he might in his chamber window see all the Thames full of boats of the Duke of Gloucester's servants, watching that no man should go to sanctuary, nor none should pass unsearched."* Then, continues the contemporary historian, " was great commotion and murmur as well in other places about, as specially in the city, the people diversely divining upon this dealing; and some lords, knights, and gentlemen, either for favour of the queen, or for fear of themselves, assembled in sundry companies and went flock-meal (crowding) in harness, and many also for that they counted this demeanor attempted not so specially against the other lords, as against the king himself in the disturbance of his coronation." The Archbishop of York, whose intellect seems to have been confounded, presently repented of so hastily delivering up the great seal to the queen mother, " (to whom the custody thereof nothing pertained,) and he sent secretly for the seal again, and carried it with him, after the customable, to a meeting of the nobility and gentry. The Lord Hastings, whose truth towards the king no man doubted nor needed to doubt, attended this meeting, and asserted again that the Duke of Gloucester was sure and fastly faithful to his prince, adding that the Earl Rivers and the Lord Richard, with the other knights, were, for matters attempted by them against the Duke of Gloucester and Buckingham, put under arrest for their surety, not for the king's jeopardy, and that they should soon be examined by all the other lords of the king's council indifferently." Hastings strongly recommended peace and good order in the city, in order that the king's coronation might not be disturbed, for which ceremony he said that the dukes were coming up. He admitted, however, " that matters were likely to come to a field, but that if they did, though both parties were in all other things equal, yet should the authority be on that side where the king himself was." With these persuasions of the Lord Hastings, "whereof," says Sir Thomas More, " part himself believed, of part he wist the contrary," London was somewhat quieted. The adherents of Gloucester and Buckingham spread the report through the city that proofs had been obtained of the horrible plotting of the queen's relations to destroy the two dukes and others of noble blood, to the end that they might alone govern the young king at their pleasure, and they even exhibited to the populace barrels filled with arms which they said the traitors had privily conveyed to destroy the noble lords withal. The common people were very well satisfied with this kind of proof, and said, " it were alms to hang the traitors."

It is quite evident that the queen mother had no party in London, that her relations were most unpopular, and that the peaceful and wealthy citizens longed for the arrival of the two dukes in order that tranquillity might be restored; for, in the quaint language of More, they knew that " such men were abroad as made their lucre of others' loss." At the approach of the young king, Edmund Shaw, goldsmith, then mayor, with William White and John Matthew, sheriffs, and all the other aldermen, in scarlet, together with five hundred of the citizens, clad in violet, and all gallantly mounted on horseback, rode out to meet him as far as Hornsey Wood, where they received him right reverently.*

There is a difficulty in fixing precise dates to these rapidly succeeding events, but it appears to have been on the 4th or 5th of May that Gloucester arrived in London, riding bare-headed before his nephew, who was shown to the people attired and attended as became a king. At first the royal boy was lodged in the palace of the bishop, but a great council was summoned, and, at the motion of the Duke of Buckingham, it was agreed to send the young king to the Tower, as the place of greatest safety. The lords in council then fixed the 22nd of June for the coronation; summoned fifty lords and gentlemen to attend and receive the honours of knighthood, which were usually distributed before that ceremony; appointed the bishop of Lincoln chancellor, in the place of the archbishop of York; changed a few other officers of the crown, and gave the post of Protector to the Duke of Gloucester, who thereupon styled himself " brother and uncle of the king, protector and defensor, great chamberlain, constable, and lord high admiral of England."†

Richard took up his residence in Crosby Place, Bishopsgate, where the majority of the council attended him late and early. At the same time a minority, composed of Lord Hastings and others, met in the Tower; but like the Marquis of Dorset, they seem to have had the garrison of that place against them. Hastings vainly thought that he was secure, and that he could outwit the cunning Gloucester. On the 12th of June he told Lord Stanley, who was uneasy at the proceedings at Crosby Place, that he kept his secret agent there, who was sure to inform him of all that was doing. On the following day the Protector suddenly entered the Tower, and took his seat at the council table.

* Sir Thomas More.

* Fabyan.

† Sir Thomas More.—Cont. Hist. Croyl.—Fabyan.—Rym.

The scene which followed appears to have been somewhat over-coloured by the imagination of the historian; but the accusation of witchcraft was perfectly in keeping with the spirit of the times, and did not differ very materially from certain recent proceedings.

Shakspeare has helped Sir Thomas More to make this scene immortal. More says that Richard presented himself on Friday the 13th of June, about nine in the morning, "in a very merry humour. After a little talking with them, he said unto the bishop of Ely, 'My lord, you have very good strawberries in your garden in Holborn; I request you, let us have a mess of them.' "Gladly, my lord, (quoth he): would to God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that!" and then withal, in all haste, he sent his servant for a mess of strawberries. The Protector set the lords fast in communing, and thereupon, praying them to spare him for a little while, departed thence, and soon after one hour, between ten and eleven, he returned into the chamber amongst them all, changed, with a wonderful sour angry countenance, knitting the brows, frowning and fretting, gnawing on his lips, and so set him down in his place." Soon after he asked what those persons deserved who had compassed and imagined his destruction. Lord Hastings answered that they deserved death, whoever they might be; and then Richard affirmed that they were that sorceress his brother's wife (meaning the queen) and others with her. "And," said the Protector, "we shall see in what wise that sorceress, and that other witch of her council, Shore's wife, with their affinity, have by their sorcery and witchcraft wasted my body." In saying this, he plucked up his doublet sleeve to his elbow upon his left arm, when the arm appeared to be withered and small, "as it was never other." The lords of course perceived that this matter was but a quarrel, and they were all silent except Hastings, who said, "Certainly, my lord, *if* they have so heinously done, they be worthy heinous punishment." "What! (quoth the Protector) thou servest me, I ween, with ifs and with ands! I tell thee they have so done, and that I will make good on thy body, traitor!" "And therewith," continues More, "as in a great anger, he clapped his fist upon the board, a great rap. At which token one cried treason, without the chamber. Therewith a door clapped, and in came there rushing men in harness as many as the chamber might hold. And, anon, the Protector said to the Lord Hastings, "I arrest thee, traitor!" "What, me, my lord!" (quoth he). "Yes, thee, traitor!" (quoth the Protector). Another let fly at the Lord Stanley, which shrunk at the stroke, and fell under the table, or else his head had been cleft to the teeth; for as shortly as he shrank, yet ran the blood about his ears. Then were they quickly bestowed in divers chambers, except the lord chamberlain (Hastings), whom the Protector bade speed, and shrive him apace, "for by Saint Paul (quoth he) I will not to dinner till I see thy head off."

Whatever were the charges brought forward by

Jane Shore.

Head, from a Picture in the Provost's Lodge, King's College, Cambridge; the Costume, from another in Magdalene College, Cambridge

Richard, it seems certain that the Lord Hastings was instantly seized by a body of armed men, who rushed into the council chamber, crying "treason treason!" at a signal given by Richard, hurried him to the green by the side of the Tower chapel, stretched his neck over a log of wood which happened to lie there, and cut off his head; and that the Lord Stanley, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Ely were arrested at the same time, and shut up in separate cells in the Tower. On the very day upon which these things happened in London, the Earl Rivers, the Lord Gray, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawse, were beheaded at Pontefract Castle, without any form of trial. The execution was public; but the victims were prevented from addressing the people by an armed band, that was directed in person by Sir Richard Ratcliffe, one of Richard's boldest adherents, who is described as "a man that had long been secret with him, having experience of the world and a shrewd wit, being short and rude in speech, and as far from pity as from all fear of God." The Earl Rivers, who thus perished, was an accomplished man; he was fond of literature, he encouraged literary men, and first introduced to the notice of Edward IV. William Caxton, the first English printer. These executions, it should appear, produced no re-action. On the 16th of June, only three days after, the Protector, with my Lord Cardinal the Archbishop of Canterbury, and several other prelates and lay lords, proceeded to the sanctuary at Westminster, to demand the person of the Duke of York, whose presence at the coronation was said to be indispensable, and whose abiding in sanctuary was held to be dangerous and dishonourable, as causing slanderous rumours to be spread and suspicions to be cast on the Protector. The cardinal undertook to persuade the queen mother with gentle words, for Richard was quite ready to disregard the sacred rights of church and sanctuary. According to the best authority Elizabeth at last yielded rather to the conviction of the uselessness of all resistance, than to the arguments of the cardinal archbishop, and, calling for her beautiful boy, she embraced him and delivered him over to them, and then burst into tears, as though she felt her child was lost. Richard carried the poor boy to the Tower, and secured him there with his brother.

The pleasant vices of the late king were now made scourges for his innocent progeny, and the dissoluteness of the whole court had disposed the minds of many people to look with a favourable eye upon any prince or minister that should present himself as a reformer of morals. Stories were circulated, both new and old: the late king was again said to be a bastard; and his children were made equally illegitimate in reports which stated, with much circumstantiality, that the marriage of Elizabeth Woodvil was altogether illegal. Among the many mistresses of Edward was none so conspicuous as Jane Shore, whom he had seduced from her husband, a young and wealthy citizen, and to whom he continued attached to the time of his death. "Many," says More, "the king had, but her he loved: whose favour, to say the truth (for sin it were to belie the devil), she never abused to any man's hurt, but, to many a man's comfort and relief, where the king took displeasure she would mitigate and appease his mind; where men were out of favour she would bring them in his grace; for many that had highly offended she obtained pardon; of great forfeitures she got men remission. . . . A proper wit had she, and could both read well and write. As if it were in a virtuous anger, not for covetousness (it appears, however, that Richard kept the goods or the money), the Protector sent into the house of Shore's wife (for she dwelt not with her husband) and seized all her plate and jewels, to the value of two or three thousand marks, and then sent her to prison." She was delivered over to the ecclesiastical court to be punished according to canons which had long been a dead letter, at least about court. "Every man," says More, "was surprised to see the matter so suddenly and so highly taken; and for this cause, as a godly, continent prince, clean and faultless of himself, sent out of heaven into this vicious world for the amendment of men's manners, he made the Bishop of London put her to open penance." With no clothes on but her kirtle, bare-footed, and carrying a lighted taper in her hand, Jane Shore was compelled to walk through the crowded streets of the city on a Sunday. The exhibition had the double effect of fixing the attention of the people on the immoralities of the late king, and of displaying in a striking light the moral rigour of the new Protector.

This scene was followed by a sermon preached by Dr. Shaw, the brother of the lord mayor, upon the text—"The multiplying brood of the ungodly shall not thrive, nor take deep rooting from bastard slips.* The doctor proceeded boldly to show that the two young princes in the Tower were illegitimate, inasmuch as Edward their father, in the very beginning of his reign, before he knew Elizabeth, the widow of Sir Thomas Gray, had clandestinely married Eleanor, the widow of the Lord Boteler of Sudely. He afterwards took up the scandal which had been propagated by the Duke of Clarence, and by the Duke of Burgundy before him, expressing his learned doubts whether Edward, the late king, were in reality the son of his reputed father Richard Duke of York, seeing that there was no resemblance between them. But then he went on to tell the great crowd that attended him—for he was holding forth at Paul's Cross, and was a very popular preacher—that the Lord Protector, that right noble prince, was the very image and plain express likeness of that noble duke. It had been previously arranged that Richard should appear in the sermon-ward just as Dr. Shaw drew this striking comparison, but either he came too slow or the preacher went on too fast; he appeared at length, and then the doctor repeated

* Wisdom of Solomon, iv. 3.

his similitude; but the words lost the air of an inspiration, and the people, instead of shouting "Long live King Richard!" as they ought to have done, stared at each other in silent astonishment. The Protector then pretended to be displeased with the preacher, who sneaked away.

On the Tuesday following (the 24th of June) the Duke of Buckingham, who went hand-in-hand with the Duke of Gloucester, presented himself on the hustings at the Guildhall, and there, supported by a number of lords, knights, and citizens, he eloquently harangued the Londoners. He spoke of the tyranny, extortion, and lust of the late king, —of the numbers he had reduced to beggary by benevolences,—of the honest families he had disgraced by his illicit amours. He went over the whole sermon of Dr. Shaw, and told the people that Richard was the only true issue of the Duke of York, and that the lords and commons of the north had sworn never to submit to a bastard. It appears that the more respectable citizens, among whom, however, Richard had a very strong party, required time for deliberation, but many of the poorer sort threw up their bonnets, and cried "Long live King Richard!" On the next day a great deputation from the citizens, headed by Shaw the mayor, and accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham and many lords and gentlemen, waited upon the Protector, who was lodging in Baynard's Castle. Richard, it is said, affected to be alarmed, and at first declined receiving them; but soon Buckingham was admitted to present an address, which was styled the "Consideration, election, and petition of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of this realm of England." In this remarkable document, of which a copy has been preserved in the rolls of parliament, the former allusions to the illegitimacy of the late king and his brother Clarence were suppressed, but Edward's marriage with Eleanor Boteler was insisted upon; and "as Edward (the discourse proceeded) during his life, and Elizabeth, lived together sinfully and damnably in adultery, against the law of God and of his church, so it appeared evidently and followed that all the issuing children of the said King Edward be bastards." Then, to get rid of the children of the Duke of Clarence, Richard's elder brother, the attainder for treason against that prince was quoted; and, finally, Richard was invited and pressed to take the crown as his by right of birth, and by lawful election of the three estates of the land. The Protector hesitated; spoke of his want of ambition; his warm affection for the young princes his nephews, for whom he yet trusted to preserve the crown. "Not so," said Buckingham; "the free people of England will never be ruled by a bastard; and if you, the lawful heir, refuse the crown, they know where to find another who will gladly accept it." Upon this, Richard modestly replied that it was his duty to submit to the will of his people; and that, since they would have him for their king, he would take upon himself the royal estate of the two noble realms of England and France,—the one to rule from that day forward, the other (meaning France), with their good help, to subdue and get again as soon as might be.* This is commonly reckoned the last day of the brief nominal reign of Edward V.

* Sir Thomas More.

Baynard's Castle, as it appeared in the Seventeenth Century.

RICHARD III.

RICHARD III.
From a Painting on Glass belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge.

GREAT SEAL OF RICHARD III.

On the 26th of June, the day following the scene acted at Baynard's Castle, Richard proceeded to Westminster, where he seated himself between the great Lord Howard and the Duke of Suffolk upon the marble seat in the Hall, telling the admiring people that he commenced his reign in that place because it was his first duty as a king to attend to the laws and the doing of justice. He then rode back to the city, and was received at St. Paul's by a grand

procession of the clergy and the joyful shouts of the people. Ten days after, on the 6th of July, he was crowned in Westminster Abbey with his wife Anne, the daughter of Warwick. Neither lords spiritual nor lords temporal started the least difficulty: the Archbishop of Canterbury, with his clergy, anointed the usurper. There was a very full attendance of peers and peeresses; and while the Duke of Buckingham bore the train of the king, the Countess of Richmond did the like office for the queen. The ceremony was followed by promotions, donations, and acts of mercy. The Lord Howard was made earl marshal, and received the title of Duke of Norfolk: his son was created Earl of Surrey. Of the prisoners made in the council chamber in the Tower on the day of Lord Hastings's execution, Lord Stanley was received into favour, the Archbishop of York was set at liberty, and the Bishop of Ely was released from the Tower, to be more gently guarded by the Duke of Buckingham in his castle at Brecknock.

Richard did not call a parliament, but he held a long conference with the lords who had attended his coronation, and whom he charged to be strict in preserving the peace, and putting down all crimes and disorders in their several counties. In a few days he began a royal progress through the kingdom, and wherever he stopped, he listened to petitions and administered justice in person. His course lay through some of the pleasantest parts of England, and the fine summer season disposed the people to enjoy the splendour and parade of the court, which it showed to the greatest advantage. Everywhere he was received with acclamations—in the north with enthusiasm; but it appears that part of this joy was ordered beforehand, and was probably paid for. From Warwick he went by Coventry, Leicester, Nottingham, and Pontefract, to York, where he and his queen were again crowned.* Since the days of King John it had not been usual with English sovereigns to repeat this august ceremony, but Richard, it appears, wished to gratify his friends in the north—his best friends, who had testified their good will to him long before he became a king.†

But while all was sunshine at York, a dark cloud arose in London, and gradually overspread nearly the whole of the south. Meetings were held by the friends of the queen-mother in different parts, and it was resolved to make an attempt to liberate the princes from the Tower. Their healths were drunk in secret; but the poor boys were already dead, and their fate had probably been hastened by these friends—for nothing was likely to escape the quick and suspicious eye of their uncle and his numerous agents. We venture to repeat the old story as told by Sir Thomas More; for, in spite of the scepticism of a few modern writers, it has not only consistency and probability, but also some remarkable evidences in its favour. In the course of his progress, Richard despatched from the neighbourhood of the town of

* Rotherham, Archbishop of York, here officiated, and set the crown upon his head.

† Sir Thomas More.—Cont. Hist. Croyl.—Drake, Eborac.—Rouse.—Rouse, who was living an eremitical life at Guy's Cliff at the time of this splendid royal progress, saw Richard at Warwick, and describes his personal appearance.

Anne, Queen of Richard III.
From an Ancient Painting on Glass, engraved in "Walpole's Historic Doubts."

Gloucester one John Green, "whom he specially trusted," with a letter to Sir Robert Brackenbury, the governor of the Tower, ordering that the said Sir Robert should, "in somewise, put the two children to death." Brackenbury refused the commission, as something too horrible and dangerous to himself. Green returned with this answer to Richard, who, being then at Warwick, despatched Sir James Tyrrel, his master of the horse, with a commission to get, and keep for twenty-four hours, all the keys and the command of the Tower. One night, apparently in the month of August, Tyrrel, accompanied by Miles Forest, "a fellow fleshed in murder beforetime," and John Dighton, Tyrrel's own horsekeeper, "a big, broad, square, and strong knave," ascended the staircase which led to the chamber where the young princes lay sleeping together. While Tyrrel waited at the door, Miles Forest and John Dighton entered the room, and smothered the children in the bedclothes as they lay, keeping the pillows and featherbed hard upon their mouths. When the deed was done, Tyrrel stepped into the chamber to take a hasty view of the dead bodies, which were then, by his orders, carried down and buried by the two murderers "at the stair-foot, meetly deep in the ground, under a great heap of stones."* Honours and rewards were immediately bestowed upon Tyrrel, Forest, Dighton, Green, and Brackenbury.

It was not King Richard's intention to reveal this atrocious murder; but when the insurgents were up in arms he permitted the fact to be divulged. The news disconcerted the conspirators; but these men had gone too far ever to expect mercy from such a king, and they resolved to raise up a new competitor for the crown in the person of one who was not a prisoner in the Tower, but an exile in France, who was not an innocent, helpless boy, but a man in the vigour of life†—and crafty, cool, and politic as became one that had studied his politics in the school of Louis XI. This was Henry Earl of Richmond, the grandson of Owen Tudor and Catherine, the widow of Henry V. Richmond was considered as representing the line of Lancaster by right of his mother, Margaret Beaufort, who was daughter of a Duke of Somerset, and a great grand-daughter of John of Gaunt. Some princes or princesses might have been found in Spain or Portugal among the descendants of John of Gaunt, who were nearer representatives of that house; but the eyes of the legitimates on this side did not reach so far; and the Yorkists could not very consistently recognise the rights of a line of princes

* Sir Thomas More.—The continuator of the History of Croyland, another contemporary, says simply, that the children were reported to have died in the Tower, though it was uncertain by what kind of *violent* death. A little more light will be thrown on this mysterious transaction in our narrative of the reign of Henry VII.

† Henry was nearly thirty years old when he ascended the throne.

MURDER OF EDWARD V. AND THE DUKE OF YORK, IN THE TOWER.—HILDEBRANDT

whom they had voted usurpers. It was, therefore, proposed that Henry Earl of Richmond should marry the Princess Elizabeth, (formerly affianced to the dauphin,) eldest daughter of the late king, and now, by the death of her brothers, the representative of the more legitimate House of York. Many men who were engaged in this plan had voted all the children of Edward IV. to be bastards only two or three months before; but this was of no importance—they could all swear that they had acted under compulsion. Elizabeth, the queen-mother, whose sanctuary was still respected, found means of corresponding with the managers for this new revolution; and she entered warmly into the project of the marriage. The Dowager Countess of Richmond, who had married Lord Stanley, became a party to the contract, as representative of her son, the exile Henry; and the Marquis of Dorset, with several members of the Gray and Woodville families, and many other noblemen who had hitherto pursued very different politics, united against Richard, and entered into the scheme. The best explanation of the conduct of the Duke of Buckingham, who had done more than any man to place Richard upon the throne, is, that he was a fool and scoundrel. The more detailed explanations usually given are, that though made Constable of the kingdom, justiciary of Wales, governor of all the royal castles in Wales, and steward of the royal manors in Hereford and Shropshire, and though he had obtained from Richard what had constantly been refused to him by Richard's brother and predecessor,* the whole or the greater part of the immense inheritance of Humphrey de Bohun, which he claimed in right of descent, Buckingham was still dissatisfied, and was, therefore, induced to listen to the acute reasoning of his prisoner Morton, Bishop of Ely, who was an implacable enemy of King Richard, and (next to Richard) the most adroit statesman in the country, and to the persuasions of his own wife, who was sister to Queen Elizabeth. It is certain that indignation and horror at the murder of his wife's nephews in the Tower, had nothing to do with Buckingham's sudden change; for he engaged to put himself at the head of an insurrection before that event was known; and, by letters rashly written, and imprudently delivered, he called upon his friends to join him in placing upon the throne the legitimate king, Edward V., whom he, Buckingham, on the 24th of June last past, had proclaimed a bastard at Guildhall. When that plan fell to the ground, he entered eagerly into the other, and was among the first to invite the Earl of Richmond into England. Shortly after the battle of Tewkesbury, the Earl of Pembroke fled with his nephew, Henry Tudor, from Wales, to seek refuge in the court of Louis XI. A storm drove the vessel upon the coast of Brittany, and both these Lancastrian princes were detained by Francis II., the duke of that country. They were claimed as friends by King Louis—as enemies and fugitive traitors by King Edward; but Duke Francis would deliver them to neither. As, however, he stood in need of the assistance of England, he was induced to shut up Henry and his uncle in one of his fortresses in Brittany, and to assure Edward that they never should be allowed to disturb his government.* For a time the Yorkists were obliged to rest satisfied with these assurances; but Edward continued to fear them; and at one time the Duke of Brittany was induced to deliver them over to an English embassy, which professed nothing but friendship and affection for the exiles. Young Henry had even arrived at the port of St. Malo, and was on the point of embarking for England, when Landois, the minister of the Duke of Brittany, suddenly arrived, prevented his sailing under different pretexts, told him he was taken in a trap, and at length gave him the means of escaping from King Edward's agents. At this moment Landois continued his friend, and, hoping much from his gratitude if he should become king of England, he agreed to furnish Henry with some ships, men, and money.†

King Richard obtained the first hint of what was intended from the answer which Henry sent to the invitation of his friends in England. This was within a few days of the 18th of October, the time fixed for a general rising. He instantly summoned all his loyal subjects to meet him at Leicester. The summons was readily attended to in the north, and a good army gathered round his standard. On the appointed day the insurrection broke out, and Henry was proclaimed at Exeter by the Marquis of Dorset; by the Bishop of Salisbury at Devizes; by the gentlemen of Kent at Maidstone; by the gentlemen of Berkshire at Newbury; and by the Duke of Buckingham at Brecknock.

Richard hit all the leaders at once by a remarkable proclamation, in which, maintaining his tone of morality, he called them all traitors, adulterers, and bawds, and said that their object was, the letting (hindrance) of virtue and the damnable maintenance of vice. At the same time, he set a price upon the heads of Buckingham, Dorset, and their confederates. Henry Earl of Richmond appeared with a fleet off the coast of Devonshire; but none of the confederates were there to meet him, and it did not accord with his prudence to attempt a landing with the small force he had brought. While he was sailing back to St. Malo, Buckingham, who moved from Wales too late, and who, when he did move, proceeded like an idiot, was blundering along the right bank of the Severn, seeking in vain for a passage across that river. The people of Herefordshire, Worcester,

* Edward IV. had kept the De Bohun inheritance to himself.

* "The Earl of Richmond," says Comines, "told me, not long before his departure from France, that from the time he was five years old, he had always been a fugitive or a prisoner. He had endured an imprisonment of fifteen years, or thereabouts, in Brittany, by command of the late Duke Francis, into whose hands he fell by extremity of weather, as he was escaping out of England with his uncle, the Earl of Pembroke. I was at the Duke Francis's court at the time when they were seized. The duke treated them very handsomely for prisoners."

† Daru, Hist. Bretagne.

and Gloucestershire, who had no great affection for him and his Welsh army, broke down or defended all the bridges; and the fords it is said were rendered impassable by the autumnal rains. In a very short time the Welshmen, finding that the duke had made no arrangements for feeding them, and that they could not maintain themselves by plunder, deserted almost to a man, and returned to their mountains. Buckingham fled and concealed himself; and the news of his miserable failure induced the rest of the insurgents to disperse. Richard, without drawing a sword, marched all the way from Leicester to Salisbury, where Buckingham, his captive, having been betrayed by one of his own servants, named Banister, meanly implored to see him. Richard would not grant him an interview, but ordered his head to be struck off in the market-place, which was done immediately. The king then continued his march into Devonshire; but this was scarcely necessary, for the Marquis of Dorset and his friends had already taken flight for Brittany. He executed a few insurgents, the most conspicuous of whom was St. Leger, a knight, who had married Richard's own sister, the Duchess of Exeter; and then he returned to London to meet a parliament which had, at length, been summoned.*

This, which was Richard's only parliament, met on the 11th of November, and was so far from showing any dissatisfaction, that it proceeded at once to confirm the celebrated petition which had been presented by Buckingham and the citizens at Baynard's Castle the day before the protector changed himself into a king; and it declared him the lawful sovereign by birth, inheritance, free election, consecration, and coronation, and entailed the crown on the issue of his body, beginning with his son Edward, now declared Prince of Wales. It voted a bill of attainder, in the usual form, against the traitors who had attempted to disturb the lawful government. This bill was much less severe than might have been expected. Some of the forfeited estates were retained for the crown; others were allotted to gentlemen chiefly of the north country who had given valuable proofs of their attachment to Richard. The Countess of Richmond, Henry's mother, who had taken a most active part in the late attempt, was pardoned at the earnest entreaties of her second husband, the Lord Stanley—a man who seems to have been a match even for Richard in craft and duplicity, and who now, and indeed to the last moment, persuaded him that he had renounced all former notions, and had become his truest friend and servant. In the address or petition presented at Baynard's Castle, was the following strong passage, expressive of the feelings with which the rapacity and misgovernment of Edward IV. had filled the citizens: "For certainly, we be determined rather to adventure and commit us to the peril of our lives and jeopardy of death, than to live in such thraldom and bondage as we have lived long time heretofore, oppressed and injured by extortions and new impositions against the laws of God and man, and the liberty, old policy, and laws of this realm, wherein every Englishman is inherited." Parliament now passed an act, which, after reciting in equally strong terms the grievances lately suffered, abrogated and for ever annulled all exactions under the name of benevolences—that equivocal and odious term introduced in the late arbitrary times. This was a boon to the nation, whose liberties were not directly impaired by the usurpation of Richard. The first acts of government in such circumstances are generally of a popular kind; and Richard did not retain power long enough to show his true character. "But," says a judicious and right-hearted historian, "from, an act so deeply tainted with moral guilt, as well as so violent in all its circumstances, no substantial benefit was likely to spring."*

A.D. 1484.—Richard felt that in spite of acts of parliament and all other instruments, whereby the children of his brother had been declared illegitimate, the whole party of the Yorkists were still inclined to consider the Princess Elizabeth as heiress to the crown. He was aware of the project of uniting her to Henry, Earl of Richmond, whose title was otherwise most defective, and he resolved to get the young lady into his power. He was startled by a circumstance which took place during the festival of Christmas. The English exiles, with the Marquis of Dorset at their head, met Henry at an appointed place in Brittany, and after he had sworn to make Elizabeth his queen, they did homage to him as their legitimate sovereign. Richard opened an active and affectionate correspondence with his brother's widow, who was still with her daughters in the sanctuary at Westminster; and that vain, ambitious, heartless woman, tired of her long privations, and eager again for the pleasures of a court, listened to the proposals offered by the murderer of her children, brother, and nearest friends. It is said that threats were used to make her accept his protection, but from what followed, we should doubt whether any threats had been found necessary. Some precautions, however, she took; for Richard swore upon the host before some bishops and lords, and the lord mayor and aldermen, that her life and the lives of her daughters should be in no peril; that they should all be treated as his kinswomen; and that he would grant an annuity to the mother, and marriage portions to the young ladies. After this, she left the sanctuary and went to court, where every possible attention was paid to her eldest daughter. Richard's design was, in this instance, transparent—it was to marry the Princess Elizabeth, whom he had called a bastard, but whom others called the lawful heiress, to his son, the Prince of Wales, a boy of eleven years. The plan, however, was defeated by the death of the young prince, who expired *suddenly* at Middleham Castle. For a

* Rot. Parl.—Rym.—Cont. Hist. Croyl.—Drake, Eborac.—Hall.—Stow.

* Hallam.—Rot. Parl.—Cont. Hist. Croyl.

time Richard was bowed to the earth by this unexpected calamity, but as soon as he recovered he evidently resolved to work out his scheme of ambition by marrying Elizabeth himself. Except for the poor boys who perished in the Tower, or in some other place, it is scarcely possible to feel the least sympathy for a single member of this abominable family. The Lady Elizabeth was kept constantly about the person of Richard's queen, and indulged in all the pleasures of the court, which did not always wear a puritanical gloom, for Richard found, that though his affectation of moral austerity might gain him friends in one direction it made him lose friends in another. On a sudden Queen Anne fell sick, and it seems to have been calculated that she should die. In the month of February (1485) Elizabeth, the mother, wrote to her son, the marquis, telling him to retire immediately from Henry, Earl of Richmond, as she had arranged a better plan for the family; and Elizabeth, the daughter, (the worthy child of such a mother,) wrote to Howard, now Duke of Norfolk, and in high favour with the king, to implore his good offices in forwarding her marriage with Richard, whom she called "her joy and maker in this world—the master of her heart and thoughts." She expressed her surprise that the queen should be so long in dying—the better part of February, she observed, was past, and the queen still alive —would she never die? Anne died in March, and then Elizabeth, who had already worn robes similar to those of the queen, and who had appeared at court balls and festivals as the peculiar object of her uncle's attentions, expected to mount the throne. But when Richard opened his plan to his chief advisers, Ratcliffe and Catesby, they represented that such a marriage would be considered as incestuous by the clergy and the people; that it would confirm suspicions, already beginning to be entertained, that he had poisoned Queen Anne, and that such a conviction would assuredly deprive him of his friends in the north, whose attachment to him had mainly arisen out of their hereditary affection for the daughter of the great Earl of Warwick. Richard had counted on obtaining a dispensation for the marriage from the pope, but he was now made to feel that this, even if he had got it, would not be sufficient to screen him from popular indignation, and he resigned all thoughts of making the heiress his wife. His next step was to assert that he had never entertained any such project. He summoned a meeting in the great hall of the Temple, and there before the commoners and the lord mayor and aldermen, who had an unusually large share in State matters during this reign, he protested that he had never thought of such matter. In order to tranquillise the people of the north, he wrote a letter to the citizens of York, telling them how he had explained matters to the citizens of London, and requiring them to seize and send before the council all such persons as propagated false and malicious reports.

In the preceding summer Richard had adopted measures which drove Henry from Brittany, and well-nigh proved fatal to that rival. By means of money he converted Landois from a friend and ally into an enemy, and that Breton minister with, or without the consent of his master, the Duke Francis, engaged to seize the Earl of Richmond and send him a prisoner into England. Henry being warned of this plot, fled with a few friends from Vannes, threw himself into a neighbouring forest, and, by pursuing unfrequented roads and using great speed, he gained the territories of the king of France. There he was safe, for the French court considered Richard as an usurper. "This Richard," says Comines, "desired to live in the same friendship with our king as his brother Edward had done, and I believe would have had his pension continued; but our king looked upon him as an inhuman and cruel person, and would neither answer his letters nor give audience to his ambassadors." And though Louis XI., the king here alluded to, died seven weeks after Richard's coronation, his son, Charles VIII., entertained the same sentiments. Henry was kindly received at Paris, and Charles even supplied him with some money and about three thousand Normans, whom Comines describes as "the loosest and most profligate fellows of all that country." "And thus," says the same writer, "did God of a sudden raise up against Richard an enemy without power, without money, without hereditary right (according to my information), and without any reputation, save what his person and deportment had acquired for him." Richard was well informed of all these proceedings, and as Henry collected his ships and troops at Harfleur, he prepared to meet him on his landing.

The real descent of his rival, his alliance with the French king, and the complexion of the army he was bringing into England, were all made the most of in a proclamation which Richard issued with the intention of exciting the prejudices of the people. He called him "One Henry Tudor, descended of bastard blood both by father's and mother's side, and who, therefore, could never have any claim to the crown of England, but by conquest." He asserted that this Henry Tudor, that he might achieve his false intent by the aid of the ancient enemies of England, had covenanted to give up in perpetuity to the crown of France all the right to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and even Calais, and to dissever the arms of France from the arms of England for ever; that he had promised and given away to traitors and foreigners archbishoprics, bishoprics, duchies, earldoms, baronies, and other inheritances, of knights, esquires, and private gentlemen; that he intended to change and subvert the ancient laws and liberties; that he was coming with bands of robbers and murderers, and with rebels attainted by the high court of parliament, of whom many were known for open cutthroats, adulterers, and extortioners. He called upon his subjects, like true and good Englishmen, to arm for the defence of their wives, children,

goods, and hereditaments, and he promised, like a diligent and courageous prince, to put his most royal person to all labour and peril, necessary in their behalf. This proclamation was drawn up with great skill, and his activity and courage answered to his promise; but he was without money, and he soon found that he could depend but little on his officers.

The last remnant of his popularity among the citizens of London appears to have been rent and destroyed by the exacting of some forced loans. As he and his parliament had for ever proscribed those practices of the late reign, he would not permit these extortions to be called "benevolences," upon which the Londoners called them "malevolences."* The plan of his campaign was to intrust the defence of the sea-coasts to his friends, and to collect himself a great army in the centre of the kingdom. Most of these friends betrayed him; but, when he raised his own banner at Nottingham, the people of the north hastened to it, under the Earl of Northumberland. On the 7th of August Henry landed at Milford-Haven with about five thousand men, of whom not above two thousand were English. Richard moved southward to Leicester, where he was joined by the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Lovel, and Brackenbury, who brought up the levies from the eastern counties, from Hampshire, and from London. Many other lords and sheriffs of counties, who had been summoned, did not appear, and the Lord Stanley, the husband of Henry's mother, was among the missing. Keeping up his deception to the last, Stanley sent to say how much he regretted his non-attendance, which was caused solely by the sweating sickness that confined him to his bed. But Richard, who probably knew by this time that Henry had been allowed to march undisturbed through Wales, and through the whole country where the influence of the Stanleys was greatest, determined to look after the Lord Strange, the son of Lord Stanley, who was in his camp. Strange attempted flight, was seized, interrogated, and made to confess that the Stanleys were in league with the invader,—all of them except his father, who, he said, he knew would soon join King Richard. He was allowed to write to Lord Stanley to hasten his coming, but he was kept a close prisoner as hostage for his father. It was then arranged that the Stanleys should march a little in advance of the invading force, as though they were retreating before it, and that they should only join openly on the field of battle, when it was calculated Richard's mind would be too much occupied to attend to Lord Strange.

Henry, after crossing the Severn, was joined by the Talbots and a few other families, but his force was still very inconsiderable as compared with the army under his bold and experienced rival. But Henry knew that not one man in ten would fight for Richard, and he continued to press forward. On the 21st of August he moved from Tamworth town to Atherston, where he was joined by swarms of deserters from the enemy. On the same day Richard marched from Leicester, and encamped near the town of Bosworth. Early on the following morning Richard, with the crown on his head, mounted his horse, marshalled his troops, and advanced. Henry at the same time moved from Atherston: and the two armies soon met in the midst of the fine and spacious plain, nearly surrounded by hills, which commences about a mile to the south of Bosworth. "There," in the quaint language of a contemporary, "was fought a sharp battle, and sharper should it have been if the king's party had been fast to him; but many, towards the field, refused him, and rode over to the other party, and some stood hovering afar off, till they saw to which party the victory should fall."* In fact, of all the lords that followed Richard scarcely one was true to him except the Duke of Norfolk and his son the Earl of Surrey. As he gazed along the enemy's lines he saw many a banner, which, a few hours before, had been on his own side; and either immediately before the first attack, or very soon after, Lord Stanley appeared in the field with three thousand men, and joined his adversary. On looking back on his own lines he saw them wavering and broken by desertion, for whole bands at a time left their positions to fall into the rear or go over to Henry. Even the Earl of Northumberland, with the hardy men of the north, seemed inclined to keep aloof. Hesitation could only increase these evils: Richard gave the order, and the Duke of Norfolk, who led the van, began the attack by falling upon the advanced guard of the enemy, which was commanded by the old Earl of Oxford, who had recently been delivered from prison by Sir Walter Blount, once Richard's sworn friend, but who now, like so many other adherents, drew his sword for the Earl of Richmond. Norfolk's attack made a great impression, but no other leader seconded him. Of a sudden Richard put spurs to his horse, and, shouting "Treason!" galloped into the midst of the enemy. His quick eye had caught a glance of Henry, and, desperate as seemed his case, he hoped to retrieve it by his personal valour and his skill in the use of arms, if he could only engage his adversary hand-to-hand. He cut his way to Henry's standard; killed Sir William Brandon, the standard bearer; made Sir John Cheney bite the dust; and was directing a deadly thrust at his rival, when a whole host closed upon him, threw him from his horse, and despatched him with many wounds. Then Lord Stanley picked up his crown, battered and blood-stained, and put it on the head of Henry. The Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Ferrers, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Brackenbury, and a few other knights, shared the fate of their master. It is said that, in the battle and the flight, three thousand men perished; but, considering the way in which the affair was managed, and Henry's politic anxiety to reconcile parties, and to

* Cont. Hist. Croyl.

* Fabyan.

show himself a clement sovereign, it is probable that this number is somewhat exaggerated. The battle of Bosworth-field, which terminated the war of the Roses, was altogether on a scale inferior to that of several preceding conflicts. Counting both armies, there were not eighteen thousand men on the field, and of these the greater part were never engaged. When the victorious party had finished shouting "Long live King Henry!" they picked up the body of King Richard, stripped it, and laid it across a horse behind a pursuivant-at-arms, who, thus mounted, rode a little in the rear of the new king into the town of Leicester. There the body was exposed for two or three days, "that all men, might behold it;" after which it was buried with little reverence in the church of the Grey Friars.

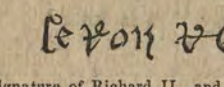
Such was the fate of Richard III., who had reigned two years and two months. There is some uncertainty about his precise age, but it appears propable that he was only in his thirty-third year when he died.* The disputes which have been raised on every part of his history have been extended even to his personal appearance. It seems very certain that the portrait usually exhibited is an incorrect one: he was small of stature, had a sharp visage, and unequal shoulders,—his right shoulder being a little higher than his left:† the other traits seem to have been put in by imagination. There is some evidence to show that, instead of being a monster of ugliness, he was almost as handsome in features as his brother Edward IV.‡

* Cont. Hist. Croyl.—Fabyan.—Hall.—Buck, Life of Rich. III. —W. Hutton, Battle of Bosworth-field.

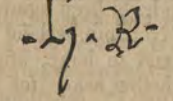
† So at least says Rouse, the Hermit of Guy's Cliff, who saw Richard (whom he hated) at Warwick a little after his coronation.

‡ Walpole, Hist. Doubts. This appears to us one of the particulars in which the ingenious writer has best made out his case; and yet he can scarcely be said to have got rid of Richard's hump.

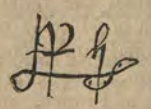
SERIES OF AUTOGRAPHS OF ENGLISH KINGS.



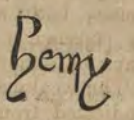
This is the signature of Richard II., and is believed to be the earliest autograph of an English king extant; from him the series continues unbroken. The present signature is taken from the Cotton MS. Vesp. T. xiv., and consists of the words *Le roy Rod.*



Signature of Henry IV., consisting of the initials H.R, (for Henricus Rex), from the same MS.

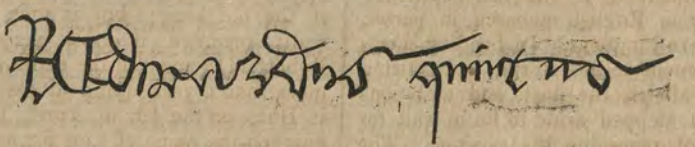


Signature of Henry V. (R.H.), from the same MS.

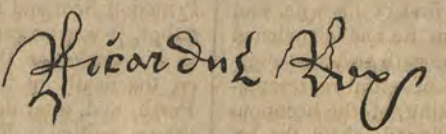


Signature of Henry VI. (Henry), from the same MS.

Signature of Edward IV., R.E. (for Rex Edwardus), from the Paston Letters.



Signature of Edward V. (R. Edwardus Quintus), from the Cotton MS. Vesp. T. xiv.



Signature of Richard III. (Ricardus Rex), from the Paston Letters.

The course of affairs in Scotland has been adverted to from time to time in the preceding pages; but it will be convenient to subjoin a brief summary of the history of that kingdom from the commencement to the close of the period, that the leading events may be seen at one view in their sequence and proper connexion. The arrival of the fifteenth century found the throne of Bruce occupied by his great-grandson Robert III., who had ascended it in 1390;—a prince whom much amiability of nature, a genuine though a somewhat superstitious piety, and even intellectual tastes and accomplishments beyond the rude times upon which he was thrown, did not protect from the misfortunes and contempt that were the natural consequences of his extreme deficiency in all the more eneregetic and manly virtues. He had passed his fiftieth year before he obtained the crown; and for some years before his accession, the whole powers of the government, in the feeble old age of their father, had been left in the hands of his two younger brothers, the Earls of Fife and Buchan, whose very vices were fitted to win more admiration from their countrymen than his good qualities; for, although the one was a man of craft, the other of violence, both were equally unrestrained either by conscience or feeling, and in their respective ways of action equally unscrupulous and daring. The weakness of the new reign was sufficiently indicated from the first, by the Earl of Fife, afterwards created Duke of Albany, being permitted to continue, with the office of Custos or Guardian, ruler both of the kingdom and the king. From his timid brother, Albany never would have encountered any attempt to overthrow or limit his power; but Robert's eldest son, the Duke of Rothsay, showed himself as he grew up to manhood, to be of a very opposite temper to his father. A strong party of the nobility as well as the national feeling rallied around the heir apparent; and in 1398, Albany found himself compelled to resign the post of regent to his nephew. The government was in the hands of Rothsay, when Henry IV. of England, in the close of the year 1400, made that inroad into the country as far as Edinburgh, which was attended with no results, but is memorable as the last expedition ever conducted by an English monarch in person against the northern kingdom. In bending, however, for the moment to the storm, and retiring from the head of affairs, the dark and ambitious Albany had only stepped aside to lie in wait for an opportunity of regaining his position. The thoughtless character of Rothsay made him an easy prey to his designing uncle. His wild pursuit of pleasure, and neglect first of his wife, and then of the mistress for whom he had abandoned her, had already involved him with several powerful enemies, when, by means of artful representations conveyed to the old king, of the licentious conduct of his son, he was induced, about the beginning of the year 1402, to give an order, under the royal signet, to Albany, to arrest the prince, and place him in temporary confinement. He was seized at Strathtyrum, near St. Andrew's, as he rode towards that city, and immediately lodged in the castle there, from which he was soon after transferred to a dungeon in the royal palace of Falkland, and there, it is believed, starved to death. The resumption by Albany of the office of regent immediately followed this horrid tragedy. Soon after, hostile operations against England were resumed: two Scottish armies were successively marched into that country, and were both defeated and dispersed—the first at the battle of Nesbit Moor, fought on the 22nd of June; the second at that of Homildon Hill, on the 14th of September. In the latter, Lord Murdoch Stewart, Albany's eldest son, along with many other Scottish noblemen, fell into the hands of the victors. The following year, a numerous Scottish force again advanced towards the border—this time under the command of Albany himself; but, although the Regent gave out that his design was to avenge himself on the Percies for the disasters of the preceding campaign, there is every reason to believe that he was really in league with his former enemies, and was prepared to join their rebellion against King Henry, when the news of the result of the battle of Shrewsbury, which he received before he had entered England, at once induced him to return home and disband his army. The connexion, however, that had been formed by the Scottish government with the disaffected party in England, was not broken off by the failure of the bold enterprise of Hotspur. Albany appears to have been again a party to the conspiracy of old Northumberland and Archbishop Scrope, in 1405, and to have, after its detection, actually raised another army for the invasion of England. At this moment, however, there was a truce between the two countries, and no hostile movement on the part of the Scottish Regent had yet taken place when the remarkable event occurred (on the 30th of March) of the capture by an English vessel off Flamborough Head, of King Robert's second son, James, now the heir apparent, on his voyage to France, and his retention as a prisoner by the English king. The news of this event is commonly said to have broken the heart of the old king; but it may be doubted if he really regarded it as a very heavy calamity. Robert III. survived the capture of his son rather more than a year, dying at his castle of Rothsay, in Bute, on the 4th of April, 1406, after having enjoyed the name of king for nearly sixteen years, but the power for not one day in all that time.

In whatever light King Henry's seizure of the Prince of Scotland may have been regarded by his father, it was no cause of grief, we may be sure, to his uncle, the Duke of Albany. Immediately on the death of the king, a parliament met at Perth, and, after declaring James Earl of Carrick, then a captive in England, their lawful king, continued Albany in the regency. He was now in possession of whatever power belonged to the royal

station, unlimited by even the form or shadow of participation. For some years after this, peace was preserved between the governments of England and Scotland, although occasional encounters still took place on the borders between the subjects of the two kingdoms, and also between private merchant ships on the coast. Meanwhile a formidable rebellion of the Lord of the Isles was suppressed by his defeat in the destructive battle of Harlaw, gained by the Earl of Mar, on the 24th of July, 1411, and by the treaty of Lochgillip, by which Albany soon after compelled the northern potentate to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Scottish crown, and to give hostages for his fidelity. On the 17th of May, in the following year, a new truce was concluded with England to last for six years. In 1414, Albany at last succeeded in obtaining from Henry V. what he had long vainly endeavoured to extort from the more obdurate disposition or more cautious policy of the late king, the liberation of his son Murdoch. He was exchanged for the young Henry Percy, the son of Hotspur, who was not only re-admitted to his native country, but reinstated in all the forfeited honours of his family.

The Scottish Regent made no such effort to procure the restoration of his captive sovereign as he had made to get back his son; on the contrary, he is accused, though rather on considerations of probability suggested by his position and character, than on the evidence of any certain facts, of having applied all his powers of intrigue to prevent the liberation of James. It is supposed that it was an apprehension of not being able much longer to ward off the return of the king, if the two nations should remain at peace, that moved him suddenly, in September 1417, to break the truce, and to commit what was long popularly remembered as the "Foul Raid," by marching towards the border at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, and, after beginning the siege of Roxburgh, immediately retreating in all haste on learning that an English force was on the way to meet him. The consequence was, that all the south of Scotland was laid waste by the avenging invaders.

It is possible that this unfortunate attempt of the Scottish government may have been made at the instigation of the French court, with which a close alliance had always been maintained by Albany, even while at peace, or, at least, in peaceful intercourse, with England. It was not until a short time after the "Foul Raid," however, that the Duke of Vendome came to Scotland on an embassy from the Dauphin; when it was agreed to send a body of Scottish troops to serve against the English in France. Seven thousand men were sent under the command of the Earl of Buchan (the Regent's second son) and the Earl of Wigton. The services of these brave men in a succession of bloody fields, till they were nearly all, together with five thousand more that had been subsequently brought over by the Earl of Douglas, swept away at Crevant and Verneuil, have been commemorated above. Long before these disastrous days, however, the state of affairs in Scotland had undergone a great change. The Regent Albany died at the palace of Stirling on the 3rd of September, 1419, having reached the age of eighty years, during thirty-four of which he is said to have held the supreme power, under the nominal reigns of his father, brother, and nephew. He is properly to be regarded as the chief, or leader of the feudal nobility, by whom he was raised up and supported against both the crown and the people, and whom, in return, he protected in all their local despotism and oppression. His regency was thus what the power of the crown itself had originally been,—a power created and sustained by the aristocracy, with which it was identified in feeling and interest, until, as its position was strengthened by long tenure, it had begun to detach itself from, and to endeavour to make itself independent of, the body from which it had sprung. Their maintenance of Albany was an attempt, on the part of the nobles, to prevent this, and, as it were to revive, in favourable circumstances, the institution of a dependent king. In the accounts of the old historians the feudal tyranny under which the country groaned during the whole period of the government of Albany is drawn in the darkest colours. The strongest proof of the closeness of the union that bound the one party to the other was given on the death of the old duke, when his son and heir Murdoch was suffered, as a matter of course, to assume the regency at the same time with his hereditary estates and honours. But Murdoch had neither the capacity nor the ambition of his father; he continued indeed to occupy the elevation to which he had been lifted by circumstances and accident, but all real power gradually fell from his hands, and his government at length became a mere anarchy. Things were in this state when the captive King of Scots, after the death of Henry V., whom he had accompanied on his glorious expedition to France, was at last permitted by the English government to return to his own country. His liberation was the result of negotiations which his friends in Scotland had long been pursuing, and which terminated in an agreement concluded at York on the 10th of September, 1423, by which it was stipulated that forty thousand pounds should be paid to England within six years, by half-yearly payments, under the name of compensation for the expenses of the maintenance of James during the eighteen years of his captivity. On the 24th of February following the Scottish king espoused, at the church of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark, the Lady Joanna Beaufort, the daughter of the Duchess of Clarence, by her first husband the Duke of Somerset, and the descendant of Edward III., by both her parents, with whom tradition makes him to have fallen in love some years before, on beholding her from his prison in the Round Tower of Windsor Castle, an incident which is believed to have suggested his plaintive and elegant poem entitled "The King's Quhair." He

arrived in Scotland on the 5th of April, 1324, and on the 21st of May was solemnly crowned, with his queen, in the usual venerated sanctuary, the abbey church of Scone.

The first great work to which James found it necessary to address himself, in the state to which his kingdom had been brought, was the reduction of the power of the nobility. The overthrow of that many-headed domination was indispensable, both for the security of his own position, and for the restoration of the blessings of order and good government to his people. Nor did he proceed timidly or by half measures towards an object, his success or failure in the complete attainment of which was to be his salvation or his ruin. "Let God but grant me life," he is said to have indignantly exclaimed when made fully acquainted with the universal violence and rapine that prevailed, "and by his help I shall make the key keep the castle, and the furze-bush the cow, throughout my dominions, though I should lead the life of a dog to complete it." A truce for seven years had been concluded with England, and James lost no time in taking advantage of this season of security from foreign hostility, to proceed with his work of internal reform. In a parliament which met at Perth five days after his coronation, a complete review of the manifold disorders of the kingdom was gone into, and numerous regulations were enacted for their correction. But legislation could in such circumstances only lop and somewhat repress the growth of the evil; its root lay too deep to be so reached. Having sedulously employed the interval in gaining over the instruments of his scheme, and making the other necessary preparations, James assembled another parliament at Perth, on the 12th of March, 1328, and on the ninth day after suddenly ordered the arrest of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, his youngest son Alexander, and twenty-six of the other principal barons, their partisans, whom he had thus got into his power. Walter Stewart, Albany's eldest son, had been seized and placed in custody, some time before. He was the first of the prisoners brought to trial, in a court held in the palace of Stirling, and over which the king himself presided, on the 20th of May. It is needless to add that he was condemned to die. He, his father, his brother Alexander, and Albany's father-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, now in his eightieth year, were all executed on the Heading Hill, in front of Stirling Castle. All the estates of this once-powerful family being then declared forfeited to the Crown, the other nobles who had been apprehended were set at liberty, and left to their reflections on the terrible example they had witnessed.

For several years after this James continued to occupy himself, with the assistance of his parliament, which was usually summoned every year, in endeavouring to promote the improvement of his kingdom, and to remedy the mishaps of a long course of misgovernment, by means of a series of legislative enactments, still preserved, which comprehend the subjects of agriculture, commerce, foreign and domestic manufactures, the regulation of weights and measures, the police of the country, its defence against foreign hostility both by land and by sea, the administration of justice, and even the constitution of the supreme government, and which probably, taken altogether, furnish the most complete collection of materials that now exists for the illustration of the internal condition of any European country at this remote era. He also strengthened himself, and made provision for calling into activity the industry and resources of the country, by treaties of alliance or commerce with France, Flanders, and other foreign powers. The only part of his dominions in which the authority of the laws continued for some time to be set at nought, or imperfectly obeyed, was the northern Highlands. Determined that the chiefs of that region should bow under the same sceptre which had already repressed the turbulence of the southern nobles, in the spring of 1427 he assembled a parliament at Inverness, and there ventured again upon the same bold expedient which he had adopted two years before at Perth. About fifty heads of clans, who had been summoned to give their attendance, were seized; of which some were instantly condemned and executed, others were not put to death till after a more deliberate investigation, and others were only imprisoned for a time. Of the last-mentioned class was Alexander, Lord of the Isles. This potent chieftain upon being set at large, after a confinement of about two years, collected his armed followers, and rose in open revolt against the royal authority; but James instantly marched against him in person, and, coming up with him near Lochaber, completely defeated and dispersed the rebel force. Alexander soon after threw himself on the royal mercy. Another Highland rebellion which broke out in 1431, headed by Donald Balloch, a near relation of the Lord of the Isles, was met by the Scottish king with the same promptitude and spirit, and as successfully repressed. Balloch himself lost his life, and the pacification of the Highlands is said to have been completed by the execution, as it is termed, or slaughter in cold blood, of no fewer than three hundred captured thieves and robbers. About the same time another truce for five years was concluded with England.

If James had stopped at this point he might, perhaps, have succeeded in maintaining and consolidating the reforms which he had commenced with so much courage and ability. But his scheme for breaking the strength of the nobility, and re-establishing the royal supremacy, was yet far from being completed. The blood that had been shed had, after all, destroyed but one of the great families; many others still remained sufficiently powerful to be dangerous, even singly, and nearly irresistible if they should combine. On the other hand the Crown had been greatly impoverished and weakened during the regency, by many lavish alienations of the royal domains, that had helped

to build up the greatness of the aristocracy. These grants James now determined to resume. The success that had attended his first attempts seems to have somewhat thrown him off his guard; in so far, at least, as the imperfect details that have come down to us can be understood, there is in his latter proceedings much apparent precipitation and over-confidence, as well as not a little of a despotic and rapacious spirit. By acts which did not perhaps in any case go beyond the letter of the law, but which were at the least very rigorous and harsh applications of it, several of the most eminent among the nobility were suddenly stripped of estates of which they or their predecessors had held undisturbed possession for many years. Meanwhile, having formed an intimate alliance with France, and sent his infant daughter Margaret, in 1435, to that country to be betrothed to the dauphin (afterwards Louis XI.), he became involved through this connexion in a dispute with the English government, which led him in the course of the following year to break the truce, and, marching with an army to the Border, to lay siege to the castle of Roxburgh. One motive that has been assigned for his having thus, contrary to his previous uniform policy, thrown himself into a war with the neighbouring kingdom, is, that he proposed in this way to find occupation for the fierce spirits whom his recent conduct could not but have alarmed and irritated, and to draw off their attention from domestic politics. While he lay before Roxburgh, however, the queen suddenly made her appearance in the camp, and, apparently in consequence of something she had communicated, the king immediately raised the siege, disbanded his army, and returned to the north. This was before the middle of August. The conspiracy against his life was probably already arranged; but it would appear that the king's suspicions, if they had really been awakened, were again lulled, and he resumed his usual mode of life. On the approach of Christmas he repaired to Perth, and there, taking up his lodging in the great monastery of the Black Friars, spent the holy season in the midst of a numerous and brilliant court. The gay succession of revels and festivities had been prolonged far into the new year before the conspirators determined to strike their blow. The chiefs of the plot were Sir Robert Graham, Walter Stewart Earl of Athole, and his grandson Sir Robert Stewart, who held the office of chamberlain in the royal household, and whom, it appears, it was the intention to proclaim king, as being the descendant of Robert II., and, as was pretended, his rightful heir and representative—Robert III. having, it was affirmed, been born out of wedlock. Both Graham and the Stewarts had been adherents of Albany, and both had also more recent injuries of their own to avenge. Graham, a man of the darkest and most determined character, took the conduct of the bloody enterprise. On the night of the 20th of February, he proceeded with his armed accomplices towards the royal bedchamber, where James, standing in his night-dress, was still conversing with the queen and her ladies before retiring to rest. The noise of their tumultuous approach instantly struck alarm to the hearts of the king and those with him. He flew to the windows, but found them secured by immovable bars. When they rushed to fasten the door, it was found that the bolts had been removed; in his extremity of despair, James then tore up one of the planks of the floor; and in this way, after replacing the board, dropped into a dark vault below, while a heroic woman, Catherine Douglas, making her arm a bolt for the door, held it till the bone was snapped in two. At first, the mode of the king's escape was not detected; but, on hearing a noise, which was occasioned by his attempt to come up from the vault, the assassins returned again to the chamber, and soon discovered where he was concealed. Naked and unarmed as he was, he made a desperate defence when they sprung down upon him to despatch him; but Graham himself at last succeeded in giving him his death-stroke. His body, when examined, was found to be pierced with sixteen wounds.*

Thus perished James I., in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his actual reign. The conspirators gained none of their ulterior objects; on the contrary, although they escaped in the first instance, they were all eventually retaken, and put to death, every complicated refinement of torture being applied to deepen and prolong their dying agonies. The only son of their murdered king, an infant of six years old, was immediately crowned as James II. The early part of this reign is a scene of the most perplexed intestine confusion, of which the records are so imperfect as to make the whole nearly unintelligible. The principal personages that figure in the dark and troubled drama are Sir William Crichton, Sir Alexander Livingston, and the several mighty barons who successively became the heads of the house of Douglas. We cannot here enter into any detail of the long fluctuating game of fraud and violence in which these different interests contended with each other for the possession of the king and the government of the kingdom. Both the royal infant and his mother were for some time constantly prisoners in the hands of one or other of the fierce and restless factions. As the boy grew up towards manhood, however, notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which his early years had been passed, he evinced his inheritance of no small share of the spirit and ability of his great father, and also of all the determination of the late king to be king in reality as well as in name. William, the fifth Earl of Douglas, and also Duke of Touraine in France, a youth of seventeen, had already been cut off along with his younger brother, in

* Pinkerton, in his History of Scotland (Appendix to vol. i. pp. 462—475), has published a contemporary narrative of this barbarous murder, and also of the execution of the regicides, which professes to be translated from a Latin original—probably the account published by authority at the time. Few stories, either in history or in fiction, can compete with the horrors of this grim chronicle.

1440; the two were seduced by Crichton and Livingston, at that time in confederacy, to the castle of Edinburgh, where the king was, and then seized as they sat at dinner, and, after the briefest form of a trial, hurried to execution—a deed of perfidy which shocked even that unscrupulous age, and was long a theme of popular horror and execration. After a few years, however, nearly all the old power of that great baronial house was revived in the person of William, the eighth Earl of Douglas; he was the most formidable subject of the crown at the time when the king began to take the management of affairs into his own hands. James, though still very young, proceeded from the first with wonderful prudence and dissimulation. From among the several competitors for the supreme power he selected Crichton, whom he made lord chancellor, as his confidential adviser, along with the able and enlightened Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrew's, a prelate whose high birth, for he was first cousin to the king, added additional influence to his eminent rank in the church. The first blow was struck at the Livingstons; the principal heads of that faction, being assembled in 1449, in a sort of family convocation at the bridge of Inchbelly, near Kirkintilloch, were suddenly surrounded by the king's forces, seized, and thrown into prison. A few of them were afterwards executed; the rest made their submission; and the power of the faction was completely destroyed. The more united strength of the Earl of Douglas, whose great territorial possessions in the most important district of the kingdom made him almost a rival potentate, was not so easily thrown down; policy and force were alternately resorted to; at last the mighty earl was induced to visit the king in Stirling Castle; in a conversation between him and James warm words were uttered on both sides; till the king, at last giving way to his passion, drew his dagger, and plunged it into the earl's throat. Some of the courtiers, rushing in from the adjoining apartment, soon despatched the defenceless man. This atrocity happened in February, 1452, when James was yet only in his sixteenth year. The consequences did not cease to be felt to the close of his reign. The open rebellion of the adherents of the house of Douglas that immediately followed was indeed speedily suppressed; but the new earl, James, the brother of him who had been murdered, never relinquished his vengeance while the murderer lived. By his intrigues with the faction of the Yorkists in England, after he had been driven from his own country, he was instrumental in fomenting those differences which eventually led James, soon after Margaret of Anjou and her son had taken refuge in his dominions, to raise an army, and set out at its head for the invasion of England. Marching directly upon Roxburgh, he proceeded to lay siege to that castle, which had now for more than a century been in the hands of the English. The siege had not lasted many days when one of the cannons that were pointed against the fortress burst on being fired off as the king stood beside it, and killed him on the spot. This event happened about the end of July, 1460.

The death of James II. again placed the crown of his unfortunate country on the head of a minor, James, the eldest of his sons by his wife, Mary of Guelders, whom he had married in 1449. The new king was only in his eighth year. The history of his reign is in great part a repetition of the same scene of turbulence and intrigue which filled the commencing years of the last. The families of the Boyds and the Hamiltons now enact nearly the same parts which had been before sustained by the Livingstons and the Douglases. James III., however, as he outgrew his boyhood, showed himself to be in various respects of a very different character from his father and grandfather. Without any of their energy and resolute qualities, he seems to have had some degree of the love of art and literature which distinguished the first James; but an indolent and unwarlike disposition, after all, had probably more to do with his fondness for privacy than any strong addictedness to intellectual occupations. What little we know of his tastes and studies betrays the weakest and most frivolous character of mind. He early, also, manifested a baneful passion for favourites, no trace of which is to be found in the history of either of the two preceding kings. The Boyds first obtained possession of his person and his affections in consequence of one of them having been employed to assist in his education. For some years their ascendency at court placed the whole government of the country in their hands. Means, however, having been found to alienate the versatile and suspicious mind of their royal protector, they were, in the year 1469, not only suddenly hurled from favour and power, but pursued with a rancour on the part of the king which did not rest satisfied till it had slaked itself in their blood. After the Boyds were thus swept away, the most conspicuous figures that appear on the scene are James's two younger brothers, who bore the titles of the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar. These two princes were both of a character altogether the opposite of that of the king, and as much the favourites of the warlike nobility, whom they resembled in tastes and habits, as he was their aversion and scorn. It is not at all improbable that they had, one or both of them, early begun to cherish the design of getting the government into their own hands, and that their existence, therefore, was not without danger to the royal power. They were attacked, however, by the king before they appear to have committed themselves by any aggression against the throne. Mar was arrested in 1480, on the insane charge of seeking to destroy the king's life by witchcraft (in which James was a devout believer). According to one account he was immediately put to death by the royal order; another version of the story is, that he was seized with fever, and occasioned his own death by tearing off, in his delirium, the bandages that had been tied

round his temples after having been let blood by his medical attendant. Albany's career was much more protracted. After escaping to France, he returned from that country in 1482, and entered into a treaty with the English king Edward IV., in which he boldly assumed the title of Alexander king of Scotland, consenting to receive the crown from the gift of Edward as his lord superior. It was in consequence of this agreement that the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., entered Scotland, as related in a preceding page, at the head of an army in the summer of the above-mentioned year. James also raised an army and went forth to meet the invader. Meanwhile, however, the Boyds had been succeeded in the monopoly of the king's regards by a number of persons of the lowest rank, some of whom, indeed, are said to have been persons of talent and accomplishments, but whose ascendency did not on that account the less disgust both the nobility and the whole nation. The most notorious of these favourites was a person of the name of Cochrane, upon whom the infatuated king had lavished wealth and honours with the most profuse and senseless prodigality, and who with equal folly made the most offensive display of his power and magnificence. We have already related how, when the army, on its march southwards, had reached the town of Lauder, this person, and about half a dozen more of the royal minions, were suddenly seized by a party of the nobility, headed by Archibald Earl of Angus, and, without even the form of trial, hanged over the parapet of the bridge. The king himself was then shut up in the castle of Edinburgh, and the army was disbanded. After a short time a reconciliation was effected between the king and Albany, on which the former was released from imprisonment, and the latter appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom. But, before a few months had passed, another revolution had taken place, and Albany, driven from office, was again in rebellion. His resistance, however, was speedily put down, on which he fled once more to England. By this time Edward IV. was dead; but Albany and Richard had hitherto been good friends, and the latter at first showed some inclination to aid the duke's pretensions. The necessities of his own position, however, soon made him anxious for a termination of the war with Scotland; and, negotiations having been opened, a peace between the two countries, to last for three years, was concluded at Nottingham in September, 1484. The short remainder of the reign of James III. belongs to the next period of our History.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

THE history of the Romish fabric of ecclesiastical polity during the fifteenth century exhibits the established authorities of the state still standing by the system as steadily as ever, but that hold on the affections and respect of the people, which was its real strength, manifestly loosened, and becoming weaker and weaker every day. The support it received from kings and their ministers was now, indeed, augmented in the direct ratio of the decline of that other and better strength, and of the growth of the popular alienation and hostility. Its pretensions as a rival power were no longer formidable, and at the same time its maintenance was felt to be the common cause of old establishments, all of which, whether of a spiritual or temporal character, seemed to be menaced by its danger.

One of the main causes which precipitated the decay of this once mighty dominion was undoubtedly the great schism which broke out on the death of Gregory XI., in 1378, and divided the Western church for half a century. The death of Gregory was followed in a few weeks by the election in the usual form, and by the unanimous votes of all the cardinals then in Rome, being sixteen of the twenty-two composing the sacred college, of the Archbishop of Bari, Bartholomew Pregnano, who took the name of Urban VI. It is alleged, however, and is probably true, that this choice was compelled by the threats of the populace. On this pretence, at least, the cardinals, five months after, stole away from Rome, and, assembling first at Anagni and then at Fundi, excommunicated Urban as an apostate and antichrist, and announced as the pope of their free election Robert of Caneva, or Clement VII. The imperious and severe rule of Urban probably drove them to a bold and rash act from which they would otherwise have shrunk: "they soon discovered the features of the tyrant, who could walk in his garden and recite his breviary while he heard from an adjacent chamber six cardinals groaning on the rack:" * but the primary motive with the majority of the college of cardinals, as with the people of Rome, was to obtain a pope of their own nation. Only the preceding year, after his predecessors, from Clement V. inclusive, had resided for seventy years at Avignon in France, Gregory XI. had restored the papacy to its ancient seat. A pope of ultramontane birth, it was apprehended by the Romans, would again remove his court from Italy. A majority of the cardinals, on the other hand, were Frenchmen, and, as such, opposed to an Italian pope. The different nations of Europe were influenced by feelings of the same kind. Most of the Italian states adhered to Urban, and on the same side, actuated chiefly by enmity to France, were ranged England, Portugal, the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; France, acknowledging the election of Clement, was supported by Scotland, Navarre, Castille, Aragon, Savoy, Sicily, and Cyprus.

The succession of the Roman (now generally held to be the true) popes was continued after Urban VI. by the elections, in 1389 of Perrino Tomacella, or Boniface IX.; in 1404 of Cosmato Meliorato, or Innocent VII.; and in 1406 of Angelo Corrario, or Gregory XII. On the death of Clement VII., in 1394, the cardinals at Avignon chose as his successor Peter de Luna, who assumed the name of Benedict XIII. After many attempts had been made to effect an accommodation, both Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. were deposed, in 1409, by the council of Pisa; and by an unanimous vote of the same assembly Peter Philaret, a Greek, or Alexander V., was raised to the chair of St. Peter. On the death of Alexander, the following year, Balthazar Cossa, a Neapolitan, or John XXIII., was in the same manner chosen to succeed him. Meanwhile, however, notwithstanding these interferences of the council, Germany, Hungary, and Naples still adhered to Gregory; and Benedict, himself a native of Spain, commanded the obedience of that important country. In this state affairs remained till the assembling of the Council of Constance, in 1414; that assembly deposed the monster John; Gregory, deserted by the powers that had at first supported him, and left without dominion or authority beyond the walls of Rimini, resigned; and in 1417 the Cardinal Otho de Colonna, who took the name of Martin V., was declared the head of the Christian world. The election was made by the college of twenty-three cardinals, assisted by thirty deputies from the council, six from each of the five great nations into which Christendom was held to

* Gibbon, Decline and Fall, chap. 70.

be divided,—the Italian, the German, the French, the Spanish, and the English. "I cannot," observes Gibbon, "overlook this great national cause, which was vigorously maintained by the English ambassadors against those of France. The latter contended that Christendom was essentially distributed into the four great nations and votes of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain; and that the lesser kingdoms (such as England, Denmark, Portugal, &c.) were comprehended under one or other of these great divisions. The English asserted that the British Islands, of which they were the head, should be considered as a fifth and coordinate nation, with an equal vote; and every argument of truth or fable was introduced to exalt the dignity of their country. Including England, Scotland, Wales, the four kingdoms of Ireland, and the Orkneys, the British Islands are decorated with eight royal crowns, and discriminated by four or five languages, — English, Welsh, Cornish, Scotch, Irish, &c. The greater island, from north to south, measures eight hundred miles, or forty days' journey; and England alone contains thirty-two counties and fifty-two thousand parish churches (a bold account!)* besides cathedrals, colleges, priories, and hospitals. They celebrate the mission of St. John of Arimathea, the birth of Constantine, and the legantine powers of the two primates, without forgetting the testimony of Bartholemy de Glanville (A. D. 1360), who reckons only four Christian kingdoms,—1, of Rome; 2, of Constantinople; 3, of Ireland, which had been transferred to the English monarchs; and 4, of Spain. Our countrymen prevailed in the council, but the victories of Henry V. added much weight to their arguments."

The election of Martin V., however, did not altogether put an end to the schism. Benedict XIII., who fixed his residence at Peniscola, in Valencia, continued to be acknowledged by the kingdom of Aragon till his death, in 1424. His cardinals then elected a successor, who took the name of Clement VIII. In 1429, however, this person made his submission to Martin V., who was thus at last acknowledged by the whole Latin church. But, as an eminent Catholic historian of our own day has remarked, "if the schism was thus terminated, it had previously given a shock to the temporal authority of the pontiffs, from which it never recovered. The contending rivals dared not employ the imperious tone of their predecessors. It was the policy of each to conciliate, to increase the number of his adherents, and to avoid every measure which might drive men to seek the friendship of his opponent. Hence the pretensions which had given so much offence to the sovereigns were allowed to fall into desuetude; enactments hostile to the immunities or claims of the church were either passed over in silence or but feebly opposed; and, instead of the spiritual weapons of excommunication and interdict, were adopted the more persuasive means of entreaty and concession."* It may be added, in the less cautious words of a great writer not trammelled by the same ties of sect and profession, that "in the furious conflicts of Rome and Avignon the vices of the rivals were mutually exposed; and their precarious situation degraded their authority, relaxed their discipline, and multiplied their wants and exactions."†

The absolute power of the popes also met with serious resistance during this period from the pretensions of the great body, or at least of the aristocracy, of the clergy, as assembled or represented in general councils. The Council of Constance, before its separation in 1418, enacted that such synods should henceforth be held regularly for the government and reformation of the church, each, before dissolving, appointing the time and place for the meeting of its successor. But the Council of Basil, which, reluctantly convoked by Martin V., assembled in 1431, immediately after the accession of his successor Eugenius IV., and continued to sit till 1443, went a great deal farther, assuming and maintaining, indeed, an attitude of open revolt against the supremacy of the pontiff. It not only solemnly asserted the superiority of a general council over the occupant of the chair of St. Peter, but proceeded to divest the pope of some of his most valuable and hitherto universally recognised rights; prohibiting him from creating new cardinals, and suppressing the annates, or tax of the first year's income upon benefices, which constituted a large portion of the papal revenue. At length, in 1437, Eugenius, who had taken up his residence at Bologna, dissolved the council, and called together another, which met at Ferrara in 1438. All Christendom was now divided between the two councils, as it had lately been in the case of the rival popes. Nor was it long before there was again a rivalry of popes as well as of councils. Having deposed Eugenius, the Council of Basil, in 1439, called to the pontifical dignity, from the hermitage of Ripaille, the retired Duke of Savoy, Amadeus VIII., who thereupon exchanged his temporal style for the spiritual title of Felix V. Eugenius and his council at Ferrara were adhered to by the governments of Venice and of the southern and middle states of Italy; Germany, France, Lombardy, Spain, England, and the rest of Europe generally, supported Felix V. and the Council of Basil. In point of fact, however, everywhere the bishops and the rest of the ecclesiastical aristocracy were with Eugenius: the supremacy of general councils, as asserted by that of Basil, was favoured by the great body of the clergy. A short time before the deposition of Eugenius, indeed, the lower house of convocation of the province of Canterbury had, in answer to questions proposed by the archbishop, resolved, after some days' deliberation, that the pope had the power of dissolving a general council,—that the Council of Basil had no power to depose Pope Eugenius,—and that, if that council should depose him, they would still

* See vol. i. p. 349.

* Lingard, Hist. of England, v. 53. † Gibbon, ch. 66.

obey him as lawful pope. But some years afterwards the same body, to all the appeals both of pope and archbishop, firmly refused any contribution to the expense of sending representatives to the meeting at Ferrara. Meanwhile the two popes and councils continued an active and bitter warfare of decrees and denouncements, each party treating the other as rebels against the fundamental constitution of the church. In a bill of excommunication which he launched against all the members of the Council of Basil, Eugenius designated that synod an assembly of demons; they retaliated by charging him with simony, perjury, tyranny, heresy, and schism, and by declaring him to be incorrigible in his vices, unworthy of any title of honour, and incapable of holding any ecclesiastical office. This unseemly condition of the Christian world lasted till after the death of Eugenius, in 1447. By this time all parties were become weary of the contest; and when the cardinals at Rome had elected Nicholas V., it was proposed by Felix himself that he should resign the tiara, and thus terminate the scandal of the church. The abdicator of two sovereignties returned to his hermitage on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, in 1449. Then the "vigour of opposition," Gibbon has remarked, "was succeeded by the apathy of despair; a general peace was secured by mutual acts of oblivion and indemnity; all ideas of reformation subsided; the popes continued to exercise and abuse their ecclesiastical despotism; nor has Rome ever since been disturbed by the mischiefs of a contested election." But this statement must be understood as implying only the restoration of agreement within the ecclesiastical body itself, and the consequent extinction of the spirit of reformation in the bosom of the church: the rent that had been thus apparently closed in the superstructure of the fabric remained still open, though concealed, in its foundations; the habitual respect of the people for the whole system was rudely and powerfully shaken; their violent recriminations could not fail lastingly to impair the authority over the minds of the multitude both of pope and council; the noise of such a contention must have awakened many feelings that would otherwise have slumbered; and the suppression of the process of reform from within the church would really only tend to prepare and hasten its much more tempestuous reform from without.

In England throughout this period the crown continued to make common cause with the clergy; every successive king began his reign by courting their favours, and ever after relied upon them as his chief supporters. The part which the clergy took in the deposition of Richard II. has been characterized as "the only instance in English history wherein their conduct as a body was disloyal."* Even here, however, they took no part against the crown. Of two competitors they only sided with the one against the other; they still stood by their natural ally, the king. They probably espoused the cause of Henry, simply as being that of the party most likely to prevail in the struggle—in other words, of the competitor, who was properly to be considered as most truly king of the two—thus substantially adhering to their principles even in the seeming violation of them. At all events, their

* Southey's Book of the Church, i. 349.

CONVOCATION OF CLERGY. From the Harl. MS. 4379.

accustomed loyalty was suspended only for a moment; their attachment, withdrawn from Richard, was immediately transferred to the House of Lancaster, and was never found wanting by the princes of that house so long as they maintained themselves on the throne. One of the first acts of Henry IV. after his accession was to despatch the Earl of Northumberland with a gracious message to a convocation of the province of Canterbury, which met on the 6th of October, 1399, in the Chapter-house of St. Paul's, at London. While he begged the prayers of the church for himself and the kingdom, he declared, first, that he would never demand any money from the clergy except in cases of the most extreme necessity; secondly, that he would protect them in all their liberties and immunities; and, thirdly, that he would assist them with all his power in exterminating heretics. The first of these promises was but indifferently observed: Henry IV., indeed, throughout his reign, demanded subsidies from the clergy as regularly as from the laity; and probably obtained altogether a larger amount of money from the former than any preceding English king; he even threatened on one or two occasions to take their money or goods from them by force; but still they acted as if they felt their interests to be bound up with his, and, although they sometimes resisted, they did not desert him. Nay, not even his daring execution of Archbishop Scrope, after the insurrection of 1405,* made any permanent breach between him and the church: a vague and inoperative censure, retracted on the first explanation, was the only notice taken by Rome of an act that in other times would have shaken the strongest throne in Christendom. On the other hand, Henry gratified the clergy by steadily supporting them in the assertion of all such powers as could be conceded to them consistently with the maintenance of the integrity of the civil authority, and in particular of that upon which they naturally set the highest value, the empire which they flattered themselves with exercising over opinion and belief. In the falling away of their old popular strength, they now had recourse to new expedients, in order to sustain this tyranny, exposed as it was at the same time to a more vigorous resistance than it had ever before encountered.

Till the present age, the offence of heresy had never greatly vexed the church in England. The old laws accordingly upon that subject were comparatively mild; a considerable degree of protection was thrown around the accused; and sanguinary punishments for the offence appear to have been nearly unknown; for, although it its held by some lawyers that the writ *de hæretico comburendo* (or process of putting a convicted heretic to death by burning) is a part of the ancient common law, no example, we believe, is recorded of any person having actually suffered that sentence in England till after the commencement of the fifteenth century.

* See ante, p. 17.

Mention has been made in a former chapter of the manner in which certain poor Germans were treated, who made their appearance in the country, and proceeded to propagate some new theological views, about the middle of the twelfth century.* Being brought before the ecclesiastical judges, they were branded and scourged, and some or most of them, it is said, eventually died from being stripped half naked, and then left to wander about, without finding any door open to them, in the midst of winter; but still the law did not actually doom them to die. Henry IV., in his first parliament, held in 1399, the year of his accession, issued a proclamation, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, against a sect that had newly appeared in Italy, and were there known by the names of Albati and Bianchi, from the long white gowns in which they wrapped themselves, and the white veils which they wore over their faces: they professed great austerity and sanctity, though what were their particular opinions we are not informed; but all that was ordered in this case was, that the foreign enthusiasts should not be permitted to land, if any of them arrived in an English harbour. The zeal of the heads of the church, however, was not long satisfied with such moderate measures.

Among the small number of persons by whom Bolingbroke was accompanied on his return from exile, was Thomas Fitzalan, or Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been banished by Richard the year before.† Arundel, who was the second son of Robert Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel and Warrenne, had, during the interval of his deprivation, been nominated by the Pope, Boniface IX., to the see of St. Andrew's, in Scotland.‡ It appears that Richard assented to this nomination, though at first he objected that St. Andrew's was too near England. Arundel, however, never took possession of his Scottish dignity, but remained on the continent till his return home with Bolingbroke; when, on the latter obtaining the crown, he recovered his archbishopric—Roger Walden, Dean of York, and treasurer of the royal household, who had been set by the deposed king in his place, being obliged to retire, after the example of his master. Arundel was a man of talent, as well as accomplished in the learning of the times. The latter circumstance probably did not tend to make him more indulgent to the innovators in religion, who, under the name of Lollards, now began to show themselves in great numbers.

The Lollards have been usually regarded as the disciples or followers of Wycliffe; but they seem to have rather been a sect of foreign origin, whose opinions in their general complexion resembled those taught by the great English reformer. It is

* See vol. i. p. 557. † Ibid. pp. 795, 797.

‡ This appears from the Rolls of Parliament, and from documents in Wilkins and Rymer. It is remarkable that none of the Scottish ecclesiastical historians seem to have been aware of this appointment: we find no mention of it either in Keith (Catalogue of Scottish Bishops), in Martine (Reliquiæ Divi Andreæ), in Spotswood (History of the Church of Scotland), in Sir Robert Sibbald (History of Fife), &c. St. Andrew's was, as yet, only a bishopric; the archiepiscopal rank was not bestowed till 1471.

said, indeed, that some of the writings of Wycliffe had been carried into Bohemia, by one of the natives of that country, who had visited England, in consequence of the marriage of Richard II. with his first wife, the Princess Anne, sister of the Emperor Wenceslaus, king of that country; and that from them the celebrated John Huss drew those opinions for which he was, in 1415, condemned to the stake by the Council of Constance, and which were, through him, extensively propagated over Germany. One account of the name Lollards derives it from *lolium*, the Latin word for tares; as if it had been intended to designate the reformers as tares among the wheat,—not without an allusion to the expediency of consigning them to the flames. Another notion is, that they were so called from the old German word *lollen* or *lullen* (the same with our English *lull*), signifying to sing as a mother when she lulls her babe, in reference to their practice of singing hymns. But the true origin of the term is probably from the German reformer Walter Lolhard, who was burned at Cologne in 1322, and was charged with holding opinions very similar, on the whole, to those that have been imputed to the English Lollards of the fifteenth century. Besides preaching against the mass, extreme unction, the efficacy of penances, and the authority assumed by the pope, he is alleged to have maintained that no obedience was due to magistrates,—that there was no use either in baptism or repentance,—with various other tenets of a similar character,—all, however, most likely misrepresented in the accounts that have come down to us. It appears that the name of Lollards used to be given on the continent to bodies of religionists marked by any peculiarity of creed or practice, long before it was known in England. The English Lollards were certainly declared opponents of the established church and of all the pretensions of the Romish hierarchy. They were as truly reformers and Protestants as Luther and his followers in the next century, though their doctrines may not have been in all respects the same. The most distinct and authentic account which we have of their creed is that given by themselves in a petition which they presented to the House of Commons in 1395, and which may be considered as a protest against the whole system, doctrinal and institutional, of the established religion. In this document they maintain, in substance, that the possession of temporalities by the clergy is contrary to the law of Christianity, and destructive of faith, hope, and charity,—that the Romish priesthood is not that established by Christ,—that outward rites of worship have no warrant in Scripture, and are of little or no importance,—that the celibacy of the clergy is the occasion of scandalous irregularities in the whole church,—that the pretended miracle of transubstantiation tends to make people idolaters,—that exorcisms and benedictions pronounced over wine, bread, water, oil, salt, &c., have more in them of necromancy than of religion,—that the clergy, by accepting secular places under the government, become hermaphrodites, attempting at the same time to serve both God and Mammon,—that prayers made for the dead are more likely to be displeasing than otherwise to the Almighty, inasmuch as, for one among other reasons, they are probably in most cases offered for persons (more especially the founders of monasteries and other such pernicious endowments) who have already been consigned to punishment for their evil lives, and are beyond the reach of mercy,—that pilgrimages and prayers made to images are nearly akin to idolatry,—that auricular confession is a highly objectionable practice,—that priests have no power of absolution for sin,—that to take away the life of a man, either in war or by sentence of a court of justice, is expressly contrary to the spirit and the precepts of Christianity,—and, lastly, that certain trades ought to be put down as both unnecessary and the occasion of a great deal of sin, especially those of the goldsmith and the sword-cutler, both of which, though they might be tolerated under the Mosaic dispensation, were not lawful under that of the New Testament.* All these positions the petitioners attempted to support by reasoning and by the authority of Scripture, professing to deliver their testimony by virtue of a divine commission, and under the character of ambassadors of Christ. It may be remarked that these Wycliffites, as they have been often styled, and avowed adversaries of the pretensions of the see of Rome, as they unquestionably were, nevertheless, in this solemn declaration of their opinions and articles of faith, make no mention either of Wycliffe on the one hand or of the Pope on the other. The denial, however, of the papal infallibility is involved in the whole tenor of their statements and arguments.

In these new heretics, therefore (as they were deemed), the church saw a hostile force, formidable from numbers and enthusiasm, openly arrayed against it, and avowing the desire to pull it down. The measures which the clergy and other friends of the existing order of things took for their own protection in these circumstances were neither morally justifiable nor even politic in any enlarged view, but, all things considered, they were not very unnatural. Very soon after the accession of Henry IV. they availed themselves of the circumstances of the time to obtain a new law for the punishment of heresy. In January, 1401, the commons joined the clergy in a petition upon the subject to the king, and the result was, the passing of the famous statute known as the 2 Henry IV. c. 15. The preamble of this statute sets forth, among other things, that, whereas the Catholic faith and holy church had been hitherto maintained in England without being "perturbed by any perverse doctrine or wicked, heretical, or erroneous opinions, yet nevertheless divers false and perverse people of a certain new sect, of the faith, of the sacraments of the church, and the authority of the same, damnably thinking, and against the

* Wilkins, Concilia, iii. 221.

law of God and of the church openly preaching, do perversely and maliciously, in divers places within the said realm, under the colour of dissembled holiness, preach and teach these days, openly and privily, divers new doctrines, and wicked, heretical, and erroneous opinions; and of such sect and wicked doctrine and opinions they make unlawful conventicles and confederacies, they hold and exercise schools, they make and write books, they do wickedly instruct and inform people, and, as much as they may, incite and stir them to sedition and insurrection, and make great strife and division among the people, and other enormities horrible to be heard daily do perpetrate and commit." The unspecified enormities may be passed over as merely a flourish of legislative rhetoric; but from the rest of the description, making the requisite allowance for the misrepresentations of an adverse party, we may gather some information as to the ways which the Lollards took to diffuse their tenets. The act goes on to complain that "the diocesans of the said realm cannot by their jurisdiction spiritual, without aid of the said royal majesty, sufficiently correct the said false and perverse people, nor refrain their malice, because the said false and perverse people do go from diocese to diocese, and will not appear before the said diocesans, but the same diocesans and their jurisdiction spiritual, and the keys of the church, with the censures of the same, do utterly contemn and despise, and so their wicked preachings and doctrines do from day to day continue and exercise to the utter destruction of all order and rule of right and reason." In order that "this wicked sect, preachings, doctrines, and opinions, should from henceforth cease and be utterly destroyed," it is then ordained, "by the assent of the great lords and noble persons of the said realm," that no person presume to preach any where, openly or privily, without the licence of the diocesan of the place; that none shall "anything preach, hold, teach, or instruct, openly or privily, or make or write any book, contrary to the Catholic faith or determination of the holy church," or hold schools or conventicles for the dissemination of the new doctrines, or in anywise favour the preachers or teachers of them; and that all persons having any heretical books or writings shall deliver the same to the diocesan within forty days from the time of the proclamation of this ordinance and statute. The diocesan is empowered to cause the arrest of all persons failing to render due obedience to these requirements, and to detain them in his prison until they clear themselves of the articles laid to their charge, or else abjure the new opinions, the diocesan being bound to proceed in the case and determine it within three months after the arrest. On the conviction of any prisoner, he is further empowered to keep him in custody "as long as to his discretion shall seem expedient," and also to fine him in proportion to the manner and quality of his offence, the fine being paid to the king and levied by authority of the secular courts. And then follows the terrible enactment, to the effect that persons so convicted refusing to abjure, or relapsing after abjuration, shall be made over to the sheriff of the county, or mayor and bailiffs of the nearest town, "and they the same persons, and every of them, after such sentence promulgate, shall receive, and them before the people in an high place do to be burnt, that such punishment may strike in fear to the minds of other, whereby no such wicked doctrine, and heretical and erroneous opinions, nor their authors and fautors in the said realm and dominions, against the Catholic faith, Christian law, and determination of the holy church, which God prohibit, be sustained, or in anywise suffered."

At this time the commons would seem to have been as zealously opposed to Lollardism as either the nobility or the clergy. At a date only a few years later, however, we find the sentiments of the lower house to have undergone a great change. In the famous lack-learning parliament which met at Coventry in October, 1404, the commons, as we have seen, in answer to the king's demand of a grant to carry on the Welsh war, went the length of proposing that he should seize the revenues of the church and apply them to the public service.* The clergy, they represented, while engrossing a great part of the wealth of the kingdom, lived in idleness, and contributed very little in any way to the public advantage,—a complaint which, so far as it went, was the very language of the Lollards, and one, no doubt, of the most offensive of their heresies. Afterwards, also, in a parliament which met at Westminster in 1409, when the king demanded another large grant, the commons, according to the historian Walsingham (although there is no notice of the affair on the rolls), again strongly advised him to have recourse to the revenues of the church. If he would please, they said, to take away the estates of the bishops, abbots, and priors, which were spent by them in useless pomp and luxury, his crown and kingdom would reap great advantage, inasmuch as he might thereby be enabled to support fifteen earls, one thousand five hundred knights, six thousand two hundred esquires, and one hundred hospitals, each earl receiving three hundred marks annually, each knight one hundred marks and the produce of four ploughlands, each esquire forty marks and the produce of two ploughlands. On this occasion the peers interfered, praying the king to protect the patrimony of the church, and to punish all such as taught the people that it was lawful to take it away; and Henry severely reprimanded the commons for their presumptuous proposition.

Meanwhile the statute against Lollardism had not been allowed to remain a dead letter. A case came before the same parliament in which it was passed, that put its sharpness of fang to the proof. William Sawtre had been rector of Lynn, in Norfolk, and had been deprived of that living on a charge of heresy in 1399. Having been prevailed

* See ante, p. 16.

upon, however, to abjure his alleged erroneous opinions, he had since been appointed priest of St. Osith's, London. Holding that situation, he now petitioned the parliament that he might be heard before them on the subject of religion,—unhappy, apparently, under the feeling of having denied his convictions, and anxious to make up, by a public profession of what he deemed the truth, for the pusillanimity of his late recantation. "The enthusiast," says a reverend living historian, who, in his contempt for the unfortunate man, has forgotten to characterize the conduct of any of the other parties in the affair,—"the enthusiast aspired to the crown of martyrdom, and had the satisfaction to fall a victim to his own folly." * There are probably few persons at the present day capable of contemplating the transaction with the equanimity indicated by these remarkable words. Sawtre was, in fact, summoned to appear before the convocation to answer to various charges, of which the chief were his having affirmed that he would not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, and that the sacramental bread continued to be bread after it was consecrated. It is said that he admitted the truth of the charges, but denied that he had already abjured the same opinions. The probability must be held to be, that he endeavoured to show, by argument, that the opinions he had abjured the preceding year were not identical with those he now admitted. On this point, however, the court decided against him; he was adjudged to be a relapsed heretic, and as such sentenced to be degraded, deposed, and then delivered over to the secular power, according to the awful doom of the new law. The primate Arundel and six other bishops assembled in the cathedral of St. Paul's, arrayed in their pontifical robes, to perform the impressive preliminary ceremonial. Their victim was brought before them in his priestly attire, with the chalice for holding the host and its paten or lid in his hands. As the archbishop solemnly pronounced his degradation from the priestly order, he took from him these sacred insignia, and at the same time stripped him of the casule, or distinctive robe of the priesthood, made in imitation of the scarlet robe of mockery of the Saviour. His degradation from the office of deacon was in like manner effected by putting the New Testament into his hands and then taking it from him, and depriving him of the stole, or tippet worn about the neck in memory of the cord with which Christ was bound. He was next divested of the alb or surplice, and also of the maniple (otherwise called the fanon or fannel), a kind of scarf worn on the left wrist, to denote his degradation from the order of sub-deaconship: after that he surrendered, as acolyte, the candlestick, taper, and small pitcher called urceole; as exorcist, the book of exorcisms; as reader, the lectionary or book of daily lessons; and, as sexton, the surplice of that office and the key of the church-door. Finally, his priest's cap was removed from his head, the tonsure obliterated, and the cap of a layman put upon him. When he had been thus wholly divested of his clerical character he was delivered over to the custody of the high constable and marshal of England, who were there present to receive him, the primate finishing his task by pronouncing the formal recommendation to mercy with which the church was accustomed to veil, but only with a deeper horror, its deeds of blood. Sawtre was burned in Smithfield in the beginning of March, 1401, a vast multitude of people crowding to witness, with various, doubtless, but all with strong emotions, a spectacle then new in England.

* Lingard, Hist. of England, iv. 332.

This terrifying example seems to have had the effect of putting down the open profession of Lollardism for some years. The new opinions, however, continued to spread in secret. The next recorded case in which we find the aid of the secular power called in by the church for their suppression is that of William Thorpe, a priest distinguished for his learning and ability, who was brought before Arundel on a charge of heresy on the 3rd of July, 1407. We have his own account of the proceedings, drawn up at considerable length and with much particularity. * He was first called into the presence of the primate in his castle of Saltwood, after having lain for some time in prison in that stronghold. "When I came to him," Thorpe's narrative proceeds, "he stood in a great chamber, and much people about him; and when that he saw me he went fast into a closet, bidding all secular men that followed him to go forth from him soon, so that no man was left in that closet but the archbishop himself and a physician that was called Malveren, parson of St. Dunstan's in London, and other two persons unknown to me, which were ministers of the law." The archbishop, then addressing him, told him that he knew well he had been for twenty winters and more travelling about busily in the north country teaching his false doctrines, but now at last he was taken, and should be suffered to spread his poison among the people no longer. Thorpe, then, having obtained permission to declare what his opinions really were, recited them at great length; the archbishop seems to have heard him patiently, but at the end only replied, "I will shortly that now thou swear here to me that thou shalt forsake all the opinions which the sect of Lollards hold and is slandered with." He also required that Thorpe should not favour any man or woman holding the said opinions, but do his utmost to withstand all such disturbers of the holy church; "and them," he added, "that will not leave their false and damnable opinions, thou shalt put them up, publishing them and their names, and make them known to the bishop of the diocese." On the prisoner's refusal to assent to these conditions, "Thine heart," exclaimed the primate, "is full hard endured (indurated) as was the heart of Pharaoh, and the devil hath overcome thee and perverted thee. But I say to thee, leud losel

* In Foxe's Acts and Monuments, and also in the State Trials.

(low rascal), either thou quickly consent to mine ordinance, and submit thee to stand to my decrees, or by St. Thomas thou shalt be degraded, and follow thy fellow to Smithfield." To this Thorpe made no answer for some time; at last, after being repeatedly urged to speak, he addressed the primate in another long discourse, in which he related how his father and mother had "spent mickle money in divers places," in educating him for the priesthood,—how, when he came to years of discretion, he had no will to be a priest,—how he was at last persuaded to take holy orders by the vehement and incessant solicitations of his friends,—and how he had then acquired his knowledge of the truth from the conversation and example of various pious and learned clergymen, of whom one of the chief, he declared, was Philip of Rampenton, since become Bishop of Lincoln, and now a zealous persecutor of the very opinions he had formerly held and taught. In the course of the conversation that ensued the archbishop said, "Thou and such other losels of thy sect would shave your heads full near to have a benefice. For, by Jesu, I know none more courteous shrews than ye are when ye have a benefice. For, lo! I gave to John Purvay a benefice but a mile out of this castle, and I heard more complaints about his covetousness for tythes, and other misdoings, than I did of all men that were advanced within my diocese." Purvay, Thorpe replied, was to be accounted neither of the one party nor of the other,—neither hot nor cold; and, from what is added, he appears to have been one of a number of such churchmen of the time, who were considered as hanging between the old opinions and the new. After this Thorpe proceeds to give an interesting account of the teachers from whom he had obtained his knowledge of the reformed doctrines. At the head of the list he places "Master John Wycliffe," who, he observes, "was holden of full many men the greatest clerk that they knew then living;"—"great men," it is added, "communed oft with him, and they loved so his learning that they writ it, and busily enforced them to rule themself thereafter." The rest are spoken of as all of them the disciples and imitators of Wycliffe. We may transcribe the now little remembered names of these first English reformers; they were Master John Aiston,—Philip of Rampenton, while he was a canon of Leicester,—Nicholas Herford,—Davy Gotray of Pakering, monk of Byland, and a master of divinity,—John Purvay (or Purnay, as he is elsewhere called),—"and many others which were holden right wise men and prudent;" notwithstanding that, now, "some of these men," adds the speaker, "be contrary to the learning that they taught,—for they feign, and hide, and contrary (contradict) the truth which before they taught out plenily (fully) and truly." "That learning," replied the archbishop, "that thou callest truth and soothfastness, is open slander to holy church, as it is proved of holy church. For albeit that Wycliffe, your author, was a great clerk, and though that many men held him a perfect liver, yet his doctrine is not approved of holy church, but many sentences of his learning are damned, as they well worthy are." He soon, however, broke off the argument, recurring to his former demand,—"Wherefore tarriest thou me thus here with such fables?—wilt thou shortly, as I have said to thee, submit thee to me or no?" "I dare not, for the dread of God, submit me to thee," answered the prisoner; on which the archbishop, "as if he had been wroth," desired one of his clerks to fetch him quickly the certification that came from Shrewsbury, "witnessing the errors and heresies that this losel hath venomously sworn there." The document, on being produced, was found to attest that Thorpe had asserted openly, in a sermon preached shortly before in St. Chad's church in Shrewsbury, that the sacrament of the altar, after consecration, still remained material bread,—that images should in nowise be worshipped,—that men should not go on pilgrimages,—that priests have no title to tithes,—and that it is not lawful to swear in anywise. He now, however, emphatically denied that this was a true account of what he had said. "I am," he exclaimed, "both ashamed on their behalf, and right sorrowful for them, that have certified you these things thus untruly; for I preached never nor taught thus privily nor apertly." After much further wrangling, it is at last suggested by one of the clerks that the prisoner should be questioned on the points certified against him one by one, that they might learn what his real opinions were out of his own mouth. The long debate that followed is of much interest and value in reference to the history of the reformed doctrines; but we shall only notice one or two passages that curiously illustrate the notions or customs of the times in the matter of religion. Touching the sacrament o the altar, Thorpe denied that he had said a word at Shrewsbury. Only, he said, as he stood in the pulpit preaching, there knelled a sacring bell, when many of the people turned away hastily, and began, with great noise, to run forth from the church; on which he turned to them, and remarked that they would do better to stand still and hear God's word,—the virtue of the holy sacrament of the altar standing much more in the belief thereof that they ought to have in their souls, than in the outward sight thereof. The discussion upon the second point—the worship of images—is very curious. Thorpe begins by stating his belief as follows:—"Wood, tin, gold, silver, or any other matter that images are made of, all these creatures are worshipful in their kind, and to the end that God made them for; but the carving, casting, nor painting of any imagery made with man's hand, albeit that this doing be accept of men of high estate and dignity, and ordained of them to be a calendar to leud people, yet this imagery ought not to be worshipped in the form nor in the likeness of man's craft; nevertheless, every matter that painters paint with, since it is God's creature,

ought to be worshipped in the kind and to the end that God made and ordained it to serve man." An image, the archbishop admits in reply, ought not, indeed, to be worshipped for itself; but, still, he contends, it ought to be worshipped for the sake of the religious doctrine that is depicted therein, and "so brought there-through to man's mind."—"For, lo!" he adds, "earthly kings and lords, which use to send their letters ensealed with their arms, or with their privy signet, to men that are with them, are worshipped of these men; for when these men receive their lord's letters, in worship of their lords they do offer their caps to these letters." "It is a great moving of devotion," he goes on to argue, "to men to have and to behold the Trinity and other images of saints carved, cast, and painted; for beyond the sea are the best painters that ever I saw. And, sirs, I tell you this is their manner, and it is a good manner, when that an image-maker shall carve; cast in mould, or paint any images, he shall go to a priest, and shrive him as clean as if he should then die, and take penance, and make some certain vow of fasting or of praying, or of pilgrimages doing, praying the priest specially to pray for him that he may have grace to make a fair and devout image." Afterwards taking up another ground—"Ungracious losell!" he exclaimed, "thou favourest no more truth than an hound. Since, at the rood at the north door at London, at our Lady at Walsingham, and many other divers places in England, are many great and praisable miracles done, should not the images of such holy saints and places be more worshipped than other places and images where no such miracles are done?" The Virgin at Walsingham, in Norfolk, was the most famous image in England. The monastery in which it stood was built by Richolde, a noble widow, the lady of the manor, in the twelfth century. "In the last age," writes Camden, "whoever had not made a visit and an offering to the blessed virgin of this place was looked upon as impious and irreligious." In that invaluable record and picture of the social customs of the fifteenth century, the Paston Letters, this renowned object of superstitious devotion is repeatedly noticed. Thus, in one letter, we find Sir William Yelverton, one of the judges of the King's Bench, ascribing all the good fortune he had met with in the world, and all his escapes from danger, and from the malice of his enemies, to our Lady of Walsingham.* Again, in an affectionate letter to her husband, who had been for some time absent in London and unwell, Margaret Paston informs him that her mother, to promote his recovery, had vowed another image of wax of his weight to the same image, and had sent four nobles (1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) to the four orders of friars of Norwich, that they might pray for him; and that she herself had vowed to go a pilgrimage for him to Walsingham and to St. Leonard's,—a priory at Norwich also famous at this time for the resort of pilgrims to the images of the Virgin, the Cross, and St. Anthony; and at a somewhat later period still more celebrated for an image of Henry VI., by which many miraculous cures were believed to be performed.* Our Lady of Walsingham was particularly resorted to by women in anticipation of the perils of childbed.† Erasmus, who visited Walsingham in the reign of Henry VIII., informs us, in one of his letters, that the place was almost entirely maintained by the great numbers of persons who came to make their offerings to the Virgin, and that these offerings formed nearly the entire revenue of the monastery. In the church, he tells us, in which the image stood, was a little chapel of wood, into which the pilgrims were admitted from each side by a narrow door. There was but little light,—almost none, indeed, except that of the gratefully odorous wax-tapers; but a person looking in would say that it was an abode of the gods, so bright and resplendent it was all over with jewels, gold, and silver. It is said that Henry VIII., when a child, walked barefoot to Walsingham from the neighbouring town of Basham, and made an offering of a necklace of great value to the Virgin. The same king afterwards stripped the magnificent shrine of all its treasures, and dissolved the religious house of which it was the pride and the support. In September, 1538, the image of Walsingham, with those of Ipswich, Worcester, Welsdon, and many others, were all taken away at the instance of the Lord Cromwell; those of Walsingham and Ipswich were brought up to London, "with all the jewels that hung about them," and along with the rest were burned at Chelsea by Cromwell's order.‡

The question of pilgrimages is next debated. Thorpe is accused by the archbishop of having asserted that "those men and women that go on pilgrimages to Canterbury, to Beverley, to Karlington, to Walsingham, and to any other such places, are accursed and made foolish, spending their goods in waste." Thorp, in effect, admits such to be his opinion, and in justifying himself is led into a lively description of what the fashionable pilgrimages of the time really were. "Examine," he says, "whosoever will, twenty of these pilgrims, and he shall not find the men or women that know surely a commandment of God, nor can say their Pater-Noster and Ave-Maria, nor their Credo, readily in any manner of language." "The cause," he affirms, "why that many men and women go hither and thither now on pilgrimages is more for the health of their bodies than of their souls, more to have riches and prosperity of this world than to be enriched with virtues in their souls, more to have here worldly and fleshly friendship than for to have friendship of God and of his saints in heaven." Such persons as thus spend much money in seeking out and visiting the bones or images of this or that saint, do that, he contends, which is in direct disobedience to the commands of God, inasmuch as they waste their goods partly

* Paston Letters, i. 21.

* Paston Letters, iii 22. † Id. ii. 96, and iv. 444.
‡ Holinshed, p. 945.

upon hostellers (or innkeepers), many of whom are women of profligate conduct, partly upon rich priests that already have much more than they need. "Also, Sir," he concludes, "I know well that when divers men and women will go thus after their own wills, and finding out one pilgrimage, they will ordain with them (arrange with one another) before to have with them both men and women that can well sing wanton songs, and some other pilgrims will have with them bagpipes; so that every town they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the sound of their piping, and with the jangling of their Canterbury bells, and with the barking out of dogs after them, they make more noise than if the king came there away with all his clarions and many other minstrels. And if these men and women be a month in their pilgrimage, many of them shall be an half year after great janglers, tale-tellers, and liars." The defence of all this merriment by the archbishop is too good to be omitted. "Lewd losell," he replies, "thou seest not far enough in this matter. I say to thee that it is right well done that pilgrims have with them both singers and also pipers, that when one of them that goeth barefoot striketh his toe upon a stone, and hurteth him sore, and maketh him to bleed, it is well done that he or his fellow begin then a song, or else take out of his bosom a bagpipe, for to drive away with such mirth the hurt of his fellow. For with such solace the travel and weariness of pilgrims is lightly and merrily brought forth." Arundel is quite of the mind of the host in Chaucer,—

> Ye gon to Canterbury; God you speed,
> The blissful martyr quitté you your meed;
> And well I wot as ye gon by the way
> Ye shapen you to talken and to play;
> For tru-e-ly comfort ne mirth is none
> To riden by the way dumb as the stone.

Only, the head of the church seems disposed to patronise something still more exuberant in the way of disport than "our host" of the Tabard.

There was no greater agreement between the two parties on the remaining points of tithes, oath-taking, confession, &c., than in regard to those previously discussed; but the rest of their debate contains nothing that is necessary to be adverted to for our present purpose. Neither persuasions nor threats would move the intrepid Lollard, though, in the end, some of the persons that were sent for to give their counsel advised the archbishop to burn him, and others proposed that he should be drowned in the sea, which was near at hand. He was at last led forth to what he calls "a foul, dishonest prison," where he had never been before. It is not certainly known what was the fate of Thorp, but he was never again heard of, and most probably he died in his dungeon.

We can only notice very shortly the cases of the other Lollards that are recorded to have suffered in England during this period of persecution. The second victim known to have perished at the stake was John or Thomas Badby, called in some accounts a tailor, in others a smith, who, on the 1st of March, 1410, was, after an examination by Archbishop Arundel, conveyed to Smithfield, and there burned in a large tun surrounded with dry wood. "The king's eldest son, the Lord Henry, Prince of Wales, having been present," says the chronicler, "offered him his pardon, first before the fire was kindled, if he would have recanted his opinions; and after, when the fire was kindled, hearing him make a roaring noise very pitifully, the prince caused the fire to be plucked back, and exhorted him, being with pitiful pain almost dead, to remember himself, and renounce his opinions, promising him not only life, but also threepence a-day so long as he lived, to be paid out of the king's coffers; but he, having recovered his spirits again, refused the prince's offer, choosing eftsoons to taste the fire, and so to die, than to forsake his opinions. Whereupon the prince commanded that he should be put into the tun again, from thenceforth not to have any favour or pardon at all, and so it was done, and the fire put to him again, and he consumed to ashes." * The heresy of which Badby was accused was a denial of transubstantiation.

The accession of Henry V., in 1413, did not put a stop to these scenes of horror. With all his generosity of disposition, the new monarch had a soldier's sternness of feeling in regard to human suffering; and, besides that considerations of policy made it expedient for him, as it had been for his father, to conciliate the clergy, he took pride in showing himself a dutiful son of the church and a zealous defender of the faith. We have just seen, in the case of Badby, how he acted in the struggle between his kindliness of nature and his bigotry or sense of duty, while he was yet, if we may believe the popular tradition, in the untamed wildness of his youth;—his feelings were put to a much more severe trial immediately after he ascended the throne by the proceedings involving his friend Lord Cobham; but here, again, his abhorrence of heresy supported him against any weakness or shrinking of heart, proving stronger than either his compassion or his friendship. The history and fate of Cobham have been already related. † His apprehension and condemnation were among the last acts of Archbishop Arundel, who died in February, 1414; the sentence by which Cobham was made over as an heretic to the secular judgment being dated the 10th of October preceding. Arundel was succeeded in the primacy by Henry Chicheley, translated from the see of St. David's,—a change which brought no relief to the Lollards. Chicheley, indeed, seems to have proceeded against the new sect in a more sweeping fashion than his predecessor, not, perhaps, as being of a more sanguinary or unscrupulous temper, but rather, probably, from being driven to more desperate and wholesale methods for the suppression of the obnoxious opinions, by their increasing diffusion in spite of all that had been already done to put them down. The Lollards were now appre-

* Holinshed. † See ante, pp. 25 and 38.

LAMBETH PALACE,
As it appeared before the recent alterations. The Lollards' Tower stands to the right.

hended in great numbers, and crowded the prisons of the church. It was Chicheley who built the addition to Lambeth Palace still known as the Lollards' Tower, from the small apartment at its summit, in which the unhappy persons accused of heresy were confined, tied, as it would appear, to iron rings, which remain fixed in the walls, the thick wainscot of which also yet exhibits the names of some of the sufferers rudely scratched upon it. In August, 1415, John Claydon, a furrier in London, in consequence of certain English books of Lollardism which were found in his possession, was condemned by the archbishop as a relapsed heretic (he had formerly been imprisoned on a similar charge), and was burned in Smithfield. Richard Turmin, a baker of London, underwent the same fate the same year. Cobham was put to death in St. Giles's Fields on the 25th of December, 1417, being hung by the middle in iron chains, from a new pair of gallows, over the fire, till both his body and the gallows were consumed to ashes.*

The early part of the reign of Henry VI. also witnessed many similar executions. It was impossible, however, to burn or otherwise put to death all the parties whom the spiritual courts were constantly finding guilty of heresy; and Chicheley soon found it necessary to substitute, in the greater number of cases, prolonged imprisonment, whipping, and various other punishments. The utmost rigour of the law appears to have been for the most part reserved for such of the clergy as were convicted of preaching or holding the new opinions. In 1423 four ecclesiastics were committed to the flames in Smithfield for the crime of Lollardism. Archbishop Chicheley died in 1443, and was succeeded by John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells; Stafford was succeeded by John Kemp, Archbishop of York, in 1452; he lived only two years, and, on his death, Thomas Bourchier, Bishop of Ely, was promoted to the primacy. These three last-mentioned bishops were all cardinals, and each of them for a time held the office of lord high chancellor.

The most remarkable charge of heresy which occurs in the latter years of the present period, and the last we shall here notice, was that brought against Reginald Peacock, or Pocock, Bishop of Chichester, who was cited, on the 22nd of October, 1457, to appear to answer for various false opinions that were imputed to him before Archbishop Bourchier, at Lambeth. Peacock was one of the most learned men of his age, and was as much distinguished for his moderate and conciliatory spirit as for his high talents and extensive acquirements. He had been one of the eminent scholars patronised by the Duke of Gloucester,—"the good Duke Humphrey,"—and this connexion may have had some share in exciting a party against him; but his published opinions were quite sufficient to call down upon him the hatred and vengeance of the church, notwithstanding that they did not go the length of absolute Lollardism. Peacock, indeed, was decidedly opposed to some of the tenets of the Lollards, and gave only a qua-

* Holinshed,—Account by Bishop Bale in State Trials.

lified assent to others; he wished the church to yield at least so far to the spirit of the times as to tolerate a latitude of opinion upon some points that, if not indifferent, were so obscure as scarcely to be comprehensible by the human judgment; in a few other things he may have been more inclined towards the new than the old doctrines; but it was at most the reform of the church that he sought, not its overthrow; nor did he either join its adversaries or withdraw himself from its communion. The very moderation and reasonableness, however, of his dissent from his brethren made it only the more irritating to a body inflamed with suspicion and fear, and apt to regard everything as lukewarmness or concealed hostility that was not undiscriminating and reckless partisanship. Peacock's fate was that which, in all ages, has usually attended moderators and mediators between extreme opinions in the height and fury of their mutual opposition and resentment. His conduct in regard to the Lollards themselves, even independently of any inclination or charity he might have shown towards their opinions, would have been enough to set a mark upon him in the eyes of the ecclesiastical authorities; for instead of busying himself, like most of his brethren, in hunting out these dissenters from the church for the purpose of bringing them to punishment, he was wont, we are told, to converse familiarly with them upon their peculiar notions, and to endeavour to reason them out of such as he deemed to be erroneous. It was not to be expected that his fellow-churchmen would submit quietly to so palpable a rebuke of their own scourging and burning system. In one material point, at least, Peacock had distinctly laid himself open to a charge of heresy. In admitting that a particular belief upon certain mysterious questions was not necessary to salvation, he had unavoidably denied, by implication if not in terms, the assumed infallibility of the church, which had declared such belief to be indispensable. This accordingly appears to have been the chief accusation laid against him. The other heresies with which he was charged amounted to a denial of the necessity of a belief in certain doctrines, not to a denial of the doctrines themselves; the only doctrine he was charged with denying was this of the church's infallibility. He was convicted upon all the articles exhibited against him, and would have been put to death, if, in the spirit of conciliation and aversion to extreme courses by which his life had been distinguished, he had not consented to a recantation of his obnoxious opinions. He read his abjuration at St. Paul's Cross before the archbishop and three other bishops, delivering at the same time fourteen of his books with his own hand to an attendant, who threw them into a fire lighted for the purpose, while many thousands of spectators filled all the space around. Such other copies as had been collected were afterwards in like manner delivered to the flames. Their author, however, although he thus saved his life, did not obtain his liberty. "He was sent to Thorney Abbey (in the Isle of Ely), there to be confined in a secret, closed chamber, out of which he was not to be allowed to go. The person who made his bed and his fire was the only one who might enter and speak to him without the abbot's leave and in his presence. He was to have neither pen, ink, nor paper, and to be allowed no books except a mass-book, a psalter, a legendary, and a Bible. For the first quarter he was to have no better fare than the common rations of the convent; afterwards the pittance of a sick or aged brother, with such further indulgence as his health might require; for which, and for fitting up his close apartment, the prior was allowed eleven pounds." * Peacock died in his prison after a confinement of about three years. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the church to destroy them, some of his works still remain, especially an answer to certain of the more extravagant opinions of the Lollards, which, it has been remarked, "contains passages well worthy of Hooker, both for weight of matter and dignity of style."†

One effect of the distracting wars of the Roses was to interrupt for a time the persecution of the Lollards. As Fuller has finely said, "the very storm was their shelter." That tempest of blood put out, while it lasted, the fires of Smithfield. The convulsion, also, which shook and unsettled everything ancient, was probably favourable to the growth of the new opinions in another way as well as by affording a breathing time to the hunted converts. The most destructive of moral as well as of physical hurricanes generally cleanse and purify the atmosphere at the same time that they sweep and devastate the earth; and this period of violent agitation must have done something to arouse men from the slumber of custom, and to roll away the mists of hereditary prejudice.

The nation appears to have been divided during this period, in regard to ecclesiastical matters, into three parties,—the avowed enemies of the established church,—the members of the church who desired its reform, but not its abolition,—and the unswerving and unyielding adherents to the existing establishment. The mere reformers were perhaps more numerous than has been generally supposed. It is likely that more of the clergy had imbibed the sentiments of Bishop Peacock than those of Thorp and the thorough Lollards, which would have gone almost to the complete extinction of their order. That portion of the community of which the House of Commons, as then constituted, is to be taken as a fair representative, may also be regarded as having been inclined rather to the correction of the abuses of the church than to its entire overthrow, or even to any great change either of the basis on which it stood or of the general form and character of the edifice. In general the House of Commons went along with the lords and the clergy in calling for the execution of the laws against the

* Southey's Book of the Church, i. 392.

† Hallam, Mid. Ages, iii. 476. The Life of Bishop Peacock has been written by the Rev. John Lewis. One of his works, entitled 'A Treatise on Faith,' was printed, in 4to., in 1688.

followers of Wickliffe as disturbers of the public peace, and in denouncing their doctrines with regard to the revenues of the church as destructive of all the rights of property. The old subject of papal provisions repeatedly engaged the attention of the legislature during the reigns of the Lancastrian princes. The former statutes were renewed and extended immediately after the accession of Henry IV., and both then, and at various other times, great solicitude was evinced to prevent any unconstitutional interference of the Roman see in regard either to this or other matters. The contest here, however, was mainly one between the pope and the heads of the national church;—whatever was taken from the former was acquired by the latter. Whether the kingdom was any gainer by the prohibition of papal provisions came after some time to be doubted. Complaints were very soon heard that the patronage of benefices was not exercised by the bishops with so much advantage to the interests of religion and learning as it had formerly been when it was to a considerable extent in the hands of the pope. A representation to this effect had been presented to the convocation in 1399 by the two universities; they stated that the popes, in dispensing livings by the mode of provision, had always been wont to give the preference to the most distinguished graduates; but that since provisions had been put down, this encouragement to talent and industry had been so entirely removed that the schools were almost deserted. And at length the evil became so evident that, in 1416, we find the commons petitioning the king that, if no other adequate remedy could be provided, the statutes against provisors should be repealed. In consequence of this application the convocation passed a law the following year, that, for the next ten years, every spiritual patron should bestow the first vacant benefice of which he had the patronage, and after that term every second, on some member of either university, graduated in divinity, law, or physic. The parliament during this period steadily maintained the great principle which had been established by the act of premunire and other statutes, of the supremacy of the civil over the ecclesiastical courts. In 1447 the bishops and clergy presented a petition bitterly complaining of this encroachment, as they considered it, upon the rights of the church, and representing that the spiritual courts were much better qualified to be the interpreters of statutes, and the tribunals of ultimate appeal, than the temporal; but to this remonstrance the parliament paid no respect.

The church (meaning by that term the body of the clergy) continued to set its face against all reform or concession to the spirit of the age. In a very few points of mere order and discipline some amendments of the ancient practice were attempted: on none of the doctrinal questions at issue between the adherents to the papal system and their opponents was the slightest approximation made to the new opinions. The only deviations from the ancient standards of faith and worship were in the opposite direction. Archbishop Arundel endeavoured to put down the holding of fairs in churchyards on Sundays; and his successor, Chicheley, forbade the barber-surgeons to keep open their shops on that day, which, in the prohibition still extant,* he somewhat strangely described as the *seventh* day of the week. On the other hand, the ritual observances were in various ways stretched to a greater height of rigour than ever. Arundel, in particular, affected a great zeal for the adoration of the Virgin. It is said that he

* Wilkins, Concilia, iii. 368.

PASSAGE OF THE HOST. Cripples worshipping.
Cotton MS. Nero, D. i.

Holy Well at Northampton. Dedicated to St. Thomas a Becket.

was wont to ascribe to her intercession the fortunate revolution in the state which had restored him to his see; he accordingly amplified the ceremonial of her worship; he also made the day dedicated to the memory of her visitation, and other saints' days, double festivals. Several new saints were likewise added to the calendar during this period, for each of whom, of course, a festival day was set apart. The number of holidays thus received a considerable increase. The churches also became much more crowded than they ever had been before with images of the Virgin and of other saints. All the ancient popular superstitions, indeed, were still sanctioned by the church as much as in the earliest and darkest ages. Among others, the veneration for holy wells was still a favourite species of devotion among the people. It was during this period that the cup in the sacrament of the Eucharist was gradually taken from the laity. In one of the ecclesiastical ordinances of the time the clergy are directed to begin by withholding the cup in small, obscure churches.* The people were at the same time to be taught that both the body and blood of the Saviour were given at once in the bread,—that the wine was mere wine, which had been given to enable them to swallow the bread the more easily, but that it was better swallowed without the wine, and also without chewing, that none of it might stick in their teeth. The efficacy of indulgences, and the importance of confession, of processions, and of pilgrimages, were now exalted more than ever. Great pains were taken to denounce heresy as the chief of all possible sins. In certain constitutions of the province of Canterbury, published in 1409, all persons in any manner calling in question the determination of the church were declared to be excommunicated for the first offence, and subject to the punishment of heresy for the second; and it was declared at the same time to be heresy to dispute either the utility of pilgrimages, or the lawfulness of the adoration of images and of the cross. Pilgrimages to Rome were still frequent; a few individuals even continued to find their way to Jerusalem, and were glad, at the cost of submitting to many exactions and insults, to be allowed to pay their devotions at the holy sepulchre. Nor was even the old crusading mania altogether unknown in the fifteenth century. When Pope Martin V., in 1428, proclaimed a crusade against the famous Zisca and his followers, the insurgent Hussites of Bohemia, the great Cardinal Beaufort was appointed captain-general of the crusaders, and immediately raised an army of five thousand English archers and five hundred lancers to act against the heretics. It has been already related how this force was intercepted before it reached Germany, and employed in France in another sort of contest.* These were the last soldiers ever raised in England for a war against either heretics or infidels. When Pope Pius II. (better known as Æneas Sylvius) proclaimed his crusade against the Turks, a few years after the fall of Constantinople, he found little inclination in England, among the clergy or laity, either to take the cross or to contribute their money to the expedition: it was with great difficulty that the clergy were induced by the king, Edward IV.,

* Wilkins, Concilia, iii. 662.

* See ante, p. 71.

RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK, as a Pilgrim, worshipping at the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem.
From a MS. of Rouse's History of the Earls of Warwick, in the Cottonian Library (Engraved in Strutt's Regal and Ecclesiastical Costume).

to tax themselves on the occasion to the extent of sixpence in the pound. The countenance of the pope and of the church was at this time of considerable importance to Edward, in the circumstances in which he had just mounted the throne. While he exerted himself, therefore, to gratify the former by endeavouring to procure this assessment, he sought to secure the favour of the national clergy by the grant of a charter endowing them with the most extravagant privileges. In this stretch of prerogative he boldly dispensed with the statute of premunire, and deprived the temporal courts of all right of interfering in the case of offences, of whatever nature, committed either by ecclesiastical persons, or even by persons pretending to possess the clerical character,—thus again elevating the spiritual courts to that entire independence of the state which they had enjoyed in the first years after the Conquest, and which it had cost so long a struggle on the part of the parliament and the judges to destroy. The charter was never confirmed by parliament; but at that æra of confusion, and the temporary restoration of arbitrary power in the government, it was not to be wondered at that the clergy should, under such a sanction, again put forth some of the most objectionable of their old pretensions.

The general conduct and character of the clergy of this age are not presented in a favourable light by such notices as the documents of the time afford. In 1415 the University of Oxford being commanded by Henry V. to furnish a statement of such things in the church as needed reformation, drew up a catalogue of abuses in forty-six articles, most of which are, in fact, charges of rapacity and various descriptions of profligacy against the general body of the clergy. It is asserted, among other things, that the debaucheries of churchmen, however notorious, were never punished except by a small fine privately exacted, no public notice being taken, by suspension or otherwise, even of the most heinous cases. About half a century later we find Archbishop Bourchier, in a commission empowering his commissary-general to take measures for the establishment of an improved discipline, describing many of the clergy, both secular and regular, as persons wholly destitute both of literature and capacity; and adding that they were as profligate as they were ignorant, neglecting their cures, spending their time in strolling about the country in the company of loose women, and their incomes in feasting, drinking, and other excesses.* These accounts, it is to be observed, are not the inflamed invectives of the enemies of the church, but the admissions of its friends.

We may here mention, though not strictly belonging to the period under review, a curious enactment of the reign of Richard II., touching the keeping of dogs by the clergy, from which we may gather that the custom was not confined to the opulent spiritual nobility, the bishops and abbots, but was followed, on such a scale as they could afford, by the humblest members of the ecclesiastical order. The act (the 13 Rich. II., st. 1, c. 13) sets forth that artificers, labourers, servants, and grooms kept greyhounds and other dogs, with which they were wont to go hunting on

* Wilkins, Concilia, iii. 573.

the holidays, when good christian people were at church hearing divine service. The clergy could hardly have been decently enumerated in this preamble; but the enacting part of the statute shows that some of their body were addicted to the same practices as the artificers and labourers. While it is ordained that no layman who is not possessed of lands or tenements of the yearly value of forty shillings shall in future keep any greyhound or other dog for hunting, the same prohibition is extended to all priests or clerks whose benefices are not of the yearly value of ten pounds; they shall not, it is added, use ferrets, hays, nets, hare-pipes, nor cords nor other engines for taking or destroying deers, hares, coneys, or other game, under pain of a year's imprisonment.

A statute respecting the mendicant friars was passed in 1402 (the 4 Hen. IV. c. 17) which deserves to be here noticed. It ordained that no friar of any of the four orders, the Minorites, Augustines, Preachers, and Carmelites, should take into their order any infant under the age of fourteen without the consent of his nearest relations or guardians, nor should remove such infant during the first year after his reception away from the place where he had been received. To the intent, it is added, that this statute and ordinance should hold place for ever, the principals of the four orders (who are mentioned by name) "being in their proper persons before the king, and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of the realm, in the full parliament, laying their right hands on their breasts, made an oath, and promised in the same parliament, to hold, keep, observe, and perform the statute and ordinance aforesaid, for them and their successors for ever." The unusual solemnity adopted on this occasion indicates how prevalent had been the evil which it was the object of the new law to put down. The friars, it was asserted, used especially to haunt the universities for the purpose of seducing into their ranks the most promising of the youthful members; and this practice had been carried so far that parents were thereby deterred from sending their sons to Oxford or Cambridge,—a circumstance which was alleged as a principal cause of the decay of these national establishments. The universities accordingly had now come to look upon the friars with feelings of alienation and strong aversion. A keen jealousy also existed between the Mendicants and the general body of the secular clergy, with whom they competed too successfully for the popular reverence and favour. In the reign of Edward IV. this antipathy broke out into a violent controversy, in which each party maintained its cause by the most unscrupulous abuse of its opponents. The great boast of the Mendicants was, that Jesus Christ himself, while on earth, had belonged, as they said, to their class. This assertion the secular clergy, on the other hand, denounced as both false and daringly impious. At last Pope Calixtus II., by a bull published in 1475, declared the doctrine of the friars to be heretical.

Some notion of the mode of preaching commonly followed at this time may be gathered from the constitutions of a convocation of the province of York held in 1466. These contain both directions as to the manner in which the clergy ought to conduct the religious instruction of the people, and a summary of the doctrines they were to inculcate. Every parish priest is commanded to preach, either by himself or by a substitute, to his flock four times in the year, and on these occasions to explain in English, with plainness of speech, and without any attempt at metaphysical refinements, the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments, the two precepts of the Gospel, the seven works of mercy, the seven mortal sins, and the seven sacraments. In the summary of doctrine the Decalogue is somewhat curiously expounded: not only are the usual liberties taken of omitting the second commandment altogether, and dividing the tenth into two, but the first is strangely described to be a prohibition of the use of superstitious characters and enchantments. In the collection of the Paston Letters may be seen a curious specimen of the pulpit eloquence and divinity of the fifteenth century, in a Whitsunday sermon preached by a Minorite friar at Norwich, from a copy preserved in his own handwriting. It does considerable credit to both the piety and the good sense of the reverend father.*

Friar Preaching from a Moveable Pulpit.
Royal MS. 14 E. iii.

A few notices remain to be added respecting the history of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland. The clergy of that kingdom, or some of them, are spoken of under their ancient name of Culdees down to so late a period as the close of the thirteenth century. The Culdees, indeed, whatever may have been peculiar in their original constitution, appear to have gradually become converted into a body of the same character with the clergy of England and of the other countries of Christendom. Till about the commencement of the eleventh century they seem to have been derived chiefly or exclusively from Ireland and from the Irish semi-

* Paston Letters, iii. pp. 392—397.

nary of Iona; after that date learned churchmen were often brought from England to fill the principal stations in the Scottish establishment. The earliest historical record of any interference with Scotland on the part of the Romish pontiffs is that of the appearance in the country of John of Crema as papal legate in 1126; but we are scarcely entitled thence to assume, as has sometimes been done, that the papal supremacy over the Scottish church was then for the first time asserted or admitted. Little can be inferred from the silence of history upon a particular point in a period of which scarcely anything that can be properly called history has come down to us. Some other circumstances, however, make it appear probable that, if any dependence upon Rome was so much as formally acknowledged by the early Scottish church, it was practically all but or altogether unfelt. The mere remoteness and barbarous condition of the country would secure its being left very much to itself. The most ancient bishopric in Scotland north of the Forth, that is, in ancient and proper Scotland, was undoubtedly St. Andrew's. It was most probably founded towards the close of the ninth century. From this time St. Andrew's was considered as holding the primatial rank, which had been held by Iona till the destruction of the monastery there by the Danes in the ninth century, and had been then transferred to Dunkeld. Long before the commencement of the present period the ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland had become completely assimilated in the general outline of its constitution to the other churches of the Latin world.

The history of the Scottish church in the fifteenth century, so far as it can now be recovered, consists principally of the enumeration of a series of provincial councils, whose acts, however, imperfectly reported as they are, contain little or nothing of much interest. The most accurate notice of them is that given by Hailes in his 'Historical Memorials concerning the Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy from the Earliest Accounts to the era of the Reformation.'* They appear to have been usually held at Perth, and one of them is described as "the *annual* council of the clergy held on the festival of St. Kynelin Martyr, according to laudable and ancient custom, and with permission of the papal sec." Of this saint, or of the day of his festival, nothing is known; and the list of councils, as we now possess it, is very far from exhibiting one for every year.

The following passage gives, in brief compass, a comprehensive view of the state of the Scottish church at this period:—"The privileges of the church seem to have been an exemption from tribute and war, and from the sentence of a temporal judge; a judicial authority in the spiritual causes of tithes, testaments, matrimonial and heretical affairs; freedom to let lands and tithes; submission to no foreign church, but to the pope alone; a power of holding provincial councils for the regulation of the national church. In benefices the pontiff had only the right of confirmation and deprivation, and the purchase of any benefice at Rome was strictly prohibited. (By an act of parliament passed in 1471 the procurement of any benefices from the court of Rome, other than those anciently at the disposal of the pope, was declared to be a crime punishable with the pains of treason.) The bishops were elected by the chapter, and the royal recommendation seems seldom to have intervened. Abbots were chosen by the monks alone; the secular clergy were named by the proprietors of the lands. These clergy were either parsons (rectors) or vicars. Many were in the appointment of the bishops, and of collegiate bodies, whose chapters they formed. Hence the lay patronage was much confined. Many sees and abbeys were opulent; but James III. seems to have been the first monarch who seized and made a traffic of the nomination."*

The religious zeal of the age expended itself upon the same objects in Scotland as in England. Whithern, in Galloway, appears to have been the most noted Scottish pilgrimage. St. Treignan, repeatedly mentioned by Rabelais as the name of a Scottish saint, is supposed to be a corruption of St. Ninian, the founder of the bishopric of Whithern.†

The new doctrines, however, penetrated to the northern part of the island very soon after they made their appearance in the south. The first propagators appear to have come from England,—whether seeking a refuge from the active inquisition after heresy, which had begun in that kingdom, or, as is more likely, ambitious of exercising the apostleship of the truth in a new land. In the year 1408 John Resby, an English priest, was apprehended as a Wycliffite, and brought before a council of the clergy, presided over by Laurence of Lindores, an eminent doctor of divinity,—the same who, on the institution, a few years after, of the University of St. Andrew's, was appointed reader of the canon law in the new seminary. Resby, it is said, was charged with maintaining no fewer than forty erroneous opinions, of which, however, only two are particularised,—one, that the pope was not Christ's vicar; the other, that he was not to be esteemed pope if he was a man of wicked life. The unfortunate man was condemned on these and the other charges, and was burned at Perth along with his books and writings,—being, as far as is known, the first person who thus suffered in Scotland. The example, like that of the similar execution of Sawtre in England a few years before, appears to have been considered sufficient to strike terror into the popular mind for some time. The second Scottish martyrdom did not take place till the year 1433, when Paul Crawar, a Bohemian physician, was burnt at St. Andrew's on the 23rd of July. Crawar appears

* See also the 4th volume of Wilkins's Concilia.

* Pinkerton, Hist. of Scotland, i. 174.

† See, among other passages, Liv. i. ch. 33, and Liv. ii. ch. 98, with the Notes of Le Duchat.

to have been sent by the reformers of Bohemia to open a communication, partly perhaps of a political as well as of a religious nature, with those of the same creed in Scotland, and to propagate in that country the tenets of Wycliffe, Huss, and Jerome of Prague. He is admitted by the ecclesiastical chroniclers to have been a person of great learning and of singular acuteness and dexterity in argument. All his knowledge of the Scriptures and logical powers, however, availed him nothing in the contest with his hostile judges, and with the remorseless inquisitor Laurence of Lindores, who was again the president of the court. It is lamentable to have to add that both these executions also took place during the primacy of Bishop Henry Wardlaw, the venerated founder of the first Scottish university, and a prelate to whose enlightened munificence history and tradition bear the same testimony with this and other still enduring works of public usefulness. It is Wardlaw of whom the story is told, that when the managers of his household complained to him of his unbounded hospitality, and proposed that he should draw out a scheme for its regulation and retrenchment, he called his secretary and named as the first guests whom he would have always welcome, Fife and Angus,—the two counties principally forming his diocese. "His servants," adds his successor Spotswood, "hearing this, gave over their purpose of retrenching his family, for they saw he would have no man refused that came to his house."*

Although no person is recorded to have been brought to the stake for heresy in the space of nearly thirty years that elapsed between the executions of Resby and Crawar, it is certain, nevertheless, that the new opinions obtained an extensive diffusion in Scotland during that interval. This is evident from the accounts of the trial of the Bohemian, who is spoken of as an emissary to a numerous body sharing the sentiments of himself and his countrymen. The growth of Lollardism may also be inferred from a statute that had been passed for its suppression by the parliament that assembled immediately after the return of James I. from England in 1421. This statute directed that every bishop should make inquisition within his diocese for all Lollards and other heretics, in order that they might be punished according to the laws of holy church, the civil power being called in for that purpose, when necessary, in aid of the ecclesiastical. It is stated that the little treatises which Resby and his disciples had dispersed had spread the obnoxious doctrines; Bower, the continuator of Fordun, who wrote some years after the second of the two executions that have been mentioned, tells us that there were still in his day some unhappy persons, instigated by the devil, by whom these writings were secretly preserved, and their pernicious heresies cherished, in accordance with the scriptural text, that "stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant."

The most important event that happened during the present period in the history of the Scottish ecclesiastical establishment was the erection of the see of St. Andrew's into an archbishopric by Pope Sixtus IV., in 1471. This measure was resorted to in consequence of the renewal by Nevil, Archbishop of York, of the old claim of his see to supremacy over the kingdom of Scotland. The papal bull declared it to be an unfitting thing that an English prelate should be Primate of Scotland and ordained all the rest of the Scottish bishops, twelve in number, to be henceforth subject to St. Andrew's. The occupant of the latter see at this time was Patrick Graham, a nephew of the late King James I., but who had been driven by the ascendency of the faction of the Boyds, in the reign of James III., to retire from his native country to Rome. He was resident at the pontifical court when the bull was granted; but he now thought that, with the increase of dignity that had been conferred upon him, he might venture to return home, the rather as he was at the same time appointed papal legate for three years, with a commission to reform all abuses in the national church. He found, however, that his new rank and authority only inflamed the jealousy of his brethren, and made him new enemies. He was soon after arrested at the suit of some Roman bankers, who appear to have advanced the money to pay the dues on his bull of privileges, and whose claims he was now unable to satisfy, in consequence of the arbitrary seizure of part of his revenues by the king, and the expenses he had been put to in bribing the persons possessing influence at court, that he might be allowed to retain the rest. He was shut up in the first instance in his own castle at St. Andrew's, and soon after committed to the custody of the person who is said to have been the most active of his enemies, William Schevez, the archdeacon of his diocese, a young man who had insinuated himself into the favour of the court by his agreeable talents, and especially, it is affirmed, by his skill in astrology, a study which he had pursued with great success under John Spernick at the University of Louvaine. In no long time Schevez was appointed his coadjutor; and eventually a process was raised against the unfortunate archbishop, the result of which was, that he was found guilty of schism, simony, heresy, and other crimes, and sentenced to lose his dignity and to pass the rest of his life in confinement. One of the charges brought against him is stated to have been that he had said three masses in one day,—"whereas," remarks Spotswood, "in those times it was difficile to find a bishop that in three months did say one mass." This strange affair was terminated by the astrologer Schevez being appointed archbishop. He held the primacy from 1478 till his death in 1494. Meanwhile his deposed and imprisoned predecessor had been transferred first to the Isle of Inchcolm, thence to Dunfermline, and finally to the Castle of Lochleven, in which last stronghold he died within a few months after his enemy had obtained his place.

* History of the Church of Scotland, p. 57.

CORONATION OF HENRY IV. Harleian MS. No. 4379.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS.

URING the greater part of the present period of English history, the civil wars, and disputed titles to the crown, gave little leisure for legislation or juridical improvement; for the same reason, however, in no other period is the history of the constitution more important. We have seen in the preceding Book,* that even under the vigorous and successful reign of Edward III., the royal prerogative had sensibly declined. We have also seen the effect of the reign of a weak prince upon the royal authority. We might therefore expect that if the prerogative had declined under Edward III., it would do so much more under his grandson and successor, Richard II. In fact, in the reign of the latter, the power of the commons received an increase so considerable, that we must enter somewhat fully into an account of it. But first it will be convenient to say a few words on the meaning of the term prerogative. The word prerogative, according to its etymology, (from *præ* and *rogo*—to ask before) signifies something that is required or demanded before, or in preference to all others; and hence it has been applied to those rights and capacities which the king enjoys alone. From an examination of the use of the term by the English lawyers, we should say that prerogative means that part of the sovereignty which remained to the kings of a monarchy, like that of England, limited to a certain extent by law or precedent. The line of this limitation was, however, down to a late period of English history very indistinctly marked, the royal prerogative being, as long as there was much of it, an interdicted subject of discussion to the people at large, and even to parliament itself. We may better show what is meant by prerogative by example than by definition. Blackstone divides prerogatives into *direct* and *incidental*. The former are substantial parts of the character of sovereignty, as, the right of sending ambassadors, of creating peers, and of making war or peace. The *incidental*, Blackstone describes as only ex-

* See vol. i. p. 819.

ceptions, in favour of the crown, to those general rules that are established for the rest of the community; such as, that no costs shall be recovered against the king; that the king can never be a joint-tenant; and that his debt shall be preferred before a debt to any of his subjects.*

The advance made in the power of the commons under Richard II. was attributable, as we have already hinted, mainly to the personal character of the king. On one or two occasions during his short life, Richard II. evinced courage, firmness, presence of mind, and even talent that seemed not to belie the vigorous and heroic race from which he was sprung. To him may be applied, better than to Edward II., the words which Sir Walter Scott applies to the latter—

> And yet within his eye was set
> Some spark of the Plantagenet.
> *Lord of the Isles.*

These displays, however, which he sometimes made of ability and decision of character must have been the result of extraordinary effort, produced in an ordinary character by the force of position and circumstances, and the memory and example of his heroic ancestors, particularly his father and grandfather, the Black Prince and Edward III.; not the easy habitual product of a character naturally strong and great without effort. As soon as the extraordinary stimulant ceased to act, he sunk down again into the weak voluptuary, who exhibited no other proofs of energy than intemperate pride, undignified violence, and the most wasteful extravagance. One of the most characteristic differences between a strong mind and a weak one is knowing when it is necessary to make a concession, and making it with a good grace. The strong, brave, far-sighted man looks at all the consequences with a calm but piercing eye; he sees where he must yield a point, and he yields it. On the contrary, to the vision of the weak, short-sighted man, who occupies a certain position, all points seem equally strong; and he spurns the idea of yielding any. There were times at which the crown, if not the life, of Edward I., one of the strongest and most warlike of the stern and warlike race to which he belonged, depended upon his making concessions, and he made them. At such times, princes of the calibre of Edward II. and Richard II. refused all concession, and refused it too with indecent and outrageous insolence of expression. Take a case in point from the reign of Richard II. In the tenth year of his reign parliament determined to reform the administration, and punish its chief leader, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and Lord Chancellor. In reply to a message from the two houses, requesting the dismissal of Suffolk, since they had matter to allege against him which they could not mention while he kept the office of chancellor, Richard answered that he would not for their request remove the meanest scullion from his kitchen. In the end, however, Suffolk was removed, and the impeachment instituted against him; so that Richard gained nothing by his insolence but an exhibition of his weakness, and the consequent contempt of his subjects. This impeachment of Suffolk was, says Mr. Hallam, "the second precedent of that grand constitutional resource, parliamentary impeachment; and more remarkable, from the eminence of the person attacked, than that of Lord Latimer, in the fiftieth year of Edward III."*

After this impeachment, the commons sought to reform the administration, by petitioning the king to ordain in parliament certain chief officers of his household, and other lords of his council, with power to reform abuses. With this petition the king complied, and a commission for the purpose in view was established by statute. A temporary reform was thus produced; but it was only temporary. For, as Mr. Hallam observes, "no voice of his people, until it spoke in thunder, would stop an intoxicated boy in the wasteful career of dissipation. He loved festivals and pageants, the prevailing folly of his time, with unusual frivolity; his ordinary living is represented as beyond comparison more showy and sumptuous than even that of his magnificent and chivalrous predecessor. Acts of parliament were no adequate barriers to his misgovernment. 'Of what avail are statutes,' says Walsingham, 'since the king with his privy council is wont to abolish what parliament has just enacted?' The constant prayer of the commons in every session, that former statutes might be kept in force, is no slight presumption that they were not secure of being regarded. It may be true that Edward III.'s government had been full as arbitrary, though not so unwise as his grandson's; but this is the strongest argument that nothing less than an extraordinary remedy could preserve the still unstable liberties of England."†

In the parliament summoned in the 20th of Richard, a circumstance occurred so indicative of an insurgent spirit growing in the commons, and at the same time of their weakness, without support from the nobility, that it deserves special mention. "The circumstances," says Mr. Hallam, "are thus related in the record:"—During the session the king sent for the lords into parliament one afternoon, and told them how he had heard of certain articles of complaint made by the commons, in conference with them a few days before, some of which appeared to the king against his royalty, estate, and liberty, and commanded the chancellor to inform him fully as to this. The chancellor accordingly related the whole matter, which consisted of four alleged grievances; namely, that sheriffs and escheators, notwithstanding a statute, are continued in their offices beyond a year; that the Scottish marches were not well kept; that the statute against wearing great men's liveries was disregarded; and, lastly, that the excessive charges of the king's household ought to be diminished, arising from the multitude of bishops and ladies who are there maintained at his cost.

* Com. i. 240.

* Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 101.

† Ibid. p. 104.

Upon this information the king declared to the lords, that through God's gift he is by lineal right of inheritance King of England, and will have the royalty and freedom of his crown, from which some of these articles derogate. The first petition, that sheriffs should never remain in office above a year, he rejected; but, passing lightly over the rest, took most offence that the commons, who are his lieges, should take on themselves to make any ordinance respecting his royal person or household, or those whom he might please to have about him. He enjoined, therefore, the lords to declare plainly to the commons his pleasure in this matter; and especially directed the Duke of Lancaster to make the speaker give up the names of the persons who presented a bill for this last article in the lower house. The commons were in no state to resist this unexpected promptitude of action in the king. They surrendered the obnoxious bill, with its proposer, one Thomas Haxey, and with great humility made excuse, that they never designed to give offence to his Majesty, nor to interfere with his household or attendants, knowing well that such things do not belong to them, but to the king alone; but merely to draw his attention that he might act therein as should please him best. The king forgave these pitiful suppliants; but Haxey was adjudged in parliament to suffer death as a traitor. As, however, he was a clerk, * the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the head of the prelates, obtained of the king that his life might be spared, and that they might have the custody of his person; protesting that this was not claimed by way of right, but merely of the king's grace."†

We may add here that the judgment passed on Haxey was reversed in the first parliament of Henry IV., on petition from the commons.‡

The king, having humbled the commons, next attacked the lords; and having crushed the most powerful of them, he summoned a new parliament, which proved completely subservient to his wishes. The commons granted him a subsidy upon wool, during his life. The petitions of the commons not having been answered during the session, a commission was granted for twelve peers and six commoners to sit after the dissolution, and "examine, answer, and fully determine, as well all the said petitions, and the matters therein comprised, as all other matters and things moved in the king's presence, and all things incident thereto, not yet determined, as shall seem best to them." § These commissioners upon this exercised the full powers of the legislature, which "undoubtedly," observes Mr. Hallam, "were only delegated in respect of business already commenced."‖ Richard had now a revenue for life, and the whole legislative power was in the hands of his creatures. His power therefore was absolute; and his government immediately became, what an absolute irresponsible government has a very strong tendency to become in the hands of any man, and what it is sure to become in those of a weak and intemperate man, tyrannical and oppressive. This tyranny, however, in hands so weak as Richard's, could not be expected to last long. And he was soon hurled from his seat by a nobility which, though not quite so powerful as that which had deposed John, was still powerful enough for this purpose, when somewhat, though not much, aided by the commons.

The various devices to which Henry IV. had recourse on his seizure of the throne, to give his claim an air of legitimacy, have been already detailed.* "In this revolution of 1399," observes Mr. Hallam, "there was as remarkable an attention shown to the formalities of the constitution, allowance made for the men and the times, as in that of 1688. The parliament was not opened by commission; no one took the office of president; the commons did not adjourn to their own chamber; they chose no speaker; the name of parliament was not taken, but that only of estates of the realm. But as it would have been a violation of constitutional principles to assume a parliamentary character without the king's commission, though summoned by his writ, so it was still more essential to limit their exercise of power to the necessity of circumstances. Upon the cession of the king, as upon his death, the parliament was no more; its existence, as the council of the sovereign, being dependent upon his will. The actual convention, summoned by the writs of Richard, could not legally become the parliament of Henry; the validity of a statute declaring it to be such would probably have been questionable in that age, when the power of statutes to alter the original principles of the common law was by no means so thoroughly recognised as at the Restoration and Revolution. Yet Henry was too well pleased with his friends to part with them so readily; and he had much to effect before the fervour of their spirits should abate. Hence an expedient was devised of issuing writs for a new parliament, returnable in six days. These neither were nor could be complied with; but the same members as had deposed Richard sat in the new parliament, which was regularly opened by Henry's commissioner as if they had been duly elected. In this contrivance, more than in all the rest, we may trace the hand of lawyers.†

The following retrospect is then taken of the progress of the constitution under Richard II.: "If we look back from the accession of Henry IV. to that of his predecessor, the constitutional authority of the house of commons will be perceived to have made surprising progress during the course of twenty-two years. Of the three capital points in contest while Edward reigned,—that money could not be levied, or laws enacted, with-

* Upon this passage Mr. Hallam has the following note. "The church would perhaps have interfered in behalf of Haxey, if he had only received the tonsure. But it seems that he was actually in orders; for the record calls him Sir Thomas Haxey, a title at that time regularly given to the parson of the parish. If this be so, it is a remarkable authority for the clergy's capacity of sitting in parliament."

† Ibid. p. 111.

‡ Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. iv. 434.

§ Rot. Parl. 21 R. ii. p. 369.

* See vol. i. p. 798—800, and ante, p. 4

† Hallam, Mid. Ages, iii. 124.

out the commons' consent, and that the administration of parliament was subject to their inspection and control; the first was absolutely decided in their favour, the second was at least perfectly admitted in principle, and the last was confirmed by frequent exercise. The commons had acquired two additional engines of immense efficiency; one, the right of directing the application of subsidies, and calling accountants before them; the other, that of impeaching the king's ministers for misconduct. All these vigorous shoots of liberty throve more and more under the three kings of the house of Lancaster, and drew such strength and nourishment from the generous heart of England, that in after-times, and in a less prosperous season, though checked and obstructed in their growth, neither the blasts of arbitrary power could break them off, nor the mildew of servile opinion cause them to wither."*

The principle of appropriating the public money which had taken its rise in the minority of Richard II., was steadily maintained under the kings of the house of Lancaster. In the second year of Henry IV. the commons also made an attempt, which, however, was unsuccessful, to make supply depend upon redress of grievances. They requested that answers might be given to their petitions before they granted their subsidy. The king replied, that "it had never been known in the time of his ancestors, that they should have their petitions answered before they had done all their business in parliament, whether of granting money, or any other concern; wherefore the king will not alter the good customs and usages of ancient times."

The parliament of the time of Henry V. granted that king a subsidy on wool and leather during his life, on account of his brilliant successes in France. The expenses of the war, however, and the short life of that prince, prevented their grant from being so dangerous to liberty as it otherwise might have been. Both Henry IV. and Henry V. convoked parliaments in almost every year of their reign.

One feature of the English government under the Plantagenets, was what was called the dispensing power of the crown, that is the power of suspending statutes when the king wished them not to take effect. It is clear that this circumstance settles the question as to where the sovereignty resided during this period of our history—that is, whether it resided in the king, the nobility, or the commons or people. It is plain that it was effectually in the king, though the commons had some power, and the nobility a greater, in checking from time to time the exercise of the royal authority. Occasionally, indeed, the sovereign power might be said to be lodged in the nobility, as on the deposition of John, —occasionally, as on the deposition of Richard II., in the estates of the realm, where it remained till Henry IV. was invested with it. There is no question but the lords and commons, or the oligarchical and popular elements of the English community, might and did in ordinary times suggest and propose laws, and even exercise some influence in getting them made, but it was the king who made them. Such expressions as this, "it is not the king's mind," 2 Rich. II. st. 1, c. 1, and the like, together with the whole form of Britton's work, which is quite as monarchical as that of Justinian, show that the kings of England were then as much the legislators of their dominions (in form at least) as the Roman emperors were of theirs. That a part, however, of the *substance* of the legislative power had passed from the king, is evident from his attempting to recover it by such indirect means as taking advantage of the practice of leaving statutes to be drawn up by the judges, from the petition and answer jointly, after a dissolution of parliament, to misrepresent and falsify the intentions of the parliament, and produce statutes to which it had not given its assent. The earliest instance of the House of Commons using the English language is in a petition on this subject, which for that reason we shall here present to our readers in its original form and orthography:—

Parliament Roll, 2nd Hen. 5th, vol. iv. p. 22.

Oure sovain Lord, youre humble and trewe lieges that ben come for the coe of youre lond by seehyn onto youre rizt riztwesnesse, That so as hit hath eve be thair libte & fredom, that thar sholde no statut no lawe be made oflasse than they yaf therto their assent: consideringe that the coe of youre lond, the whiche that is, and eve hath be, a membre of youre Parlement, ben as well assenters as peticioners, that fro this tyme foreward, by compleynte of the coe of any myschief axkynge remedie by mouthe of their Speker for the coe, other ellys by Petition writen, that ther nev be no lawe made theruppon, & engrosed as Statut and Lawe, nother by addicions, nother by diminucions, by no maner of terme ne termes, the whiche that sholde chaunge the sentence, & the entente axked by the Speker mouthe, or the Petitions biforesaid yeven up yn writyng by the manere forsaid, withoute assent of the forsaid coe, consideringe oure Sovain Lord, that it is not in no wyse the entente of youre coes, zif hit be so that they axke you by spekyng, or by writyng, two thynges or three, or as manye as theym lust: But that eve it stande in the fredom of your hie Regalie, to graunte whiche of thoo that you luste, & to werune the remanent.

Responsio.

Þe Kyng of his grace special graunteþ þat fro hens forþ no þyng be enacted to þe Peticions of his comune, þat be contrarie of hir askyng, wharby þey shuld be bounde wi þoute their assent. Savyng alwey to our liege Lord his real Prerogatif, to graunte and denye what him lust of þeir Petitions and askynges aforesaide.

"Notwithstanding the fulness of this assent," observes Mr. Hallam, "to so important a petition, we find no vestige of either among the statutes; and the whole transaction is unnoticed by those historians who have not looked into our original records. If the compilers of the statute-roll were able to keep out of it the very provision that was

* Hallam, Mid. Ages, iii. 124.

intended to check their fraudulent machinations, it was in vain to hope for redress without altering the established practice in this respect; and indeed where there was no design to falsify the roll, it was impossible to draw up statutes which should be in truth the acts of the whole legislature, so long as the king continued to grant petitions in part, and to engraft new matter upon them."*

The practice above alluded to lasted till the introduction, in the reign of Henry VI., of complete statutes, under the name of bills, instead of the old petitions. As these were under the form of a law, and contained the royal assent, it soon became a principle that the king must admit or reject them without qualification. This alteration was calculated to produce, though quiet and slow, very important effects. Mr. Hallam thinks that the triple division of our legislature may perhaps be dated from this innovation. "For as it is impossible," he observes, "to deny that, while the king promulgated a statute founded upon a mere petition, he was himself the real legislator, so I think it is equally fair to assert, notwithstanding the formal preamble of our statutes, that laws brought into either house of parliament in a perfect shape, and receiving first the assent of lords and commons, and finally that of the king, who has no power to modify them, must be deemed to proceed, and derive their efficacy, from the joint concurrence of all the three."† Though it may be true, however, that the king had no power to modify the bills brought into parliament, it is to be remembered that he had a power to reject them, and a power which, down to the Revolution, he was not sparing or timid in the use of. It is to be borne in mind, also, that at least a large proportion of the most important laws have been introduced by the king's ministers, or persons in his confidence.

Private bills, it may be here mentioned, appear from the rolls of parliament to have originated about the beginning of the reign of Henry V. The first private act, however, in the common lists is that known as the *Titulus Regius*, passed in the first year of Richard III., which declares that king to be the true and undoubted heir to the crown, and bastardizes the children of Edward IV. This act was first printed in the 'Abridgment of the Records,' published by Prynne in 1657, and usually attributed to Sir Robert Cotton.

The term "estates of the realm" having occurred in what has preceded, it may be proper to explain its import. As appears by the general tenor of our ancient records and law-books, the three estates of the realm were the nobility, the clergy, and the commons of England,—not the lower house of parliament, which is not properly itself an estate of the realm, but the image or representative of the third estate, or commons.*

The relative proportion of the numbers of citizens and burgesses who sat in the House of Commons to the knights of shires is a subject of considerable importance. At the earliest epoch of well ascertained representation, in the parliament held by Edward I. in his twenty-third year, two hundred citizens and burgesses were present. Under Edward III. and his three immediate successors, about ninety places, on an average, returned members, making this portion of the House of Commons to consist of one hundred and eighty. With them sat seventy-four knights; but these knights acted a very important part in the struggle against the crown.† With some of the ancient lineage, the territorial wealth, and the military character, they inherited also not a little of the high and proud spirit of the old Norman aristocracy, of which they infused a portion into their more plebeian and humble associates, and thereby rendered them more ready than they otherwise would have been

* Middle Ages, vol iii. p. 136. † Ibid. p. 137.

* See this point examined by Mr. Hallam, Middle Ages, iii. 157, 158.
† Hallam, Mid. Ages, iii. 175.

A PARLIAMENT OF THE PERIOD. Harleian MS. No. 2278.

King with his Privy Council. Harleian MS. No. 4379.

to overcome their habitual awe for the crown and the higher aristocracy. This circumstance has been remarked by M. Guizot as an important feature in the history of the English constitution, and as distinguishing it from that of all other European nations.

The ancient rule was, that the freemen of each county, city, or borough should elect deputies out of their own body, and resident among themselves. "It would be very interesting," says Mr. Hallam, "to discover at what time and by what degrees the practice of election swerved from this strictness. But I have not been able to trace many steps of the transition. The number of practising lawyers who sat in parliament, of which there are several complaints, seems to afford an inference that it had begun in the reign of Edward III."* An act, passed in the first year of Henry V., directs that none shall be chosen knights, citizens, or burgesses, who are not residents of the shire or town for which they are returned. It is remarkable that this statute, though it had long been disregarded, was not repealed till the year 1774. It had, however, been previously declared obsolete by the Court of King's Bench, "almost a solitary instance," as Mr. Hallam observes, "in the law of England, wherein the principle of desuetude has been avowedly set up against an unrepealed enactment."

We must now say something of the composition of the House of Lords,—a subject which, after all the research that has been bestowed upon it, is still sufficiently dim and obscure. We have seen that, in the reign of Henry III., the House of Lords was entirely composed of such barons by tenure as received particular summonses to attend. This would draw a distinct line between the greater barons, or those who received this summons, and the lesser barons, or those who did not receive it, and thereby fell gradually into the station of commoners.

* Hallam, Mid. Ages, p. 176

The introduction of the several new modes of creating barons by writ, by statute, and by patent, has been noticed in the preceding book.* "The ancient temporal peers," says Mr. Hallam, "are supposed to have been intermingled with persons who held nothing of the crown by barony, but attended in parliament solely by virtue of the king's prerogative exercised in the writ of summons. These have been called barons by writ; and it seems to be denied by no one, that, at least under the three first Edwards, there were some of this description in parliament. But, after all the labours of Dugdale and others in tracing the genealogies of our ancient aristocracy, it is a problem of much difficulty to distinguish these from the territorial barons."† He afterwards observes;—"With respect to those who were indebted for their seats among the lords to the king's writ, there are two material questions:—whether they acquired an hereditary nobility by virtue of the writ; and if this be determined against them, whether they had a decisive, or merely a deliberative, voice in the house."‡ The first of these questions Mr. Hallam determines in the negative; the second in the affirmative.

The changes undergone by the body called the king's court or council also now demand our attention. It has been already shown that this was originally a council combining the legislative, judicial, and administrative functions, and that first a large portion of its judicial functions was separated from it, and constituted the three tribunals of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer. There seems little doubt that the king's ordinary, or privy council, which is the usual style from the reign of Edward I., was another portion

* See vol. i. p. 882. † Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 183
‡ Ibid. p. 185.

of the original king's council. This privy council consisted of the same persons whom we have seen composing the king's court,* with a few more added to them, and with the order of their precedency a little altered; in fact, the chief ministers of the king—viz., the chancellor, treasurer, lord steward, lord admiral, lord marshal, the keeper of the privy seal, the chamberlain, treasurer, and comptroller of the household, the chancellor of the exchequer, the master of the wardrobe, the judges, the attorney-general, and master of the rolls. When the business was special, those only to whose department it belonged were summoned; the chancellor and judges for matters of law; the officers of state for what concerned the revenue or household.†

The business of this council, out of parliament, was deliberative and judicial; that is, it acted partly as a council of advice respecting the general administration of the kingdom (in which capacity it partook of a legislative character in making ordinances), partly as a tribunal having power, founded upon particular acts of parliament, to hear and determine certain causes, and to which petitions were likewise referred from parliament. "But, independently of this delegated authority," says Mr. Hallam, "it is certain that the king's council did anciently exercise, as well out of parliament as in it, a very great jurisdiction, both in causes criminal and civil. Some, however, have contended that whatever they did in this respect was illegal, and an encroachment upon the common law and Magna Charta. And, be the common law what it may, it seems an indisputable violation of the charter, in its most admirable and essential article, to drag men, in questions of their freehold or liberty, before a tribunal which neither granted them a trial by their peers, nor always respected the law of the land."‡ These powers would, of course, and did, vary with the power of the reigning monarch. We shall find them very considerable under the Tudors.

But the council is also to be considered in its relation to the parliament. "The great officers of state," says Mr. Hallam, "whether peers or not, the judges, the king's serjeant and attorney-general, were, from the earliest times, as the latter still continue to be, summoned by special writs to the upper house. But while the writ of a peer runs *ad tractandum nobiscum et cum cæteris prælatis, magnatibus, et proceribus* (that is, to consult with us and the rest of the prelates, great men, and peers), that directed to one of the judges is only *ad tractandum nobiscum et cum cæteris de consilio nostro* (to consult with us and the rest of our council); and the seats of the latter are upon the woolsacks at one extremity of the house."§

The great council, as distinguished from the ordinary council, consisted of the lords spiritual and temporal, in conjunction with the ordinary council; in other words, it consisted of all who were severally summoned to parliament. This, therefore, contained more of the elements of the original council, or *curia regis*, of which last a tolerably good idea will be obtained by considering that it contained within itself the elements of the parliament, the several courts of judicature, and the privy council.

The period of which we are now treating was productive of great changes in the state of society in England. The civil wars had the effect of weakening or destroying the power of all the great feudal families. So that, after this period, we shall no longer find a De Montfort or a Hotspur braving in open war the whole power of the crown. But the consideration of the many and important consequences of this change belongs to the next period of our history. We have seen that through this period the popular power made upon the whole some palpable advance; and, although we do not attach so much importance as some do to various little technical advantages gained by the commons (for they were not large or important), yet even these are not without their value. But the great element which was to act powerfully in the work of European civilization was the decline in England of the feudal aristocracy.

One important legislative measure grew out of the civil contentions of this period,—we mean the method of barring entails by the fiction of *common recoveries;* "invented originally," says Blackstone, "by the clergy, to evade the statutes of mortmain, but introduced under Edward IV., for unfettering estates, and making them more liable to forfeiture; while, on the other hand, the owners endeavoured to protect them by the universal establishment of *uses*, another of the clerical inventions."* Blackstone has declared his fear of being unable to render his account of a common recovery perfectly intelligible even to a law-student who is unacquainted with the course of judicial proceedings; we may, therefore, well despair of succeeding in any attempt to render it intelligible to the general reader. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with stating generally that a common recovery is a conveyance or assurance, by means of an action brought by the intended grantee (or person to whom the land is to be made over or conveyed), either originally against the grantor, or against another person in such manner as to implicate the grantor in the proceedings, and so conducted that, for want of a sufficient defence, judgment is given against the grantor.† It is, therefore, a collusive proceeding between the two parties, the object being to bar all entails, remainders, and reversions to which the freehold may be subject, and to convey it in fee simple to the purchaser or recoverer. In this way most of the land in England has been emancipated from the restraints of the ancient feudal law; and the fictitious adjudications of right, called common

* See vol. i. p. 567.
† Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 206.
‡ Ibid. p. 212.
§ Ibid. p. 208.

* Com. iv. 429.
† Burton's Law of Real Property, p. 31.

recoveries, have become, as Blackstone calls them, "the great assurance of the kingdom."*

With regard to *uses*, which, though first introduced into England by the foreign ecclesiastics about the close of the reign of Edward III., only began to be reduced into a system by the courts of equity about the reign of Edward IV., they may be generally described, in the words of Blackstone, as "being a confidence reposed in another, who was tenant of the land, or *terre-tenant*, that he should dispose of the land according to the intentions of *cestuy que use*, or him to whose use it was granted, and suffer him to take the profits." The foreign ecclesiastics, about the close of the reign of Edward III., first introduced this practice to evade the statutes of mortmain, by obtaining grants of lands, not to their religious houses directly, but to *the use of* the religious houses. "Yet the idea," continues Blackstone, "being once introduced, however fraudulently, it afterwards continued to be often innocently, and sometimes very laudably, applied to a number of civil purposes; particularly as it removed the restraint of alienations by will, and permitted the owner of lands in his life-time to make various designations of their profits, as prudence, or justice, or family convenience, might from time to time require. Till at length, during our long wars in France, and the subsequent civil commotions between the Houses of York and Lancaster, uses grew almost universal, through the desire that men had (when their lives were continually in hazard) of providing for their children by will, and of securing their estates from forfeitures, when each of the contending parties, as they became uppermost, alternately attainted the other."†

In the reigns of Henry IV. and V. some doubts began to arise whether a recovery suffered by tenants in tail was good against the issue. At length, in 12 Edw. IV., the famous case of *Taltarum* occurred, which is considered as having settled the question: "not," observes Mr. Reeves, "that the court then directly decided the point, but that, while they determined in that case *against* such a recovery *improperly* suffered, they seemed to admit that a like recovery *properly* suffered would bar the issue in tail." This decision formed an epoch in the history of landed property. "It had the effect," we again quote Mr. Reeves, "in a great measure, of repealing the statute *De Donis*. The statute had thenceforward no other force than to enable persons to make entails, with long substitutions of remainders, which could not have been created at common law, and which every tenant, as he came into possession, had the power of destroying by suffering a recovery,—a power which was most commonly exercised as soon as the party was of years to do a legal act."‡

As it was in the reign of Richard II. that the Court of Chancery first became a court of equity, we shall take this opportunity of saying something on the subject of that court. The Chancery as well as the King's Bench followed the court till the 4th of Edward III., when it was fixed at Westminster. "It has been," says Mr. Reeves, "a received opinion that the chancellor began in this reign (Richard II.) to enlarge his judicial authority by entertaining suits not cognizable at common law; and that he thus gave rise to the *Court of Equity*, which has since become the principal object of the chancellor's attention, so as to eclipse the jurisdiction belonging to his ancient court of common law."*

Formerly, in cases of grievance where the common law did not provide a remedy, the resort had been to the king in council. The chancellor was one of the principal counsellors who deliberated on such matters as were brought before the council by petition. From an adviser he became in time almost sole judge. The statute 17 Rich. II. c. 6, recognises this new judicature in explicit terms. This statute enacts that, "forasmuch as people be compelled to come before the king's council, or in the chancery, by writs grounded upon untrue suggestions, the chancellor for the time being, presently after that such suggestions be duly found and proved untrue, shall have power to ordain and award damages according to his discretion to him which is so troubled unduly, as afore is said." However, for many ages, the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery was limited, and the exercise of it feeble and imperfect. This might be partly owing to the chancellor's not being for the most part a regularly-bred lawyer. His authority was long looked upon with jealousy, and his judgments with disrespect, by the common law courts. "The chancellor seldom had a point of difficulty before him but he called in the advice of some of the judges, or adjourned it into the exchequer chamber, where it was discussed and resolved according to the opinions of the sages of the common law. This had the effect of settling on the solid foundation of the law of the land this new jurisdiction, which all the while grew up under the guidance and encouragement of the courts of common law."† Indeed, for a long time, as Barrington observes, the office of chancellor was rather that of a secretary of state than of the president of a court of justice. The first person holding this office, who was properly qualified by a legal education, was Sir Thomas More.‡

It was during this period, as mentioned above, that what are called *private acts* originated. They originally were somewhat of the same nature as the *privilegia*§ of the Roman law,—*i.e.*, laws made against individuals,—not, as the modern meaning of the word *privilege* implies, in *favour* of individuals. Richard III. made no judgment in the

* Com. ii. 271. † Ibid 329.
‡ Hist. of Eng. Law, iii. 331.

* Hist. of Eng. Law, iii. 188.
† Reeves, Hist. of Eng. Law, iii. 385.
‡ Barrington on the Statutes, 308.
§ Privilegia quasi *privæ leges*. "Olim quidem privilegii vocabulum fere semper in deteriorem partem acceptum videtur pro pœna extraordinaria, quæ certæ personæ tantum infligebatur."—Heineccii Antiq. Roman. ad Instit. lib. i. tit. ii. § 60.

prosecution of offenders on private petitions by the assent of the lords alone without that of the commons. Several attainders and alterations of property were made in his reign by these private bills; and this example was followed in the succeeding reigns.*

Richard III.'s character as a legislator stands higher than would be expected by those who only know him as the bold bad man of Shakspeare's drama. Besides numerous minor authorities among the historians, we have no less an authority than that of Lord Bacon in his favour, who says that he was a good legislator for the ease and solace of the common people.† His laws consist of only one statute, passed in the first year of his reign, and containing fifteen chapters. "There is," says Barrington, "certainly a sort of fashion (if I may be allowed the expression) which prevails at different times, with regard to the characters of kings and great men. Richard hath generally been represented both as a monster in person and disposition: if we may believe Buck and the Countess of Desmond,‡ he was remarkably genteel, and the best of kings and men. It will be probably right to steer between these extremes; and, as far as relates to him as a legislator, the 2nd and 3rd chapters of this his only collection of laws will for ever show that he meant well (at least upon his accession) to the constitution and liberties of the subject."§

The 2nd chapter, as above alluded to, is a prohibition of Benevolences, and will be afterwards noticed. The 3rd chapter enacts that, "forasmuch as divers persons been daily arrested and imprisoned for suspicion of felony,—sometime of malice, and sometime of light suspicion, and so kept in prison without bail or mainprize, to their great vexation and trouble, it be ordained and established by authority of this present parliament, that every justice of the peace in every shire, city, or town, have authority and power, by his or their discretion, to let such prisoners and persons so arrested in bail or mainprize, in like form as though the same prisoners or persons were indicted thereof of record afore the same justices in their session." The same chapter likewise orders that the goods of persons imprisoned for felony should not be seized before conviction.

The 1st chapter of the above statute was an attempt, though an unsuccessful one, to get rid of the inconveniences arising from secret conveyances of land to a use. The preamble complained that, after a feoffment or gift was made by the apparent owner of the estate, it would turn out that he was only *cestuy que use*, and therefore not enabled by law to do any act which could charge the freehold. It was now therefore enacted that every such feoffment, estate, &c., should be good against the sellers, feoffors, &c., their heirs, and persons having or claiming title to their use. Thus was the *cestuy que use* empowered to dispose of the estate in the same manner as the *feoffee to the use* might at common law. This expedient, however, was only found to produce the additional confusion arising from two persons having an equal right to dispose of the same land.

To the present period belong two legal writers of great eminence—Fortescue and Littleton. Sir John Fortescue, who had been some time chief justice of the King's Bench, is said to have written his work, *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, while in exile with Henry VI.'s son, Edward Prince of Wales, and others of the Lancastrian party, in France. He had been made chancellor by Henry VI., though he never exercised the functions of the office; and in that character he supposes himself

* Reeves, Hist. Eng. Law. iii. 379.

† Life of Henry VII., p. 2. "Macbeth, another usurper, is celebrated by Buchanan for his excellent laws."—Note by Barrington.

‡ "Lord Bacon mentions (in his History of Life and Death) that this Countess of Desmond lived to the age of one hundred and forty years, and that she had three different sets of teeth. She had danced with Richard III. at a ball, and said he was well made, and a good dancer."—Note by Barrington.

§ Obs. on the Stat. p. 330.

LAW HABITS OF THE PERIOD. Collected from various contemporary MSS. Engraved in Strutt's 'Angel-Cynnan.

holding a conversation with the young prince, on the nature and excellence of the law of England, compared with the civil law and the laws of other countries. But a more remarkable work of Fortescue's is, his English Treatise entitled, 'Of the Difference between an Absolute and Limited Monarchy;' in which it was his object to show that the species of government which he calls *Dominium* or *Regimen Regale*, or absolute monarchy, was a bad sort of government; and to show, moreover, that the English government was not this, an absolute, but *Dominium* or *Regimen Politicum et Regale*, a limited monarchy. A curious instance of the opposite uses to which men with opposite ends in view sometimes apply the same things occurs in the application of the same passage of Scripture—the description of the manner of the king that should reign over them which God gave to the Israelites through Samuel*—by Fortescue in the above work in support of a limited monarchy, and by King James I. in his treatise called 'The True Law of Free Monarchies,' in support of an absolute monarchy. The great lawyer, however, seems to have understood the meaning of the passage of Holy Writ better than the pedant king.

Sir Thomas Littleton was a judge of the Common Pleas in the reign of Edward IV., and composed his book of *Tenures*, in Norman French, more immediately for the use of his son, to whom it is addressed, but probably with an ulterior view of its being generally useful. It consists of three books; the first upon estates; the second upon tenures and services; the third on several incidents and consequences of tenures and estates. Littleton very seldom quotes any authority for what he advances. In this he only follows the usage of his contemporaries, who, even in their arguments and opinions delivered in court, did not cite many authorities. In the above particular, Littleton forms a remarkable contrast with his commentator, Coke, as well, we should feel disposed to add, as in the clearness and logical coherence of his ideas. From Littleton, the reader may form a good conception of the acuteness and consistency with which the English lawyers followed out all the consequences that might be logically deduced from certain principles with which they started, although some of these principles or premises, being absurd and irrational, necessarily led to absurd and irrational conclusions. There is a plainness, simplicity, and terseness about Littleton's manner of writing, rendering him superior to most writers on English law, who seem apt to fall into a style somewhat too ornate for the subject-matter, or into one defaced by incoherence, obscurity, and barbarism. Although great part of Littleton's book is not now law, yet so closely connected was the whole system of feudal tenures, that what remains of them in English law cannot be understood without a knowledge of what is abolished. Consequently, the parts of Littleton which are now obsolete are still studied with profit.

It is very doubtful whether any English law-book was printed by Caxton. "The printers next in time to him were Lettou and Machlinia, who are supposed to have been Caxton's servants, and had begun to print for themselves, in partnership, in the years 1480 and 1481. There is an edition of Littleton's 'Tenures' printed by these printers, without a date; and this book is supposed to have been put to the press by the author himself, who died in 1481."*

Mr. Reeves gives, from Fortescue, the following curious and not unimportant information respecting the students of the inns of court about this time. "A student could not reside in the inns of court for less than twenty-eight pounds per annum; and proportionably more if he had a servant, as most of them had. For this reason, the students of the law were generally sons of persons of quality. Knights, barons, and the greatest nobility of the kingdom, often placed their children here, not so much to make the laws their study, as to form their manners, and to preserve them from the contagion of vicious habits; for, says the same author, 'all vice was there discountenanced and banished, and everything good and virtuous was taught there—music, dancing, singing, history, sacred and profane, and other accomplishments.†'" In connexion with the subject of the inns of court a curious fact may be here mentioned on the authority of Barrington:—Owen Glendower's real name was Vaughan, and he was originally a barrister of the Middle Temple.‡ He thus furnishes another example, in addition to those of Cromwell, Ireton, and others, of men turning from the study of English law to an occupation apparently very different, and attaining great distinction therein.

There was a law officer of the crown called the king's attorney, but no king's solicitor till the reign of Edward IV.; in which reign we also find the first mention of "Attorney-general in England" (*attornatus generalis in Anglia*).

Several important alterations were made in the constitution and laws of Scotland in the course of this period.§ The government of Scotland was considered a constitutional and not an absolute monarchy in the fifteenth century, as appears from the language of Fortescue, who, in the treatise that has just been quoted, tells us that "the King of Scots reigneth over his people by this law—to wit, *regimine politico et regali*." After the return of James I. from England, he appears to have applied himself to model the parliament of his kingdom, as far as possible, after the example of that with which he had been familiar in the country of his exile. We have positive evidence of the

* 1 Sam. viii. 10, &c.—See the passages in the works of Fortescue and King James in an article on Lord Nugent's 'Life of Hampden,' in the Westminster Review for April, 1832, and in an article on the 'Divine Right of Kings,' in the 'Book of Table Talk,' vol. ii. pp. 147—153.

* Reeves, Hist. Eng. Law, iv. 119. † Ibid. p. 121.
‡ Observations on the Statutes, p. 279, *note*.
§ For the most learned, able, and complete discussion which this subject has received, the reader is referred to Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 348—408.

presence of burgesses, or representatives of the burghs, in the Scottish parliament, so early as the year 1326. The first mention, however, of representatives of counties, or, as they were called, commissaries of shires, occurs in an act passed in 1428, four years after the return of James. This act ordains that the small barons and free tenants need not come to the parliament or general council, provided that each sheriffdom send two or more wise men, chosen at the head court of the sheriffdom, according to its extent, except the sheriffdoms of Clackmannan and Kinross, which were only to send one member for each. A subsequent clause, enacting that the said commissaries shall choose their own common speaker, seems to show that it was intended they should, probably along with the representatives of burghs, constitute a separate house of parliament. It is believed, however, that this act was never carried into effect; the first actual representation of the Scottish counties does not appear to have been established till the year 1587, when the statute of 1428 was re-enacted, but with the important omission of the clause about the speaker, in consequence of which it happened that the representatives of shires and burghs in Scotland continued to sit in one house with the barons as long as the parliament of that kingdom subsisted. The first parliament of James I., which met at Perth on the 26th of May, 1424, is remarkable as the earliest in which mention is made of the singular institution of the "Lords of the Articles," under that name; but the institution itself appears to have sprung up more than half a century before. The Lords of the Articles were a committee of parliament, consisting of a certain number of members chosen by each of the three classes of the clergy, the barons, and the burgesses, and of as many more royal nominees as the king chose to add. With such a constitution, the committee was in fact and necessarily a mere instrument in the hands of the crown. And a very powerful instrument it was; for, eventually at least, if not from the first, the Lords of the Articles assumed the absolute right of determining what matters should, and what should not, be brought before the parliament; so that no bill could be introduced or question of debate proposed in that assembly without their permission. A parliament so overridden could be nothing else, it is plain, than a royal engine of taxation, and had no claim whatever to be regarded as either a representation of the people, or even as a council of the aristocracy. Such, however, continued to be the constitution of the Scottish parliament down to its dissolution at the Union in the beginning of the last century. To James I. also, it may be added, his country owes the institution of its first central and supreme tribunal of justice. The Court of Session was established by an act of his third parliament in 1425. The judges, in this original scheme of the court, were certain members of parliament nominated by the king, who served by rotation, and without salary, holding their sittings three times in the year. Some reforms in its constitution were made by James II.; but it was not till after the commencement of the sixteenth century that it was placed upon the foundation which it has continued to retain in modern times.

In the same manner as the royal prerogative suffered considerable curtailment under the disputed title of the princes of the House of Lancaster, so the revenue of the crown was probably also throughout the present period reduced somewhat below its former amount. A modern writer, who calculates the average annual income of the Conqueror to have amounted to 400,000*l.*, that of William Rufus to 350,000*l.*, that of Henry I. to 300,000*l.*, that of Stephen to 250,000*l.*, that of Henry II. to 200,000*l.*, that of Richard I. to 150,000*l.*, that of John to 100,000*l.*, that of Henry III. to 80,000*l.*, that of Edward I. to 150,000*l.*, that of Edward II. to 154,139*l.*, and that of Richard II. to 130,000*l.*, allows only 100,000*l.* to Henry IV., 76,643*l.* to Henry V., 64,976*l.* to Henry VI., and 100,000*l.* to each of the three succeeding kings of the House of York.* Nothing, however, in the want of the requisite data, can be more uncertain or less to be relied upon than these computations. It is impossible now to recover a complete account of the national income or expenditure at this remote era; all the information we possess consists only of a few scattered and unconnected facts, in great part of doubtful authority or unsatisfactorily reported, and, taken altogether, very insufficient to present a full view of the subject.

The crown lands, which had originally been the chief support of the government, had greatly declined at the commencement of the fifteenth century from their extent and value in the days of the Conqueror. Besides serving as a source of annual revenue to the crown, these royal demesnes had formed the only fund out of which each successive king had been enabled to reward the services or satisfy the claims of his adherents; and in this way they had gradually been to a great extent disposed of, notwithstanding the occasional resumption of such grants, and even the attempts of the legislature from time to time to stop their further alienation. All that was acquired by escheats and forfeitures was insignificant as compared with what was abstracted by this large and constant drainage, at least until Edward IV. obtained the benefit of the unprecedented scale of confiscation consequent upon the exterminating wars of the Roses. The profits of purveyance, wardship, and the other old prerogatives of the crown, had also now much fallen off, under the restraints that had been imposed either by acts of the legislature or by the equivalent force of long-established usage. In these circumstances, when Henry IV. came to the crown, he found himself dependent upon parliament for the chief means of carrying on the government. The parliamentary grants were either ordinary, or extraordinary and occasional. The former now commonly

* Sinclair, Hist. of Public Revenue, 3rd edit. vol. i. p. xiii.

consisted of the custom-duties called tonnage and poundage;* the rates of which, however, varied from time to time. In the preceding reign of Richard II. the poundage had been fixed at one shilling, and the tonnage at three; Henry at first demanded only a poundage of seven-pence and a tonnage of two shillings; but, in the fourth year of his reign, the rates were again raised to the amount at which they had stood in the time of his predecessor. Henry on this occasion gave the members of both houses a magnificent entertainment in acknowledgment of their liberality. These custom-duties, however, were never granted for more than a year at a time during this reign; and one year the usual grant was withheld, the more distinctly to show that they were exigible only under the authority of parliament. Many occasional grants were made to Henry both by the parliament and the clergy under the name of subsidies,† being commonly a tenth or fifteenth (called a disme or quinzime) of the income of each individual, as estimated by commissioners appointed for that purpose in every town and county. By an act passed in 1407 (the 10 Hen. IV. c. 7) it was enacted that all foreigners (that is, apparently, non-residents) having lands, tenements, goods, or chattels, within any town at the day of grant of any tenth or fifteenth, or other tax, although they might afterwards remove their beasts or goods, should contribute their proper share along with the rest of the inhabitants; and authority was given to the collectors "to distrain [for the said share] in every place within the county, as well before that our said lord the king be answered of the whole sums that attain to such towns, as after." These words would seem to throw the liability of payment upon the town or county whenever the individual could not be found. Among the taxes of a more peculiar kind that were collected in the reign of Henry IV. was one upon places, pensions, and all grants from the crown, which was imposed by the famous Lack-learning Parliament in 1404: it empowered the king to levy one year's profits of all annuities, fees, wages, and revenues whatsoever, granted to any person by the crown since the reign of Edward III. All patents of pensions for life which had been granted since the fortieth year of that king were also made liable to be revoked, if, on examination, they should be found to have been undeservedly bestowed.

Among other shifts by which the parliament sought to evade Henry's constant demands of money was the proposition, which has been already noticed as having been made on more than one occasion, of a seizure of the whole or part of the property of the church.‡ The power of the clergy, however, was yet too mighty to make it safe to venture upon such a measure as this. It was principally by persevering importunity that this king wrung from parliament any extraordinary supplies he did obtain; for that assembly evinced a perfect understanding of the advantages of the position in which circumstances had placed it, and every disposition to turn them to the best account. Much that was arbitrary was still left in the general character of the government; but the limitations that were imposed upon the royal expenditure were such as would satisfy the most economical and constitutional spirit of modern times. Perhaps the part of Richard II.'s conduct that had excited the greatest popular odium and outcry was the expense and waste of his household. Henry politically began his reign with assurances of his determination to reform this abuse, and restricted the expenditure for the royal household to 10,000*l.* He afterwards, however, found it necessary to raise the sum to 16,000*l.* The royal household, it is to be remembered, included at this time, and down to a much later date, the judges of the courts of law and all the other functionaries considered to be the immediate servants of the crown: the sum mentioned was, in fact, the whole allowance for what would in modern times have been called the civil list. Nor did the parliament, when they granted a supply, leave the king to expend the money in any way he pleased. "In two different instances they allowed Henry only 6000*l.* for his own use; appropriated the remainder of their grant to public services; and appointed their own treasurers, who were answerable for the money they received, and were obliged to give in an account of their disbursements to parliament; and when Henry proposed, *anno* 1410, that a grant should be given him of a tenth from the clergy, and a fifteenth from the laity, *for his life*, under the pretence of saving them the trouble of meeting annually for that purpose, the artful and insidious proposal was indignantly rejected."*

A curious record of the royal revenue and of its expenditure in the reign of Henry V. has been preserved in the form of an account rendered to the king by the treasurer for the year ending at Michaelmas, 1421.† According to this statement the total income amounted only to 55,743*l.* 10*s.* 10¼*d.*;—of which the customs on the export of wool produced 3976*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.*; the subsidy on wool, which appears to have been an annual duty, of the nature of what is now called an excise-duty, on all the wool grown within the kingdom, 26,035*l.* 18*s.* 8½*d.*; the small customs on the export and import of other goods, 2439*l.* 9*s.* 1¼*d.*; the duty of twelve pennies on the pound of the value of goods (apparently imports and exports rated *ad valorem*) 8237*l.* 10*s.* 9½*d.*; and casual payments into the exchequer, consisting of quit-rents, fee-farm rents, escheats, profits of wardship, marriage, &c., 15,066*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.*‡ This income was expended as follows:—For the defence of England, 5333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; for that of Calais and its marches in time of war, 19,119*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*; for that of the marches of

* See vol. i. p. 823. † Ibid. ‡ See ante, chap. ii.

* Sinclair, i. 144.
† Printed in Rymer, x. 118.
‡ These several sums, added together, make a little more than the total given in the record.

Scotland and Roxburgh in time of war, 9500*l.*;* for that of Ireland (which is said to have been at this time much neglected), 1666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; for that of the Castle of Frounsake (Fronsac on the Dordogue, we suppose, near Bordeaux), 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; for the salaries of the treasurer, keeper of the privy seal, the judges of both benches, the barons of the exchequer, and the other officers of the court, 3002*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*; for those of the collectors and comptrollers of the king's customs and subsidies in the several ports of England, 547*l.*; for pensions or annual allowances to sundry dukes, earls, knights, and esquires, the abbess of Shene, and other persons, 7751*l.* 12*s.* 7½*d.*; for annuities to sundry persons out of the customs of sundry ports, 4374*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.*; for the salaries of the officers of the customs at the several ports, 274*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Thus, adds the statement, there remained only the sum of 3507*l.* 13*s.* 11½*d.* to defray the charges of the king's and queen's chamber, household, and wardrobe; the building of the new tower at Portsmouth; the clerk of the king's ships; the king's lions and the constable of the Tower; the artillery; the king's prisoners; the ambassadors; messengers, parchment, and other necessaries; and the maintenance of the Duchess of Holland, the famous Jacqueline of Hainault,† to whom it appears, from a document in the Fœdera, that Henry, upon her coming to England this year, had granted a pension of 100*l.* per month. And besides all these items, there still remained wholly unprovided for, the old debts on account of the towns of Harfleur and Calais, of the royal wardrobe and household, of the clerk of the king's ships, of the clerk of the king's works, the arrears on pensions and salaries, and, lastly, the debts of the late king, and those incurred by Henry V. himself when Prince of Wales. This account has all the appearance of being a complete statement of the royal income and expenditure for the year to which it belongs; all the charges to be defrayed are evidently set down, and also, apparently, all the means of every kind that were available for meeting them. It is probable, therefore, that the tonnage and poundage, which parliament in the third year of his reign granted to Henry V. for his life, are included under the head of some one or other of the various descriptions of custom-duties in the statement of revenue.‡ It is not very clear, however, to which item in the enumeration it ought to be assigned; and it is somewhat unaccountable that the amount of the tonnage or wine-duty should not be specified, as well as that of the duty on wool. The deficiency of income, it would be proposed, we may presume, to supply by an extraordinary parliamentary grant, or what was properly called a subsidy. Hume computes that all the extraordinary supplies granted by parliament to Henry V. during his reign, so crowded with great and expensive operations, amounted only to seven tenths and fifteenths, producing about 203,000*l.*; another calculation raises the sum to about 270,000*l.** But with an army to maintain of 24,000 archers and 6000 horse, each archer receiving sixpence a-day and each horseman two shillings, which appears to have been the common rate of pay, the whole of the largest of these sums would be exhausted in less than six months. It is very difficult, therefore, to understand by what means a war of several years' duration was supported. There were probably various irregular sources of revenue not taken notice of in the treasurer's account. Henry, however, was often reduced to the greatest difficulties by want of money; he was several times obliged to pawn the crown jewels, and even the crown itself: he borrowed from every one who would lend him; and, after all, he ran in arrears to his army, whose pay was probably much higher nominally than in fact, and was sometimes perhaps derived in great part from sources as irregular as the income of the crown.

Few extraordinary grants were made by parliament during the minority of Henry VI., and it was not till the year 1454 (the thirty-first of his reign) that even the tonnage and poundage were granted to him, as they had been to his father, for life. In the meantime, by long mismanagement and profusion, the ordinary income of the crown had been brought down to a lower point than ever. In an account laid before parliament in 1433, and still extant on the rolls, its entire amount is stated at no more than 64,946*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*, while the charges upon it amounted to about 100,000*l.* Some years after matters were become still worse; in 1450 it was declared in parliament that the entire available income of the crown had been reduced by pensions and other grants to the pittance of 5000*l.* In this deplorable state of things a resumption was ordered of all grants which had been made since the death of the preceding king; and Henry was also advised by his council to make over all the profits of wards, marriages, reliefs, escheats, and forfeitures, in trust to the Archbishop of Canterbury for defraying the expenses of the royal household. In the following year parliament limited the expenditure on that head to the sum of 12,000*l.*, of which 2000*l.* was to be obtained from the queen's jointure. At this time the king's debts amounted to the immense sum of 372,000*l.* Part of this money had been borrowed upon parliamentary security,—this reign, it is believed, affording the first instance in our history of the adoption of that practice.† The preceding kings, and Henry himself for the greater part, were wont to borrow only on their personal

* The account as printed makes this item 19,500*l.*; but it appears from the total that there is an error of excess to the amount of 10,000*l.* in some part of the account, and it is most probably in this particular. The Historian of Croyland states that the keeping of Berwick about this time cost about 6600*l.*

† See ante, p. 57.

‡ Sir John Sinclair, in transcribing the account, converts the item of the duty of twelve pennies in the pound on goods rated *ad valorem* into "Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage."—Hist. of Pub. Rev. i. 147.

* Sinclair, i. 146.

† See Hume, chap. xxi.—Sir John Sinclair (Hist. of Rev. i. 380, &c.) has attempted to trace the practice to an earlier date; but, although the plan had been thought of in the reign of Richard II., it does not appear that it was ever actually carried into effect till now

security, although it was common to promise repayment out of the tenths or fifteenths granted by parliament, but not yet collected; the custom, it would appear, being to give each lender a claim upon the portion of the tax raised in the county in which he lived. The sums advanced by individuals in these ancient loans were in many cases extremely small, sometimes ranging to so low a point as a hundred or sixty shillings. Henry, however, did not content himself with raising money by loans; his repeated failure in redeeming his pledges, and the rapid accumulation of his incumbrances, rendered this method at last no longer available, and it became necessary to have recourse to other expedients. One of the chief of these was the demand of money under the name of voluntary contributions, the compulsory character of which, notwithstanding the name, was now avowed more openly than it had ever before been. In every age since the Conquest money had been occasionally raised by the crown under the pretext of an appeal to the liberality of the people, which, however, was enforced nearly in the same manner with the demand for any other tax, and just as little admitted of refusal or evasion; but Henry, under the pressure of his greater necessities, threw away even the outward forms which had hitherto given the show of a voluntary character to the contribution. In the instructions to the commissioners whom he appointed, in the twentieth year of his reign, to make a collection of this kind for the defence of Calais, he called upon every man in the kingdom to contribute the expense of two days' service in the field, on the express ground that, by law, he could, if he pleased, compel all his subjects to attend his wars; and he intimated that those who should refuse to tax themselves in conformity with this rule might depend upon having the amount exacted from them in another way that would be much less agreeable.

Every irregular mode of raising money which had been attempted under the rule of this weak king was put in practice to a still greater extent by his energetic and unscrupulous successor. The triumph of the House of York increased the royal revenue at the accession of Edward IV. by the forfeited estates of no fewer than one hundred and forty of the principal nobility and gentry of England, who had supported the rival family. The wasteful expenditure of Edward, however, profligate and thoroughly selfish as it was, and without the apology of any national or public object, soon reduced him to as great straits as the poorest of his predecessors. Nor was he long relieved by the occasional extraordinary grants of parliament, by yearly poll-taxes imposed upon foreigners (which had also been one of the resources of the last reign), or even by a general resumption of all recent alienations of the crown-lands, to which parliament assented on his suggestion in 1468. In 1475, when about to set out on his expedition against France, he procured a large sum of money by applications of the most direct and importunate character to great numbers of the more wealthy individuals among his subjects, requesting each of them to make him a present according to their ability. The historian of Croyland speaks of this as a practice till then unheard of, and seems to intimate that the name of a Benevolence was now, for the first time, applied to money so extorted from the subject; but the thing, at least, if not the name, was certainly known from a much earlier date. Its revival in the present age appears also to have been the act, not of Edward, but of his immediate predecessor. Edward, however, seems to have come forward personally in the business in a more shameless manner than had been customary; and he is said to have been indebted, in great part, for his success on the occasion that has just been mentioned to his elegant figure and insinuating address. An anecdote is told of a rich widow to whom he made application, and who, although somewhat advanced in years, was so charmed with his appearance and the manner of his appeal, as to tell him that he should have no less than twenty pounds, for the sake of his handsome face: Edward testified his gratitude by gallantly giving the old lady a kiss; on which she exclaimed that she would double her intended donation. Another of the methods of raising a revenue resorted to by this king was the pursuit of trade. This, indeed, was a usual practice of the sovereigns of that age; but Edward carried it much farther than any of his contemporaries. The historian of Croyland informs us that he owned several vessels, and, "like a man whose living depended upon his merchandise, exported the finest wool, cloth, tin, and the other commodities of the kingdom, to Italy and Greece, and imported their produce in return, by the agency of factors or supercargoes." His subjects, we are told, considered the royal gains acquired in this way as going to relieve themselves, inasmuch as they were thereby saved from some taxes which would otherwise have been necessary for the support of the king's extravagance; but the general foreign commerce of the country must have been very much embarrassed and oppressed by such an interference of a party who traded without paying any customs and with so many other advantages against which a private individual could not compete.

Richard III., in the course of his short reign received no subsidy from parliament; but a grant of tonnage and poundage was made to him for life immediately after his seizure of the throne. These duties, indeed, had now come to be considered as a principal part of the ordinary and indispensable revenue of the crown. An act of parliament was also passed in the first year of this reign, prohibiting the imposition of a Benevolence in all time coming. It is described as one of several new and unlawful inventions, "whereby divers years the subjects and commons of this land, against their wills and freedom, have paid great sums of money to their almost utter destruction;" "for divers and many worshipful men of this realm," it is added, "by occasion thereof were compelled by necessi-

to break up their households, and to live in great penury and wretchedness, their debts unpaid, and their children unpreferred; and such memorials as they had ordained to be done for the wealth of their souls were anentized and annulled, to the great displeasure of God, and to the destruction of this realm."* This statute, however, was far from effectually putting down benevolences, which, as we shall find in the sequel, were revived in the very next reign, and were only finally abolished by the petition of rights in the reign of Charles I.

* Stat. 1 Rich. III. c. 2

CRIMINALS CONDUCTED TO PRISON. Harleian MS. No. 4374.

CRIMINALS CONDUCTED TO DEATH. Harleian MS. No. 4374.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL INDUSTRY.

London in the Fifteenth Century.

From an Illumination in Royal MS. 16 F 2., representing the Captivity of the Duke of Orleans in the Tower. This picture exhibits the Tower, Custom House, London Bridge, and a general view of the City, as it appeared in the middle of the fifteenth century.

THE rule of the House of Lancaster, with whatever ultimate benefits it may have been fraught in this as well as in other respects, could not, while it lasted, have proved favourable, on the whole, to the interests of the national industry, productive as it was of long and expensive foreign wars in the first instance, and, as soon as they were ended, of the still more wasteful calamity of domestic discord, bloodshed, and confusion. The reign of the first of the three princes of that house, however, was, after the two or three first years, a time of general tranquillity both at home and abroad; and during that interval the trade and few manufactures of the country probably flourished as much as at any former period. Henry IV. appears to have felt the importance of protecting and promoting the commerce of his subjects; or, at all events, the public mind was now so much awake to these objects that he could not afford to disregard them. The history of his reign affords many instances of his interference being called for and exerted to open new facilities for the intercourse of the kingdom with other countries, or to obtain redress for injuries which his subjects had sustained in their commercial dealings with foreigners. Thus, in the very first year of his reign, we find him granting letters of marque and reprisal against the Earl of Holland, and issuing orders to his admirals to detain all vessels and property in England belonging to the people of Holland and Zealand, till the earl should take measures to compel the payment of certain debts due by his subjects to English creditors. The same year he summoned the governors of several of the Hanse Towns and their protector, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, to appear in person or by deputy before his council, to answer the complaints of the merchants of England, that they were not treated in those places so well as the merchants from them were treated in England, notwithstanding the express stipulations of the treaty which secured to the foreign merchants the privileges they enjoyed in this country. This dispute with the famous association of the Hanse Towns, already the most powerful commercial community in Europe, was protracted through a long course of subsequent transactions, which it is unnecessary to detail. The foreign merchants alleged that they had more reason for complaint against the English than the English had against them; that their privileges were infringed upon by the corporations of London and other places; that they were subjected to the grossest impositions by Henry's custom-house officers; and that their ships had been repeatedly attacked and plundered at sea by his subjects. In the end, it seems to have been admitted that these representations were well founded; for it was finally agreed, in 1409, by commissioners appointed on both sides, that all differences should be settled by Henry paying above 30,000 English nobles to the Grand Master and the magistrates of Hamburgh; while the Grand Master, on the other hand, was let off on the payment of only 766 nobles to the English sufferers. A new treaty was then concluded, on the basis of mutual freedom of trade, and oblivion of past injuries. In case of any future outrages, the respective sovereigns bound themselves to make satisfaction for the aggressions of their subjects; failing which, the sovereign of the party injured was to have the right of arresting any subject of the other power found in his dominions within six months after preferring the complaint.* Repeated treaties on the same basis of mutual freedom of intercourse were made in the course of the reign with Castile, Portugal, Flanders, Brittany, and other countries. The growing importance of the foreign trade of England at this period is further indicated by the frequent applications which are noticed as having been made to Henry by those of his subjects interested in particular branches of it for their separate incorporation, or, at least, the public recognition of them as associated for a specific object. Thus, in 1404, the English merchants trading to Prussia and the Hanse Towns were empowered to elect a governor, who should exercise a general authority over their body, and in the settlement of disputes between them and foreigners. Three years after, the same privilege was granted to the merchants trading to Holland, Zealand, Brabant, and Flanders; and in 1408, to those trading to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. These governors of the English merchants, whose functions somewhat resembled those of consuls in modern times, appear usually to have resided in the foreign country to which the merchants resorted. It soon became customary to appoint such a governor for every country with which any commercial intercourse was carried on.

Some very curious notices of the productions and commerce of the principal countries of Europe at the commencement of the fifteenth century are found in the recital given by the Byzantine historian, Laonicus Chalcondyles, of the observations made by Manuel, the unfortunate Emperor of Constantinople, who, in the year 1400, visited Italy, France, England, and other parts of the West, to solicit the aid of the monarchs of Christendom against the Turkish barbarians, now all but masters of the imperial capital itself. The following abstract of so much of the Greek writer's account as belongs to the present subject is presented by the modern Historian of Commerce: "The natives of Germany excel in the mechanic arts, and they boast of the inventions of gunpowder and cannons. Above two hundred free cities in it are governed

* Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, i. 623.

by their own laws. France contains many flourishing cities, of which Paris, the royal residence, is pre-eminent in wealth and luxury. Flanders is an opulent province, the ports of which are frequented by merchants of our own sea (the Mediterranean) and the ocean. Britain (or rather England) is full of towns and villages. It has no vines, and but little fruit, but it abounds in corn, honey, and *wool, from which the natives make great quantities of cloth.* London, the capital, may be preferred to every city of the West for population, opulence, and luxury. It is seated on the river Thames, which, by the advantage of the tide, daily receives and despatches trading vessels from and to various countries."*

The establishment of banks, which now began to take place in various parts of Europe, affords an unquestionable indication of the general extension of commercial transactions. Bills of exchange had been in use from the early part of the thirteenth century;† and, at least, by the beginning of the fifteenth, if not earlier, the form in which they were drawn out, and the usages observed respecting their negotiation and non-payment, had come to be nearly the same as at the present day.‡ Although, however, the origin of the bank of Venice is carried back to the institution of the *Camera degl' Imprestiti* (or Chamber of Loans), being an office for the payment of the annual interest on the debts of the republic, in 1171, the *Taula de Cambi* (or Table of Exchange) opened at Barcelona, by the magistrates of that city, in 1401, is generally considered to have been the earliest European establishment properly of the nature of what is now called a bank. The bank of Genoa originated in the establishment, in the year 1407, of the *Chamber of St. George*, which at first, however, was merely an office for the management of the debts of the republic, similar to the Venetian Chamber of Loans.

The false notions on the subject of money to which we had occasion to advert in the preceding Book,§ as having given rise in England to so much absurd and mischievous legislation, were not yet corrected by the enlarged commercial experience of the present period. In 1402, we find the parliament enacting, in the spirit of former statutes, that all merchants, whether strangers or denizens, importing commodities from abroad, and selling them in the country for English money, "shall bestow the same money upon other merchandise of England, for to carry the same out of the rea of England, without carrying any gold or silver in coin, plate, or mass, out of the said realm, upon pain of forfeiture of the same, saving always their reasonable costs."‖ There can be no doubt that the main motive of this and other prohibitions of the same kind was far more to prevent the purely imaginary evil of the export of English money than even to promote the really desirable, however unwisely pursued object, of the export of English produce or manufactures. The law, however, entirely failed of its intended effect. The statute of 1402 was confirmed the following year,* with additional provisions for its more effective execution—a fact which is itself sufficient evidence that it had proved useless, or been generally evaded; but this new attempt to compass an impossibility was not more successful than the former; for, in a few months after their enactment, we find the principal part of the recent more stringent regulations abandoned, and declared "utterly void and annulled for ever," as having been seen by the king and his parliament to be "hurtful and prejudicial as well for himself and his realm, as for the said merchants, aliens, and strangers."† From other recorded facts, also, it appears that, notwithstanding all these prohibitions, English money constantly found its way to the continent, and was commonly current in every country of Europe. Thus, when Eric, King of Sweden, in 1408, bought the Isle of Gothland, with its great commercial emporium of Wisbuy, from the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, he is stated to have paid for it in English nobles. So, on the settlement, as mentioned above, of the differences with Prussia and the Hanse Towns, in 1409, it was arranged that all the payments on both sides should be made in the same coin, as if it were a common European currency. On another occasion, indeed—the payment of 100,000 English nobles to the Duke of Burgundy, in 1431—it is expressly noted that the money was estimated at its current rate.‡

A few years before the commencement of the present period, all export or import of merchandise in any other than English ships had been prohibited, under pain of the forfeiture of vessel and cargo.§ Like many of the other mercantile laws of those times, however, this first navigation act passed by the English parliament seems to have been by no means strictly enforced. In the documents relating to the quarrel with the Hanse Towns and Prussia foreign ships are repeatedly mentioned as being laden with goods which were the property of English merchants, and, apparently, exports from England. Woollen cloth is the article that most frequently occurs; another is wine, which, however, could only be legally exported under the royal license.

A considerable trade was now carried on with Venice. In 1409 permission was granted by King Henry to the merchants of Venice to bring their carracks, galleys, and other vessels laden with merchandise, into the ports of England and

* Macpherson, i. 611. The whole of the information respecting these countries of the West, preserved by Chalcondyles, has been collected and woven into a spirited sketch by Gibbon, Decline and Fall of Rom. Emp. ch. 66.

† See vol. i. 593.

‡ Copies are given by Capmany, in his History of Barcelona, of two bills of exchange, dated in the year 1404, which it is believed are the oldest that have been preserved.

§ See vol. i. 827, 828.

‖ Stat. 4 Hen. IV. c. 15.

* Stat. 5 Hen. IV. c. 9.

† Stat. 6 Hen. IV. c. 4.

‡ See these instances quoted with the authorities in Macpherson, i. 619 and 623.

§ 5 Rich. II. st. i. c. 3.

his other dominions, to transact their business, to pass over to Flanders, to return to his dominions, to sell their goods without impediment or molestation from his officers, to load their vessels with wool, cloth, or other English merchandise, and to return to their own country. This license, which was often renewed, shows us what was the nature of the Venetian trade with England at this time. It was in part what is called a carrying trade, one of its objects being the interchange of the commodities of England and Flanders. The Byzantine historian Chalcondyles has recorded some particulars respecting the commerce of Venice, in relating the visit of the Emperor John Palæologus to that city in 1438. It is described as excelling all the other cities of Italy in the magnificence of its buildings and the opulence of the inhabitants. According to this account, twenty-two of their largest vessels, under the command of the sons of the nobles, were employed in trading to Alexandria, Syria, Tanais, the British Islands, and Africa. A few years before this time, it was asserted, in a speech addressed by the Doge Tommas Mocenigo to the senate, that the total value of the annual exports from Venice to all parts of the world was not less than ten millions of ducats. The shipping belonging to the citizens of the republic consisted of 3000 vessels, manned by 17,000 seamen; 300 ships, carrying 8000 seamen; and 45 galleys, of different sizes, but carrying, in the whole, 11,000 men, or, on an average, nearly 250 each. In the trade with England the balance was what is called against the republic; the money-payments made to England amounted annually to 100,000 ducats—which was one-fifth of the sum sent every year into Syria and Egypt, the latter being probably very nearly the whole cost price of the oriental productions imported by the republic.*

Henry V. also began his reign by giving evidence of his disposition to favour and encourage commerce. One of his first acts was to confirm the privileges that had been granted by his father and preceding kings to the Venetians, and to other foreign merchants. The splendid illusion of the conquest of France, however, soon drew off his attention from this as well as from all other subjects of domestic interest; and the history of his reign furnishes scarcely a fact worth referring to for our present purpose. It is to be feared, indeed, that the prosperity which had been springing up during several years of peace was now struck with a blight from which it did not recover for many a day, and that every branch of social industry in the kingdom paid dear for the glory with which Henry's victories crowned the English name. These victories drained the land both of men and of money, and then spread among all classes of the people a spirit of restless and impatient aversion to every peaceful pursuit. Still it appears, from the account of the Treasurer for the year 1421, quoted in the preceding Chapter, that even in this anti-commercial reign the greater part of the public revenue was derived from the trade of the country. Among the new articles of English manufacture, and occasionally, as it would appear, of export, that now appear, may be mentioned both gunpowder and guns. The manufacture and export of guns are mentioned in a license granted in 1411, for sending two small guns for a ship, along with the king's great gun, to Spain.

The misgovernment and political misfortunes of the greater part of the reign of Henry VI. probably did not oppress and injure the commerce of the kingdom nearly so much as the successful wars of his great father, which, by the very intoxication they produced in the public mind, dried up the spirit of mercantile industry and enterprise, and carried off the whole current of the national feelings and energies in an opposite direction. The loss of France, which was accounted at the time the great calamity and disgrace of the reign, was no loss to the trade of England. Even the weakness of the government did not operate so unfavourably as might be supposed upon that interest, which was now strong enough, if let alone, in a great measure to protect itself, or was, at least, pretty sure of receiving what facilities it needed in the shape of privileges or conventional stipulations from the general feeling of its importance and the mutual wants which bound one country to another. It is remarkable, that in this age a free commerce was not unfrequently continued between two countries even while their governments were at war, and treaties were made between them in contemplation of this state of things. The trade between England and Flanders in particular was so indispensable to the people of both countries, that it was never long interrupted by any quarrel between the two governments.

A very curious general review of the commerce of Europe in the earlier part of the fifteenth century is contained in a poem published by Hakluyt, called 'The Libel of English Policy,' which appears to have been written in the year 1436 or 1437.* We will extract the most remarkable particulars that have any relation to England, introducing, as we go along, a few notices from other sources. In the first place, it appears, both from this poem and from other evidences, that the English wool of the finest quality was now superior to any produced even in Spain, which had already long been the greatest wool-growing country in Europe. It is stated that, although the Flemings obtained the greater part of their wool from Spain, they could not make good cloth of the Spanish wool by itself, but were obliged to mix it with the English. In Spain itself, in making the finest cloths, the mixture of any other wool with the English was strictly prohibited by a code of laws drawn up about this time by the magistrates of Barcelona, expressly "for the regulation of the manufacture of cloths made of fine English wool."†

* Macpherson, i. 634, on the authority of Sanuto, Vite de Duche di Venezia, ap. Muratori.

* See Macpherson, i. 651.

† Ibid. i. 654.

The cloths of England, however, were still very inferior in fineness of texture to those both of Spain and the Netherlands; so that the fine English wool was sometimes carried to those countries, there to be manufactured into cloth, which was then sent back to the English market. In the coarser fabrics, on the other hand, the English appear to have already attained considerable excellence; for we find imitations of English cloth soon after this mentioned among the products of the looms of Barcelona.* According to the poem, whatever trade England had at this time with Spain was all carried on indirectly through the medium of the great Flemish emporium of Bruges, that being the place to which all the Spanish exports were sent in the first instance. These consisted of figs, raisins, bastard wine, dates, liquorice, Seville oil, grain, Castile soap, wax, iron, wool, wadmole, skins of goats and kids, saffron, and quicksilver. With Portugal there was a direct intercourse, which was already considerable —wine, wax, grain, figs, raisins, honey, cordovan, dates, salt, and hides, being among the commodities imported from that country. A direct trade was also carried on with the Genoese, who resorted to England in great carracks, to purchase wool and woollen cloths of all colours, bringing to the country cloth of gold, silks, black pepper, great quantities of woad, wool, oil, wood-ashes, cotton, alum, and gold for paying their balances. Europe was now principally supplied with alum by the Genoese, who had obtained from the Greek emperor, Michael Palæologus, the lease of a mountain on the coast of Asia Minor, containing a mine of that substance, and where a fort which they built became the origin of a town called New Phocæa, after a city which had anciently stood on the same site. Gibbon, however, appears to be mistaken in asserting that the different nations of Europe, and among others the English, resorted to New Phocæa.† The alum was carried by the ships of the Genoese themselves to the ports of England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Arabia, Egypt, and Syria.‡ In 1450, we find Henry VI. making a purchase of alum to the amount of 4000*l.* from some merchants of Genoa, and afterwards selling it for twice that sum.§ This transaction curiously illustrates the manner in which trade was at this period carried on by kings. The Genoese merchants were only paid in part by the money which they received, or rather which was promised them; for the bargain was, that their claim was to be discharged by the remission of that amount of custom-duties upon the goods brought and carried away by them: meanwhile, they were licensed by parliament to export from the south part of England any staple wares whatever, till the debt due them should be paid. Out of this permission they would, no doubt, contrive amply to reimburse themselves for any sacrifice they may have made in the price at which they had disposed of the alum to the king. Then, on the other hand, to the merchants to whom his purchase was immediately resold by the king for ready money, and at so immense an advance of price, the parliament also gave what was, we may be certain, deemed sufficient compensation, in a grant of the monopoly of the whole trade in the article for the next two years—all persons being prohibited during that period from importing, buying, or selling, any other alum. So that the king's profit of 4000*l.* was really extracted out of the pockets of his own subjects, partly in the shape of an imposition upon all consumers of alum, partly by the still more oppressive method of an invasion of the equal rights of all the native importers and exporters of that and every other commodity in which the Genoese traders dealt. The Genoese soon lost their establishment of Phocæa; but in 1459 they found new alum mines in the Isle of Ischia, by means of which they were enabled to continue their former commerce.

The balance of the trade of England with Venice and Florence would seem, according to the author of the 'Libel of English Policy,' to have been what is called favourable to the Italian communities—that is, contrary, as we have seen, to what other authorities assert to have been the case, at least in so far as Venice was concerned, it left a certain amount of money to be paid every year by England. He complains that these foreigners "bear the gold out of this land, and suck the thrift out of our hand, as the wasp sucketh honey of the bee." Their imports, which were brought in large galleys, consisted in spiceries and groceries, sweet wines, apes and other foreign animals, and a variety of other articles of luxury. In return for these, besides money, they carried away wool, cloth, and tin, which they were accustomed to travel to Cotswold and other parts of England to buy up. They sometimes, it is asserted, would buy on credit, and then sell the goods at Bruges, for ready money, five per cent. under what they had cost, for the sake of having the money to lend out at usury during the interval before it should become due. It appears, from some expressions of the author, that at this time English merchants also traded to Venice.

The English, according to this writer, bought greater quantities of goods in the marts of Brabant, Flanders, and Zealand, than all other nations together; though these marts or fairs were also frequented by the French, the Germans, the Lombards, the Genoese, the Catalonians, the Spaniards, the Scots, and the Irish. The purchases of the English consisted chiefly of mercery, haberdashery, and groceries; and they were obliged to complete them in a fortnight—a previous space of the same length having been allowed them for the sale of their cloth and other imports. The merchandise of Hainault, France, Burgundy, Cologne, and Cambray, was also brought in carts over-land to the markets of Brabant.

A trade to Iceland for stock-fish had been long

* Capmany, Hist. de Barcelona.
† Decline and Fall of Rom. Emp. chap. lxv.
‡ See Macpherson, i. 637
§ Cotton's Abridgment the Rolls of Parliament, p. 647.

carried on from the port of Scarborough; but for about twelve years past a share had been taken in it by Bristol and other ports. The author of the poem, however, states that, at the time when he wrote, the vessels could not obtain full freights. The Danish government in this age repeatedly attempted to prevent the English from trading to the coasts of Iceland.*

A curious fact is mentioned in this poem respecting the people of Brittany. The inhabitants of St. Malo especially, it is affirmed, were still accustomed to roam the seas as pirates, very little regarding the authority of their duke, and often made descents upon the eastern coast of England, plundering the country, and exacting contributions or ransoms from the towns.

Among the documents in the 'Fœdera' occur various lists of articles ordered to be purchased in England for foreign potentates, or permitted to be exported for their use without paying custom. One of these lists, dated in 1428, enumerates the following articles as then shipped for the use of the King of Portugal and the Countess of Holland. For the king, 6 silver cups, gilded, each of the weight of 6 marks (or 4 pounds); 1 piece of scarlet cloth; 1 piece of sanguine, dyed in grain; 1 piece of blood colour; 2 pieces of mustrevilers; 2 pieces of marble colour; 2 pieces of russet mustrevilers; 2 pieces of black cloth of lyre; 1 piece of white woollen cloth; 300 pieces of Essex straits for liveries; 2000 platters, dishes, saucers, pots, and other vessels, of electrum (some unknown substance—perhaps a kind of crockery); a number of beds of various kinds and sizes, with curtains, &c.; 60 rolls of worsted; 12 dozen of lances; and 26 ambling horses. For the countess, quantities of various woollen cloths; 12 yards of red figured satin; 2 pieces of white kersey; 3 mantles of rabbits' fur; 1½ timber of martins' fur; and a quantity of rye, whole and ground, in casks. All these articles, therefore, were at least to be now purchased in England; but it is probable that almost all of them were the produce or manufacture of the country.

Another indication of the growing extension of the commerce of the kingdom is furnished by the instances now beginning to be of frequent occurrence of individuals rising to great wealth, and sometimes to rank and power, through the successful pursuit of trade. The most remarkable example of this kind of elevation is that of the De la Poles, successively earls, marquises, and dukes of Suffolk, and eventually ruined by a royal alliance and a prospect of the succession to the crown. The founder of the greatness of this family, which shot so rapidly to so proud a height, and filled for a century so large a space in the history of the country, was a merchant originally of Ravensere, and afterwards of the neighbouring town of Hull, named William de la Pole, who flourished in the time of Edward III. He was esteemed the greatest merchant in England, and must have possessed immense wealth for that age, since on one occasion he lent King Edward no less a sum than 18,500*l.* Edward made the opulent merchant the chief baron of his Exchequer, and a knight banneret; and in the course of that and the following reign he was often employed in embassies and in other important affairs of state along with the most distinguished men in the kingdom. His political employments and honours, however, do not appear to have withdrawn him from commerce. His son Michael also began life as a merchant. This was he whom Richard II. created Earl of Suffolk, and made his lord chancellor,* but who was soon afterwards driven from office, and deprived of property, rank, and everything except his life, which he saved by taking flight to France, in the sweeping reform of the court by the king's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, and his "wonderful parliament."† Michael's son of the same name, however, was recalled, and restored to his father's dignities a year or two before the deposition of Richard: it was his son, also named Michael, who fell in 1415 at the battle of Azincourt.‡ The uncle, again, and heir of this last, William de la Pole, was the celebrated Earl of Suffolk who commanded at the siege of Orleans in 1429, when that place was relieved by Joan of Arc,§ and who afterwards becomes more conspicuous in the annals of the disastrous reign of the sixth Henry, as the favourite of the Queen Margaret of Anjou, through whose influence he was first created Marquis and afterwards Duke of Suffolk, and made lord chancellor, lord high admiral, and prime minister, or rather dictator of the kingdom—honours, however, which only conducted him after a few years to a bloody death.‖ But this catastrophe did not put an end to the still buoyant fortunes of the family. Soon after the accession of Edward IV., John de la Pole, the son of the late duke, was restored by the Yorkist king to the same place in the first rank of the peerage to which his father had been raised by the House of Lancaster; and this second Duke of Suffolk eventually married the Princess Elizabeth, the sister of King Edward. Their eldest son John, who had been in 1467 created Earl of Lincoln, was declared by Richard III. his presumptive heir, on the death of his son Edward Prince of Wales in 1484; and a marriage was also arranged at the same time between their daughter Ann and James Duke of Rothsay, afterwards James IV. of Scotland. But the family had now reached the summit of its greatness. In the change of circumstances that followed the overthrow of Richard, the Scottish marriage never took place; and the Earl of Lincoln died in 1487, a few years before his father, without having enjoyed either crown or dukedom. To the latter his younger brother Edmund succeeded, and was the last of the noble house of De la Pole. He was put to death, as will be related

* See Macpherson, i. 629. 650. 666.

* See vol. i. p. 791.
† Ibid. p. 792.
‡ See ante, p. 34.
§ See ante, pp. 61, &c.
‖ See ante, pp. 81—87.

in the next Book, by Henry VII., in 1513—his claim to the crown through his relationship to the House of York being, as is generally believed, the true cause of his destruction. It may be added, that letters as well as commerce were brought near to the crown by the De la Poles, if we may entirely depend upon the common account; for the first Duke of Suffolk married Alice, daughter of Thomas Chaucer, Speaker of the House of Commons, who is said to have been the son of the poet; and she became the mother of John, the second duke, who married the sister of Edward IV.

One of the greatest of the English merchants in the reign of Henry VI. was William Cannyng, or Canyngs, of Bristol—a name made familiar to modern readers by the famous forgeries of Chatterton. Two letters of King Henry, addressed in 1449 to the Grand Master of Prussia and the magistrates of Dantzic, recommending to their good offices two factors resident within their jurisdictions of his "beloved and honourable merchant William Canyngs," are printed in the 'Fœdera.' On Canyngs's monument in the magnificent church of St. Mary Radcliff, in Bristol, of which he was the founder, it is stated, that on one occasion shipping belonging to him to the amount of 2470 tons was seized by Edward IV., in which were included some vessels of 400, of 500, and even of 900 tons. Canyngs was one of those merchants who took part in the Iceland trade after it was extended beyond its original seat at Scarborough; he was probably the first who brought it to Bristol. In 1450 we find permission granted to him by King Henry to employ two ships of whatever burden for two years in the trade to Iceland and Finmark, and to export in them any species of goods not restricted by law to the staple at Calais. This license became necessary in consequence of the existing law which prohibited all English subjects from trading to Iceland without permission both of their own sovereign and of the King of Denmark.* Canyngs had previously obtained letters from the Danish king, authorising him to load certain vessels with lawful English merchandise for Iceland and Finmark, to take in return fish and other merchandise, and to make as many voyages as he should think proper during a limited term, in order to recover debts due to him in those countries. King Henry's license is stated to have been granted in consideration of the good services granted to him by Canyngs while mayor of Bristol—an office to which the great merchant was elected by his fellow-citizens no fewer than five times.

Another of the opulent commercial men of this age, who is especially famous in story, is Richard Whytington, the history of whose cat, however, must be held to belong to the region of poetry and fable; for, instead of being originally a poor scullion-boy, he was the son of Sir William Whytington, knight, as is stated in the ordinances of his college of St. Spirit and St. Mary, yet preserved in the custody of the Mercers' Company of London. Whytington was elected lord mayor of London in 1397; again in 1406; and a third time in 1419. During his second mayoralty we find him lending Henry IV. the sum of 1000*l.* on the security of the subsidies on wool, hides, and woolfels, while one of the greatest princes of the church, the Bishop of Durham, advanced only 100 marks, and the most opulent of the lay nobility that contributed, no more than 500*l.** The above-mentioned college was suppressed in the reign of Edward VI.; but another foundation of Whytington's, his almshouse near Highgate, still remains a monument of the wealth and munificence of this "worthy and notable merchant, the which while he lived had right liberal and large hands to the needy and poor people," to make use of the terms in which he is described by his executors, in the body of rules established by them for the management of the latter charity. Among the subscribers along with Whytington to the loan to Henry IV., are two other London merchants, John Norbury and John Hende, whose opulence appears to have at this time exceeded his; for they advanced the sum of 2000*l.* each. Hende was mayor in 1391 and 1404; and both he and Norbury were the founders of several churches, colleges, and other charitable institutions. Another eminent English merchant and mariner of those times was John Taverner of Hull, who, in a royal license granted in 1449, is said to have, "by the help of God and some of the king's subjects," built a ship as large as a great carrack (that is, one of the first class of the Venetian traders), or even longer, which the king directed should be called the Carrack Grace Dieu—authorising Taverner at the same time to take on board his carrack wool, tin, lamb-skins, woolfels, passelarges, and other hides, raw or tanned, and any other merchandise, in the ports of London, Southampton, Hull, or Sandwich, and, on paying aliens' duty, to carry them direct to Italy, from which he might bring back bow-staves, wax, and other foreign produce necessary for the country, to the great benefit of the revenue and of the nation.† "The exemption of an English subject," observes Macpherson, "from the law of the staple, in consideration of the extraordinary size of his ship, is a clear proof that no such vessel had hitherto been built in England." Henry V., thirty or forty years before this time, had built some dromons, or large ships of war, at Southampton, such, according to the author of the 'Libel of English Policy,' as were never seen in the world before, to match those which his enemies the French had obtained from the Genoese and Castilians. Three of these ships of Henry V. were called the Trinity, the Grace de Dieu, and the Holy Ghost. Another contemporary writer mentions two ships belonging to the fleet with which this king made his second invasion of France—one called the King's Chamber, the other the King's Hall,—both of which were fitted up with extraor-

* By the Stat. 8 Henry VI. c. 2.

* See the list of subscriptions in Rymer, viii. 488.

† Rymer, xi. 258.

ENGLISH SHIPS OF WAR OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. From Harleian MSS. 4374 and 4379.

dinary sumptuousness. That called the King's Chamber, in which Henry himself embarked, is said to have carried a sail of purple silk, with the arms of England and France embroidered on it.

To these instances of commercial opulence in England in the fifteenth century may be added another of a merchant of France of the same era, which is still more remarkable, both in itself, and especially if we take into account the then calamitous circumstances of that country. Mr. Macpherson has drawn up from various sources the following account of Jacques Cœur, "who, at a time when trade was scarcely known in France, is said to have employed 300 factors to manage his vast commerce, which extended to the Turks and Persians of the East, and the Saracens of Africa; the most remote nations then known to the merchants of Europe. His exports consisted chiefly of woollen cloths, linens, and paper—then the principal manufactures of France; and his returns were silks, spiceries, &c. But some say that his dealings were chiefly in gold, silver, and arms. This illustrious merchant was treasurer (*argentier*) to the King of France, and lent him 200,000 crowns; without which he could not have undertaken the reduction of Normandy. Being sent on

an embassy to Lausanne, his enemies took the opportunity of his absence to bring false charges against him; and the king, regardless of his multiplied services and zealous attachment, abandoned him to their malice. Though nothing could be proved against him, in a trial conducted by his enemies with acknowledged unfairness, he was condemned, the 19th of May, 1453, to the *amende honorable*, to confiscation of all his property, and imprisonment. Having escaped from confinement by the grateful assistance of one of his clerks, he recovered some part of his property which was in foreign countries; and being appointed by the pope to command a division of his fleet, he died in that service at Chio in the year 1456."*

In this age, both in our own and in other countries, commerce was not only carried on by kings and nobles as well as by the regular merchant, but among the most active traders were some of the higher clergy. In England, indeed, it had long been customary for the greatest dignitaries in the church to engage in mercantile pursuits. Matthew Paris tells us that William of Trumpington, abbot of St. Alban's, in the reign of Henry III., traded extensively in herrings, for the purchasing of which at the proper season he had agents at Yarmouth, where he had bought a large house for fifty marks, in which he stored the fish till they were sold, "to the inestimable advantage," says the historian, "as well as honour of his abbey." Frequent mention is made in those early times of trading-vessels which were the property of bishops and other ecclesiastics of rank. Nor did these eminent persons sometimes disdain to take advantage of very irregular and questionable ways of pursuing their extra-professional gains. One transaction in which two bishops of Iceland figure the Historian of Commerce does not hesitate to designate as a scheme of smuggling. They were in the habit, it seems, of requesting and obtaining licenses from Henry VI. for sending English vessels to Iceland on various pretences, which have all the look of being collusive arrangements between them and the owners of the vessels for carrying on an illicit trade.† Iceland, it may be observed, in passing, is stated, at this time, to have possessed neither cloth, wine, ale, corn, nor salt; almost its only produce seems to have been fish. Licenses were often obtained from the English kings by popes, cardinals, and other foreign ecclesiastics, to export wool and other goods without payment of the usual duties. The religious persons of all kinds resident in the country were not considered subject to the payment of custom-duties, any more than of almost any other public burdens; and, taking advantage of this privilege, the Cistercian monks had become the greatest wool-merchants in the kingdom, until, in 1344, the parliament interfered, and prohibited them for the future from practising any kind of commerce. The evil, however, of ecclesiastical communities and individuals engaging in trade long continued in England and elsewhere to defy the edicts both of the temporal and the spiritual authorities.

Commercial legislation in England in the reign of Henry VI. was still as short-sighted and barbarous as ever, especially on the great subject of national jealousy—the treatment of foreigners. In 1429 a law was passed that no Englishman for the future should sell goods to any foreign merchant except for ready money, or for other goods delivered on the instant.* The penalty for the violation of this enactment was to be the forfeiture of the merchandise. The very next year, however, we find the parliament complaining, that because of this ordinance, "the English merchants have not sold, nor cannot sell nor utter, their cloths to merchants aliens, whereby the king hath lost his subsidies and customs, which he ought to have had if the said cloths had been sold as they were, and were wont heretofore, and English merchants, clothworkers, and other the king's liege people, in divers parts of his realm greatly annoyed and endamaged;" whereupon, at the solicitation of the commons, the late law is so far relaxed as to permit sales at six months' credit.† Some years after this, the wisdom of the legislature displayed itself in another attempt of a still stranger kind. In 1439 it was ordained that no foreign merchant should sell any goods to another foreigner in England, on pain of the forfeiture of the goods so sold; the reason assigned for this law being, that "great damages and losses daily come to the king and to his people by the buying and selling that the merchants, aliens and strangers, do make at their proper will and liberty, as by such buying and selling, which they use together, of all manner of merchandises, any of them with other, and also by covins and compassings that they do, to impair and abate the price and value of all manner of merchandises of this noble realm, and increase and enhance the price of all their own merchandises, whereby the said merchants aliens be greatly enriched, and the king's subjects, merchants denizens of the same realm, grievously impoverished, and great treasure by the same aliens brought out of this realm, the customs and subsidies by them due to the king greatly diminished, and the navy of the said realm greatly destroyed and hindered."‡ Happy, says the Roman poet, is the man who is able to tell the causes of things! It is very difficult, however, to understand this parliamentary logic, or to see how either the consequences alleged, or any others of a pernicious sort, could flow from London or any other town in England being made, what Bruges, and Calais, and other continental emporia were, a place to which foreigners of all nations brought the produce of their respective countries for exchange with one another, as well as for the supply of the resident inhabitants. The only effect of prohibiting the former of these two kinds of traffic would

* Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, i. 670.
† Ibid. i. 657 and 662.

* Stat. 8 Hen. VI. c. 24. † Stat. 9 Hen. VI. c. 2.
‡ Stat. 18 Hen. VI. c. 4.

be to prevent the foreign merchants from bringing with them so large a quantity of goods as they would otherwise have done.

The calamitous circumstances of the last eight or ten years of the nominal reign of Henry VI.—during the greater part of which period the kingdom was almost without a government, and the land a great battle-field—could not fail to be keenly felt by the tender plant of our rising foreign commerce. Although its growth was checked, however, by the storms with which it had now to contend, it was already too strong to receive more than a temporary injury; and it began to recover its former activity and prosperity as soon as some degree of tranquillity was restored. The reign of Edward IV. is marked by many commercial treaties with foreign powers, which are to be considered as evidences, not so much of any peculiar attachment to the interests of trade in that prince—although, as we have seen, it was a pursuit which he did not disdain to follow on his own account—as of the importance which it had now acquired in the public estimation, and the manner in which it was consequently enabled to compel attention to its claims. Such treaties were made in 1465 with Denmark; in 1466 with Brittany: the same year with Castile; in 1467 with the Netherlands; in 1468 with Brittany again; in 1475 with the Hanse Towns; in 1478 with the Netherlands again; in 1482 with the Guipuscoans in Spain, &c. The only one of these conventions that requires particular notice is that with the Hanse Towns, which was concluded at Utrecht, after a great deal of negotiation, by commissioners appointed on both sides. At this time the great trading community of the Hanse comprised nearly seventy cities and towns of Germany, which were divided into the districts, or regions, as they were called, of Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic—the city of Lubeck standing at the head of the whole confederacy. Of the factories of the Hanse merchants in foreign countries, four were accounted of chief dignity—namely, those of Novogorod, in Russia; London, in England; Bruges, in Flanders; and Bergen, in Norway. It is probable that, of these, London was the most ancient, as well as the most important.* The Hanse merchants resident in and trading to London had early received important privileges from the English kings, which, however, had commonly been granted only for short terms, and had of late especially been held upon a still more precarious tenure than usual, and even subjected occasionally to curtailment or total suspension. The object of the present treaty was to remedy this state of things, which was found to be fraught with inconvenience to all parties, and to establish the Hanse factories in England upon a foundation of permanent security. It was agreed that all past injuries or complaints on both sides should be buried in oblivion, and that a full settlement of conflicting claims should be effected by a payment to the Hanse merchants of 10,000*l.* sterling, which they consented to receive in the shape of customs remitted upon their subsequent imports and exports. It was also arranged that the king should appoint two or more judges, who, without any legal formalities, should do justice between the parties in all civil or criminal causes in which the Hanse merchants might be concerned in England, a similar provision being made for the settlement of disputes involving the English residents in the Hanse countries. It is in this treaty, we believe, that the first mention is made of the London Staelhof, or Steelyard, which is described as a court-yard extending

* Macpherson, Ann. of Com. i. 694.

WHARF OF THE GERMAN MERCHANTS OF THE STEELYARD IN THAMES STREET.
Engraved from Hollar's Print in 1641

to the Teutonic Guildhall. It was not, therefore, as has been generally assumed, the same with the Teutonic Guildhall, although both buildings seem to have eventually come into the possession of the Hanse merchants, if the latter did not originally belong to that confederacy. The Steelyard, by the present treaty, was conveyed to the Hansards by the king in absolute property, as were also a courtyard called by the same name in the town of Boston, and another house in Lynne, they becoming bound to bear all the burdens for pious purposes to which these several buildings were liable by ancient foundation, or the bequests of the faithful, and having full power to pull down and rebuild, as they might find convenient. The London Steelyard, or Steel-house, as it was sometimes called, stood between Thames-street and the river, where there is a street still known by the name of Steelyard-street, a little to the east of Dowgate Wharf. The name seems to have no connexion with steel, but is said to mean the place where cloths, and perhaps also other goods, were sealed or stamped.*

Besides the gain which he made by his own commercial undertakings, Edward IV. obtained large pecuniary supplies at various times in the form of loans from the merchants and mercantile communities both of his own kingdom and of other countries. The amount of these advances evinces the opulence which was now not unfrequent among the followers of commerce. In the preceding reign, according to the statement in an act of parliament passed in 1449,† the annual revenue derived from the customs at the great staple of Calais, which in the reign of Edward III. had amounted to 68,000*l.*, had then fallen to 12,000*l.*; under which state of things the commons of the land, it is affirmed, were "not enriched by their wools and woolfels and other merchandise, as they were wont to be, the merchants greatly diminished as well in number as in goods, and not of power nor of comfort to buy the wools and woolfels and other merchandises, as they have done of old time, the soldiers of Calais and of the marches there not paid of their wages, and the town of Calais by default of reparation likely to be destroyed." Within a few years from this date, however, the merchants of Calais were wealthy enough to lend King Edward what was a large amount of money in those days. In 1464 he is stated in the Rolls of Parliament to have owed them 32,861*l.*, for payment of which they were assigned a yearly instalment out of the subsidies on wool. He continued, however, to borrow largely in subsequent years; so that in 1468 he was still owing them about 33,000*l.*, a debt which he increased the next year by 10,000*l.*, borrowed of them for payment of a part of his sister's portion to the Duke of Burgundy. On many other occasions he resorted for pecuniary assistance to the same quarter. Another quarter to which he repeatedly had recourse was that of the famous Medici, the princely merchants of Florence. Comines assures us that one of the agents of Cosmo de' Medici was chiefly instrumental in enabling him to mount the throne, by furnishing him at one time with a sum of not less than 120,000 crowns. Florence, we may remark, was now growing rich by the oriental trade, which had nearly left Genoa, torn as the latter republic was by internal dissensions, as well as deprived of all its possessions in the East by the conquests of the Turks.

Some documents printed by Rymer, relating to an application made to King Edward by some Spanish merchants in 1470, for compensation on account of the loss of several vessels and cargoes which they alleged had been piratically taken from them by the people of Sandwich, Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Jersey, furnish some information respecting the ordinary size of the trading-vessels of those times, and the value both of the ships and their cargoes. The ships in question were laden with iron, wine, wool, raisins, liquorice, spicery, incense, oranges, marfac, and a small quantity of cheese—all the produce of the north of Spain. They were seven in number, of which one, called a carvel,* of 110 tons, valued at 150*l.*, and having wool, iron, &c. on board, to the amount of 2350*l.* more, was bound for Flanders: the cargoes of the others, whose destination was England, were all of much less value. They were, a carvel of 120 tons, valued at 180*l.*, with a cargo valued at 270*l.*; a ship of 120 tons, valued at 110*l.*, with a cargo valued at 190*l.*; a carvel of 110 tons, valued at 140*l.*, with a cargo valued at 240*l.*; a ship of 100 tons, valued at 107*l.* 10*s.*, with a cargo valued at 457*l.* 10*s.*; a ship of 70 tons, valued at 100*l*, with a cargo valued at 250*l.*; and a carvel of 40 tons, valued at 70*l.*, with a cargo valued at 180*l.*† These statements may be compared with those in the documents contained in a preceding volume of the same collection relating to the dispute with the Hanse Towns which was at length settled, as mentioned above, by the treaty of 1409. In the latter we find mention made of a Newcastle ship of 200 tons, valued at 400*l.*; of a cog belonging to Hull, which, with its cargo of cloth, was valued at 200*l.*; of another, laden with oil, wax, and werke, (?) valued at 300*l.*; of a barge belonging to Falmouth, laden with salt and canvass of Brittany, valued at 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; of another Yarmouth vessel, laden with salt, cloth, and salmon, valued at 40*l*; of four vessels belonging to Lynne, carrying cloth to the value of 3623*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.*, besides wine and other goods; and of a crayer‡ belonging to Lynne, laden with osmunds

* "Kilian, in his 'Etymologicum Teutonicæ Linguæ,' explains a Stael-hof to be the place where dyed cloths are sealed with the *stael-loot* (seal of lead)"—Macpherson, Ann. of Com. i. 691. But in what language does *stael* signify a seal?

† 27 Hen VI. c 2.

* Carvel, or Caravel, from the Spanish *Caravela*, is explained by Johnson to be a kind of ship, with a square poop, formerly used in Spain.

† Fœdera, xi. 671, 672.

‡ Crayer, Crare, or Cray, a small sea-vessel, from the Old French, *Craier*.

"O Melancholy!"
says Belarius in 'Cymbeline,'—
"Who ever yet could sound thy bottom? find
The ooze to show what coast thy sluggish crare
Might easiliest harbour in?"

and other goods to the value of 643*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* Towards the close of the reign of Edward IV., it appears from the orders issued for the manning of the fleet on the breaking out of the war with Scotland in 1481, the crown was possessed of no fewer than six ships of its own; which was probably the greatest royal navy that had existed in England since the reign of William the Conqueror.

The foreign trade of the country, as one of its most important interests, occupied much of the attention of the parliament called together by Richard III., in the first year of his reign. Of the fifteen acts passed by it, seven relate to commerce and manufactures. The first of these—the subject of which was chiefly the fabrication and dying of woollen cloths—will be noticed again in a subsequent page, when we come to give an account of the state of the useful arts in the present period. It is only necessary to refer here to one of the complaints in the preamble, which states that it had been customary for the foreign merchants in their purchases of wool, to procure it sorted and picked, and to leave the locks and other refuse—by reason of which, it is added, there had come to be no manufacture of fine drapery in England: to remedy this evil, it was provided that, for the future, no wool should be sold to strangers cleaned from the locks or refuse, or in any other state than as it was shorn*—an enactment conceived in the spirit of the very infancy and rudest barbarism of commercial legislation. The next chapter of the statute, entitled 'An Act touching the Merchants of Italy,' is very interesting for the information which it incidentally furnishes respecting the trade then carried on in this country by foreign merchants. The preamble represents, that merchant strangers of the nation of Italy—under which name are included not only the Venetians, Genoese, Florentines, Apulians, Sicilians, and Lucaners, or people of Lucca, but also the Catalonians "and other of the same nation," according to the fashion of speaking in that age, which was to consider all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean as belonging to Italy,—were resident in great numbers both in London and in other cities of England, and were in the habit of taking warehouses and cellars in which to store the wares and merchandises they imported, "and them in their said warehouses and cellars deceivably pack, meddle (mix), and keep unto the time the prices thereof been greatly enhanced, for their most lucre, and the same wares and merchandises then sell to all manner of people, as well within the ports whereunto they bring their said wares and merchandise, as in other divers and many places generally within this realm, as well by retail as otherwise." An extensive and active internal trade, therefore, was carried on by these foreign residents: it is probable, indeed, that besides their business as importers and exporters, the greater part of the domestic sale of commodities brought from beyond seas was in their hands. This is the second condition in the natural commercial progress of a country; first, its poverty and barbarism invite only the occasional resort of foreigners, without offering any temptation to them to take up their residence within it; then, as its wealth increases, foreigners find even its home trade an object worth their attention, and one which they easily secure by the application of their superior skill and resources; lastly, in the height of its civilization, and when the energies of its inhabitants have been fully developed—in a great measure by the impulse received from these stranger residents,—its traffic of all kinds, as well as all the other businesses carried on in it, naturally falls into the almost exclusive possession of its own people. England, then, at the end of the fifteenth century, was only yet making its way through the intermediate or transition stage in this advance from having no commerce at all to having a commerce properly its own. The act goes on to recite, that the foreign merchants not only traded in the manner that has been described in the goods imported by themselves from abroad, but also bought, in the ports where they were established and elsewhere, at their free will, the various commodities which were the produce of this realm, and sold them again at their pleasure within the country, as generally and freely as any of the king's subjects. "And the same merchants of Italy and other merchants strangers," it is added, "be hosts, and take unto them people of other nations to sojourn with them, and daily buy and sell, and make many privy and secret contracts and bargains with the same people." They are farther specially charged with buying up in divers places within the realm great quantities of wool, woollen cloth, and other merchandises, part of which they sold again both to natives and aliens, as they found it most for their profit, delivering a great part of the wool to clothiers to make into cloth "after their pleasures." "Moreover, most dread sovereign lord," continues the recital, "artificers and other strangers not born within your obeisance daily resort and repair unto your said city of London, and other cities, boroughs, and towns of your said realm, in great number, and more than they have used to do in days past, and inhabit themself within your said realm, with their wives, children, and household, and will not take upon them any laborious occupation, as carting and ploughing, and other like business, but use making of cloth and other handicrafts and easy occupations, and bring and convey from the parts of beyond the sea great substance of wares and merchandises unto fairs and markets, and all other places of your realm, at their pleasure, and there sell the same as well by retail as otherwise, as freely as any of your said subjects useth for to do, to the great hurt and impoverishing of your said subjects, and in nowise will suffer nor take any of your subjects to work with them, but only take into their service people born in their own countries, whereby your said subjects for lack of occupation fall to idleness, and been thieves, beggars, vagabonds, and people of vicious living, to the

* 1 Richard III. c. 8.

great trouble of your highness and of all your said realm." We need not transcribe the enacting part of the statute; its historical interest, and its value for our present purpose, lie in the above preamble, which furnishes so full and clear an account of the manner in which the commerce of the country was at this time conducted. The evils, or supposed evils, so strongly complained of were of course attempted to be remedied by all sorts of restrictions on the operations of the foreign dealers —restrictions which were one and all absurd and of mischievous tendency, as well as, fortunately, in their very nature of impracticable enforcement. Their almost avowed object was to check the importation of foreign commodities of all kinds. While shackles, however, are imposed upon the trade in all other commodities, it is interesting to find an exception made in favour of the new-born trade in books, the creation of the great art recently invented of growing them as it were in crops, even as the manifold produce of the cornfields is raised from the scattered seed. "Provided always," the statute concludes, "that this act, or any part thereof, or any other act made or to be made in this present parliament, in no wise extend or be prejudicial, any let, hurt, or impediment to any artificer or merchant stranger, of what nation or country he be, or shall be of, for bringing into this realm, or selling by retail or otherwise, of any manner books written or imprinted, or for the inhabiting within the said realm for the same intent, or to any writer, limner, binder, or imprinter of such books as he hath, or shall have, to sell by way of merchandise, or for their abode in the same realm, for the exercising of the said occupations, this act or any part thereof notwithstanding."*

Two other acts of this parliament continue for ten years longer prohibitions passed in the preceding reign against the importation of a great number of foreign manufactured articles. They will be noticed more at length presently. Intervening between these non-importation acts is another of a directly opposite character, ordaining that, for the future, along with every butt of either Malvesy (Malmesey) or Tyre wine brought to the country by the Venetians or others should be imported ten good and able bowstaves. Formerly, it is alleged, bowstaves used to be sold at 40*s.* the hundred, or 46*s.* 8*d.* at most; but now, by the seditious confederacy of the Lombards trading to this country, they had risen to the "outrageous price" of 8*l.* the hundred.† This, it may be observed, was the second attempt that had been made to remedy the grievance in question. The way in which it was first attacked was more direct. In 1482 it was ordained that, whereas the bowyers in every part of the realm sold their bows "at such a great and excessive price, that the king's subjects properly disposed to shoot be not of power to buy to them bows;" therefore, from the feast of Easter next coming, no bowman should take from any of the king's liege people for a long bow of yew more than 3*s.* 4*d.** This was certainly carrying faith in the virtue of an act of parliament as far as it could well go.

Here, then, were two legislative modes of keeping down prices. The last of the acts of Richard's parliament which it remains for us to notice, furnishes an example of a third. The evil against which this act is directed is the high price of Malmesey wine—a public calamity which is both pathetically and indignantly bewailed. Butts of wine called Malvesy, it is affirmed, were wont in great plenty to be brought into this realm to be sold "before the 27th and 28th years of the reign of Henry IV., late in deed and not of right king of England, and also in the same years;" at which time they held from 140 to 126 gallons a piece; "and then a man might buy and have of the merchant stranger, seller of the said Malveseys, by mean of the said plenty of them, for 50*s.*, or 53*s.* 4*d.* at the most, a butt of such wine, he taking for his payment thereof two parts in woollen cloth wrought in this realm, and the third part in ready money." But now, the act proceeds to complain, the dealers in these wines have, "by subtle and crafty means," so contrived it that the butts of Malmesey lately imported scarcely hold 108 gallons; "and besides," it is added, "they knowing, as it seemeth, what quantity of such wine may serve yearly to be sold within this realm, where they were wont to bring hither yearly great quantity and plenteously of such wine to be sold after the prices aforesaid; of their craftiness use to bring no more hither now in late days but only as will scantily serve this realm a year, wherethrough they have enhanced the price of the same wines to eight marks (5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) a butt, *ready money, and no cloth*, to the great enriching of themself, and great deceit, loss, hurt, and damage of all the commons of this realm." The plan adopted for reformation of this inconvenience was simply to ordain that the butt of Malmesey should be again of the old measure. It seems to have been thought that the old measure was the cause of the old price, and that the one being restored, the other would follow of course.

Little, it is plain, can be said in commendation of the enlightened wisdom of any part of this system of commercial policy. The various facts and statements that have been quoted, however, all go to attest the actual commercial advancement of the country in despite of vicious legislation. The subject of trade is seen filling a constantly enlarging space in the public eye; and even the misdirected efforts of the law show how strongly and generally men's minds were now set upon the cultivation of that great field of national industry.

In Scotland also, as well as in England, the manufactures and commerce of the country appear, on the whole, to have made considerable advances in the course of the fifteenth century. It is recorded that the English vice-admiral, Sir Robert Umfraville, in an expedition upon which he sailed

1 Rich. III. c. 9. † Ibid. c. 11.

* 22 Edw. IV c. 4.

to the Frith of Forth in 1410, besides plundering the country on both coasts of that arm of the sea, carried off as prizes fourteen "good ships" laden with woollen and linen cloth, pitch, tar, woad, meal, wheat, and rye, in addition to many which he burned.* This shows that even in the earlier part of the present period Scotland was by no means destitute of trade and shipping. Some of the vessels taken by Umfraville, however, might belong to foreigners; the Lombards, in particular, according to Fordun, already carried on a considerable Scottish trade, and some of the ships in which they resorted to the country were of large burden. The usual staple of the Scottish continental commerce was at Bruges, in Flanders. James I., in 1425, removed it to Middleburgh, in Zealand; but, on an embassy arriving the same year from the Flemings, with concessions on some points as to which the Scottish merchants had felt aggrieved, he agreed to restore the former arrangement. In 'The Libel of English Policy,' however, written nearly twenty years after this, we are informed that the exports of Scotland then consisted only of wool, woolfels, and hides. The Scottish wool, it is added, used to be mixed with the English, and manufactured into cloth, at the towns of Popering and Bell, in Flanders. It seems to have been exported to Flanders in Scottish vessels, which returned home with cargoes of mercery, haberdashery, and other manufactured goods of various kinds, among which are specified cart-wheels and barrows. But the most ample information respecting the commerce and manufactures of Scotland during this period is supplied, as in England, by the statute-book. A long succession of enactments relating to this subject commences from the return of James I., in 1424; from which date, it is worthy of remark, the Scottish laws, which had been hitherto in Latin, are written, with only a few exceptions, in the language of the country—an improvement which was not adopted in England till more than sixty years afterwards. We can here, however, only notice, in their chronological order, a very few of the more remarkable particulars to be collected from this source. In 1425 it was, among other things, ordained that the merchants returning from foreign countries should always bring back, as part of their returns, harness (or defensive armour), spears, shafts, bows, and staves. The same parliament also passed a law for establishing a uniformity of weights and measures. From a law of 1428, permitting merchants, for a year ensuing, to ship their goods in foreign vessels, where Scottish ones were not to be found, it would appear that a Scottish navigation act existed before this time, although no record of it has been preserved. In 1430, a law was passed to which the epithet of anti-commercial may be applied, ordaining, that cloths made of silk or adorned with the finer furs, should not be worn by any person under the rank of a knight, or whose annual income was less than 200 marks. This

* Stow.

proves, however, that these expensive kinds of dress were then well known in the country, and were even in use among those who did not belong to the wealthiest classes. This same year King James imported from London for his own use the following articles—which it may therefore be presumed he could not procure at home so readily or of so good a quality:—20 tons of wine; 12 bows; 4 dozen yards of cloth of different colours; 12 yards of scarlet; 20 yards of red worsted; 8 dozen pewter vessels; 1200 wooden bowls, packed in four barrels; 3 dozen coverels, a basin, and font; 2 summer saddles, 1 hackney-saddle, a woman's saddle with furniture; 2 portmanteaus; 4 yards of motley; 5 yards of morrey; 5 yards of black cloth of lyre; 12 yards of kersey; and 12 skins of red leather. These goods were shipped for Scotland in a vessel belonging to London, accompanied by an order of King Henry, securing them from molestation by English cruizers.* In 1435, we find James purchasing 30 fodders of lead from the Bishop of Durham; for the export of which, either by land or water, on payment of the usual customs, an order was granted by the English council. A law of the Scottish parliament in 1424 had declared all mines to belong to the crown that yielded three halfpennies of silver in the pound of lead; and Mr. Macpherson thinks that the import of lead from England probably became necessary in consequence of the check which this enactment put upon the operations of mining. A scarcity of the precious metals also seems to have been about this time felt, if we may judge by a law of the year 1436, which enacted that the exporters of native produce should give security to bring home, and deliver to the master of the mint, a certain quantity of bullion for every sack of wool, last of hides, or measure of other goods which they carried abroad.

One of the most eminent of the Scottish merchants of this age was William Elphinstone, who is regarded as the founder of the commerce of Glasgow, as his son Bishop Elphinstone, towards the close of the century, was of the University of Aberdeen. Elphinstone's trade is supposed to have consisted in exporting pickled salmon. Two Scottish merchants, George Faulau and John Dalrymple, repeatedly appear soon after this as employed by James II., in embassies and other public business, along with noblemen and clergymen. A law was passed in 1458 prohibiting any person from going abroad as a merchant, unless, besides being a person of good credit, he either possessed or had consigned to him property to the amount of three serplaiths,—the serplaith being, according to the common account, eighty stones of wool. Merchants were at the same time forbidden to wear silk, scarlet, or fur of martens, unless they were aldermen, bailies, or in some other capacity members of a town council. The social estimation in which commercial men were at this time held in Scotland may in some degree be gathered from

* Rymer, x. 470.

another clause of the act, which commands that poor gentlemen living in the country, having estates of more than 40*l.* a-year of old extent, should dress as merchants. The dress of the wives of merchants, as well as their own, was regulated by this statute: they are directed to take especial care to make their wives and daughters be habited in a manner correspondent to their estate; that is to say, on their heads short curches, with little hoods, such as are used in Flanders, England, and other countries; and gowns without tails of unbefitting length, or trimmed with furs, except on holidays. Further, as if it had been intended to discriminate the several ranks of the community by so many different colours, like the enchanted fish in the Eastern tale, while merchants were prohibited from wearing scarlet, all hues except grey or white were interdicted to labourers on working days, and on holidays all except red, green, or light blue. So much may serve for sample sufficient of this fantastic piece of legislation. Meanwhile, the growth of the trade of the country is indicated by occasional notices of commercial treaties with various foreign governments, —with England, with Denmark, with Flanders, and other continental states. In 1467 various new restrictions were imposed, with what view it is not easy to imagine, upon the pursuit of foreign commerce. It was ordained that no persons should go abroad as merchants except free burgesses, resident within burgh, or their factors and servants; and that no burgess even should have that liberty unless he was "a famous and worshipful man," having at the least half a last of goods in property or trust. Handicraftsmen or artisans, in particular, were debarred from engaging in trade unless they obtained special licenses, and renounced their crafts without colour or dissimulation. These prohibitions look very much as if they had been obtained by the influence of the mercantile body, wishing to preserve the monopoly of the foreign trade in their own hands. By another regulation all vessels were prohibited from sailing to any foreign country between the end of October and the beginning of February. Rochelle, Bordeaux, and the ports of France and Norway, are all mentioned in this act as places to which the Scottish merchants were then accustomed to resort. The regulation requiring every merchant to be a burgess made an exception in favour of the nobility and clergy, who were permitted to export their own goods, and import what they had occasion for, by the agency of their servants. In Scotland as well as in England many, both of the nobility and the bishops, had long been accustomed openly to pursue trade as a source of gain. In the beginning of this century, for instance, mention is made of a vessel carrying two supercargoes and a crew of twenty men, which was freighted by the Earl of Douglas to trade with Normandy and Rochelle, and of another navigated by a master and twenty-four sailors, and laden with six hundred quarters of malt, of which the Duke of Albany was proprietor.* In 1404 a richly-laden vessel, belonging to Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrew's, was taken by the English. In 1473 another, called the Salvator, the property of his successor, Bishop Kennedy, being the finest vessel that had ever been built in Scotland, was wrecked at Bamborough, when the cargo was plundered, and the crew made prisoners by the people of the country,—an outrage for which redress was soon after demanded by the Scottish parliament, and which it was finally agreed should be compensated by the King of England paying the merchants to whom the goods belonged a composition of five hundred marks.

Very few notices respecting the trade of Ireland occur during this period. The exports from that country, according to the author of the 'Libel of English Policy,' were hides, wool, salmon, hake (a kind of fish), herrings, linen, falding (a kind of coarse cloth), and the skins of martens, harts, otters, squirrels, hares, rabbits, sheep, lambs, foxes, and kids. Some gold ore had also lately been brought thence to London. The abundant fertility and excellent harbours of Ireland are celebrated by this writer.

In connexion with the subject of trade and commerce it may be mentioned that to the close of this period we owe the first establishment in England of public posts for the conveyance of intelligence. The plan was first carried into effect in France by Louis XI., about the year 1476, and was introduced in England by the Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III.), while conducting the Scottish war in 1481. By means of post-horses changed at every twenty miles, letters, we are told, were forwarded at the rate of a hundred miles a day. Both in France and in England, however, the post in this, its earliest form, was exclusively for the use of the government.

The English coins of this period were, with one exception, to be presently noticed, gold and silver pieces of the same denominations that have been already described. Although, however, the names, and also the relative values of the coins continued unchanged, their positive values, or the actual quantities of metal of which they were formed, underwent a succession of diminutions. It has been stated that whereas, originally, 240 pennies were coined out of the Tower pound of silver, weighing 5400 grains troy, Edward III. coined out of the same quantity of silver 270 pennies; thus reducing the quantity of silver in each penny from 22½ to 20 grains. The effect of this would be to depreciate the penny by the amount of about one-third of a farthing, and the nominal pound (which was still held to contain 20 shillings, or 240 pence) by about 6*s.* 6*d.* in our present money; thus reducing it from about 56*s.* 3*d.* to somewhat less than 50*s.* The groats, or fourpenny pieces, afterwards issued by Edward III., carried the depreciation still farther than this; each of these coins weighing only 72 grains instead of 90, which they ought to have

* See Tytler, Hist. of Scotland, iii. 238.

done according to the original scale, or 80, which even the lately reduced rate would have demanded. A shilling paid in these groats was worth only about 2*s.* 3*d.* of our present money, instead of about 2*s.* 9½*d.*, its original value; and a pound paid in the same coin was only about 46 of our present shillings.*

Such, then, were the values of the several silver coins at the accession of Henry IV. That king, in 1412, depreciated the currency still more by coining the Tower pound into thirty shillings by tale,—that is to say, into 360 pennies; the effect of which was to reduce the amount of silver in each penny to 15 grains, and the value of the penny to not quite 2*d.*, of the shilling to about 1*s.* 10½*d.*, and of the pound to 1*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* of our present money. The strange reason assigned for this alteration was "the great scarcity of money in the realm,"—as if money, or anything else of intrinsic value, could be made more plentiful by the easy process of cutting each piece into two. The ordinance, which stands on the rolls of parliament, however, betrays a consciousness that the ingenious expedient was not likely to succeed. The new mode of coinage was directed to be tried only for two years; and if, at the end of that time, it should be found against the profit of the king and his realm, then to cease. It must, in fact, even then have been plain to all the world that the measure, the evil effects of which had already been repeatedly experienced, was nothing else than a robbery of the public for the benefit of the royal exchequer. Even to the crown, indeed, the benefit was only temporary; but this deeper truth may not have been so clearly perceived. In the first instance, of course, and for the moment, the base coinage was profitable to the utterer. The different pieces coined by Henry IV. were halfpennies, pennies, and groats of silver, and nobles, half nobles, and quarter nobles of gold. In the last year of his reign he reduced the quantity of gold in the noble from its original amount of 120 grains to 108 grains; in other words, he diminished its intrinsic value by one-tenth. Henry's gold coins exactly resemble those of his predecessor, the only difference being the substitution of the name HENRICUS for RICHARDUS. His silver coins are also principally distinguished by the name.

The values of the several denomnations of English money continued without further reduction during the two next reigns. The silver coins of Henry V. are supposed to be distinguished from

* See vol. i. pp. 273, 594, and 837.

NOBLE OF HENRY

HALF NOBLE OF HENRY V.

QUARTER NOBLE OF HENRY V.

those of his father by two little circles on each side of the head, which are thought to have been intended for eylet-holes,—"from an odd stratagem," says Leake, "when he was prince, whereby he recovered his father's favour, being then dressed in a suit full of eylet-holes: from that time may likewise be dated his extraordinary change of manners, which proved so much to the honour of himself and the kingdom, and therefore not an improper distinction of the money of this prince from the others of the same name."* The story in question, which is told at great length by Holinshed, Speed, Stow, and other chroniclers of that age, is, briefly, that when the worst suspicions of the conduct of his son had been infused into the mind of Henry IV., the prince regained his father's favour by appearing before him, and offering the king his dagger, that he might, if he pleased, take his life on the spot. On this occasion, it seems, "he was apparelled in a gown of blue satin, full of small eylet-holes, at every hole the needle hanging by a silk thread with which it was sewed: about his arm he ware a hound's

* Historical Account of English Money p. 139.

collar set full of S S of gold, and the tirets likewise being of the same metal."* But what particular part in the stratagem this fantastic dress was intended to play does not appear. The story looks at the best as if we had got only the half of it; but it is probably altogether an invention of a later age, and, instead of having been the origin of the eylet-holes on the coin, it is most likely itself

Groat of Henry V.

Half Groat of Henry V.

Penny of Henry V.

the offspring of that device. Henry V. also struck various French coins, among which were muttons (so called from bearing the impression of a lamb, or Agnus Dei) of gold, and groats, half groats, quarter groats, mançois, and petit deniers, of silver. After the treaty of Troyes he coined others called saluts, demi-saluts, blancs, &c., in the legend of which he took the title of Hæres Franciæ, or Heir of France.

The English coins of Henry VI. are supposed to be distinguished from his father's by the arched

Groat of Henry VI.

crown called the imperial, surmounted with the orb and cross. He also issued, as King of France, saluts, angelots, franks, and nobles of gold, and groats, blanks, deniers, &c., of silver.

* Holinshed.

Half Groat of Henry VI.

Penny of Henry VI.

The English money was again depreciated by Edward IV., who, in 1464, ordered the Tower pound of silver to be coined into 37*s.* 6*d.* by tale, that is, into 450 pennies. The penny now, therefore, contained only 12 grains of silver, and its value was little more than 1½*d.* of our present money; that of the shilling was about 1*s.* 6*d.*; and that of

Angel of Edward IV.

Half Angel of Edward IV.

Groat of Edward IV.

Half Groat of Edward IV.

PENNY OF EDWARD IV.

the nominal pound about 30*s*. Edward IV., in 1466, also struck two new gold coins, called angels and angelots, from the figure of an angel on the reverse. These were intended as substitutes for the noble and the half noble, and were, like them, ordered to pass respectively for 6*s*. 8*d*. and 3*s*. 4*d*.; but they were considerably inferior in intrinsic value even to the nobles that had been struck since the last year of the reign of Henry IV.; for instead of 108 grains, the angel contained only 80 grains. It was, therefore, really worth little more than three-fourths of the late noble, or exactly two-thirds of the original coin of that name. Henry VI., also, during his short restoration to power in 1470, coined angels of gold, and groats and half groats of silver, all after the depreciated standards that had been established by Edward IV. It is not probable that Edward V. coined any money. The gold coins of Richard III. were angels and half angels, of the same weight as his brother's, and bearing Richard's cognizance of a boar's head; his silver money is distinguished from that of Richard II. by being a third lighter.

GROAT OF RICHARD III.

HALF GROAT OF RICHARD III.

PENNY OF RICHARD III.

The depreciation of the coin in Scotland during the present period proceeded much more rapidly, and was carried to a much greater extent, than in England. When James I. returned home, in 1424, he found the real value of the Scottish money very considerably less than that of the English of the same denominations; on which he immediately got an act of parliament passed for restoring the coin to the same weight and fineness with that of England; but it proved of no effect,—the depreciation was carried farther and farther, till at length, at the close of the present period, the Scottish coins were scarcely more than one-fourth of the weight of the English. The pound of silver, which had been originally coined, as in England, into 20 shillings, was coined in 1424 into 37*s*. 6*d*.; in 1451 into 64*s*.; in 1456 into 96*s*.; and in 1475 into 144*s*. The value of the Scottish shilling at this last-mentioned date, therefore, was little more than 4½*d*. of our present money. We shall find, however, that it afterwards declined to a much lower point than this.

In resuming our notice of the arts of life, it should not be forgotten that, although some of the causes which tended to depress them in the present period were doubtless peculiar to a state of internal warfare, others, perhaps nearly as injurious in their operation, were simply a recurrence of evils to which the industry of the country had been always subjected. It may easily be conceived that horticulture, an art ornamental rather than absolutely necessary to existence, declined. "Such herbs, fruits, and roots," says Harrison, in his 'Description of England,' "as grow yearly out of the ground, of seed, have been very plentiful in this land in the time of the first Edward, and after his days; but in process of time they grew to be neglected, so that from Henry IV. to the latter end of Henry VII. and beginning of Henry VIII. there was little or no use of them in England, but they remained either unknown or supposed as food more meet for hogs and savage beasts to feed upon than mankind." He afterwards enumerates the productions he alludes to as being melons, pompions, gourds, cucumbers, radishes, skirrets, parsnips, carrots, cabbages, *navewes*, turnips, and all kinds of salad herbs.* Many of the cultivators of the soil must also have suffered severely in their fortunes from the disorders and calamities of the times; but it may be doubted whether agriculture as an art actually retrograded. The frequent confiscations of landed property, at the sole will of the sovereign, were perhaps less pernicious in themselves, however hard upon individual interests, than as they occasioned a general feeling of insecurity. The warrants for these confiscations were expressed so loosely that those to whom their execution was committed were often tempted to profit by the spoliation of the property. But even notwithstanding these frequent confiscations, the bulk of the people were more exempt from oppression than in the reigns of the first Norman kings. The evils to which agriculture had been constantly liable, in peaceful as well as turbulent periods, were the same in their tendency with those under which it was now suffering, and, though somewhat less injurious in degree, operated more universally. Thus in a statute† of Henry IV. it is stated that "daily the great persons of the

* Desc. of England, ch. 19. † 4 Henry IV. c. 8.

realm do make forcible entries into other men's lands, and put out the possessors of the same, and also take their goods and chattels in manner of robbery, so that they be utterly disinherited and undone." Half a century later the same or similar disorders prevailed. In a statute of the latter part of the reign of Henry VI.* it is recited that hostlers, brewers, and other victuallers, were wont to purchase the king's letters patent, "to take horses and carts for the carriage of the king and queen, more for their private and singular lucre and profit than for any faithful service of the king or of the queen:"—"by colour of which letters patent," it is added, "they daily take horses and carts where no need is, and bring them to their hostelries, and there keep them secretly sometime until they have spent twenty pence or forty pence, and sometime more, and then they make the owners of the said horses and carts to pay for the same before they can get delivery of their horses and carts." Treble damages were now, indeed, made recoverable for acts of this description; but the statute was not passed until 1449, and the injurious extent to which the agriculturist might previously have been harassed by such usurpations may easily be conceived.

To counteract the effect of authorised and also of forcible interference with men's interests and property, there were the growing importance of trade and manufactures; the increased value of wool, "the chief and principal commodity of the realm," as it is termed in the statutes, for which there was a demand frequently exceeding the supply; the gradual emancipation of the villains, who became free labourers; and the rise of a class of cultivators paying money-rents. Under these favouring circumstances the country was frequently enabled to export a portion of its agricultural produce. In a communication to Eric X. King of Denmark, Henry VI. says, that "although England usually produces plenty of corn, yet, by reason of a rainy season, corn, and more especially rye, had this year failed in most parts." In 1425 the exportation of corn was permitted by statute anywhere except to the king's enemies, upon payment of the customary duties. In 1436 it was enacted that corn might be carried out of the realm without license, whenever wheat was at the low price of 6*s.* 8*d.* and barley at that of 3*s.* per quarter.* This act, after having been renewed for ten years in 1441, was made perpetual in 1444. In 1463 the same prices are again noticed in connexion with the importation of corn and grain,† the statute prohibiting the supply from abroad unless these prices were exceeded in the home market. The variation in prices, though not so great as in the preceding periods, was still extraordinary. The prices given in the statutes just quoted may be considered as the average. In 1416 wheat was 16*s.*, and in 1463 the price was only 2*s.* per quarter.‡ The difficulty of circulating agricultural produce would have the effect of rendering prices variable, and diminished the motives for accumulating it in any large quantities for seasons of scarcity. Both these evils were felt, and their remedy was attempted. It appears from an act passed at the beginning of the reign of Henry VI., that a commission had been appointed a short time before for improving the navigation of the river Lea, for the purpose, no doubt, of facilitating the supply of London with the corn, grain, and flour, for which the county of Hertford was and still is famous. In the absence of laws for the repair of the roads, it was also common for persons of substance to leave by will certain sums to be applied to this useful purpose.§ In 1446 a large stone edifice was erected in London, on the site of the present Leadenhall-market, as a public granary.‖

Very early in the ensuing period we shall be enabled to refer to regular treatises on British husbandry, but for the present the information to be obtained on this subject must chiefly be derived from accidental notices or old money accounts. The produce of 157½ acres of arable land on the Hawsted Manor Farm was 148 quarters, being, on the average, less than 8 bushels per acre on

* 28 Henry VI. c. 2

* 15 Henry VI. c. 2. In the extant copies of the act, however, no prices are mentioned; those quoted have been supplied on the margin from the recitals in subsequent acts.

† 3 Edward IV. c. 2.

‡ Stow.

§ Sir J. Cullum's Hist. Hawsted.

‖ Stow.

Two-Wheeled Plough. From Harleian MS. No. 4374.

57 acres of wheat, 24 of barley, 22 of pease, and 54½ of oats. The produce of the different grains was—wheat less than 6 bushels; barley 12 bushels; pease 12 bushels; and oats 5 bushels. The produce of 61 acres of wheat for three years was under 210 quarters, and, being followed by no rise of price, the crops were probably average ones. When the produce of wheat, however, fell to 6 bushels an acre, prices rose from 4*s.* and 5*s.* to 13*s.* 4*d.* per quarter. After an abundant harvest, 24 quarters of oats had sometimes been sold from the manor farm; but when the produce was small, not more than 3 quarters were disposed of.*

The following facts relative to the occupancy of the land by tenants are taken from the same work that has just been quoted:—One rental, in 1420, mentions 8 acres of arable land let at 6*d.* an acre; another, in 1421, 38 acres at 9*d.* an acre; and a garden at the old rent of 10*s.* a-year. "Land," Sir John Cullum observes, speaking of the middle of the fifteenth century, "seems not now to have been of more value than it was above eighty years before." He shows that the produce of an acre in hay, in 1448, was worth 5*s.*, which appears also to have been its value in 1359. The clauses introduced in the following lease are curious:—"In 1491 the Abbot of Bury let two pieces of pasture, containing together 18 acres, to a man and his wife and their executors, &c., for 80 years, at 6*s.* 8*d.* a-year, which is about 4½*d.* an acre. The tenants were to extirpate all the thorns growing on the said pastures within the first twelve years. And if the rent were not paid on the two usual days, or if all the thorns were not extirpated within the time prescribed, the landlord might re-enter and distrain the tenants, and all their goods and chattels found on the farm or elsewhere in the village." There was not much reliance upon the industry and spirit of the tenant, or the stipulation relative to the grubbing up of thorns under a lease of 80 years would scarcely have found a place. But it was most probably the "forcible entries" which lessened the confidence between landlords and tenants.

Attempts have been made to calculate the value of land during the present period. From the reward offered by Edward IV. for the apprehension of the Duke of Clarence or the Earl of Warwick, in 1470,—"either 100*l.* per annum in land, or else 1000*l.* in ready money," it has been inferred that land was worth only ten years' purchase; but the proclamation, as has been remarked, "is only a proof that Edward was rich in lands, from the very numerous forfeitures, and poor in money, as appears from his constant borrowing."† It is asserted that land had been sold during the preceding century at twenty-five years' purchase;‡ but that was probably very far from being the average value of landed property. On the other hand, an attempt has been made to show that land was worth much less than ten years' purchase from the fact of Sir John Fortescue having advised Edward IV. to reward his servants with money instead of land. "It is supposed," he says, "that to some of them is given 100*l.* worth of land yearly that would have held him content with 200*l.* in money, if they might have had it in hand."* But this offer might have been on the presumption that, from the circumstances of the parties, an immediate supply of cash would have better satisfied them than an interest of a more remote description, though of greater real value; and it would doubtless be very far from the truth to infer from such a circumstance that land had sunk so low in value as to be worth only two years' purchase. Circumstances, however, which in the present period gave a new direction to agriculture might possibly have the effect of occasioning some temporary reduction in the value of landed property. During the thirteenth century tillage had been the great object of attention, and was in the popular estimation essentially connected with the welfare of the realm; but in the present period the arable lands were to a great extent converted into pasture. The two great causes which contributed to bring about this change were:—first, the scarcity of labourers, partly arising from their new position; and, secondly, the increasing value of wool, which rendered flocks more profitable than corn and grain.

The emancipated villains, on acquiring their freedom, betook themselves to handicrafts and manufactures. The statute of labourers in 1351, and subsequent statutes in 1363 and 1376, noticed in the preceding Book, afford evidence of the progress of this change.† In 1405 the evils which these statutes were intended to remedy were still experienced; and in a new statute passed that year,‡ it was provided that no person of whatever estate should put his son or daughter, of whatever age, apprentice to any craft or other labour within any city or borough, except he had land or rent to the value of 20*s.* by the year at least, "but they should be put to other labours (that is to say, farming labours) as their estates doth require, upon pain of one year's imprisonment, and to make fine and ransom at the king's will."

In 1444 another statute was passed,§ enacting that servants in husbandry proposing to leave their masters must engage with a new one, and give warning to the old. The same statute again endeavoured to fix the wages of labour; but "such," it was declared, "as deserve less shall take less, and also in places where less is used to be given less shall be given from henceforth." The wages thus fixed are for the year, and, with the exception of the "common servant in husbandry," included "meat and drink." A bailiff by the year was to receive 23*s.* 4*d.*, and for clothing, 5*s.*; a chief hind, carter, or shepherd, 20*s.*,

* Cullum, Hist. Hawsted.
† Macpherson, Ann. of Com. i. 685.
‡ Godwin de Presulibus Angl. quoted by Henry, vol. x. p. 175. 8vo.

* Fortescue on Absolute and Limited Monarchy, p. 85.
† See vol. i. p. 887.
‡ 7 Henry IV. c. 17.
§ 23 Henry VI. c. 12.

and for clothing, 4*s.*; a woman servant 10*s.*, with 4*s.* for clothing; a boy under fourteen, 6*s.*, with 3*s.* for clothing. The wages of a common servant in husbandry were 15*s.*, clothing 40*d.*, and he seems to have been left to provide his own diet. In harvest the wages were higher; but those of a mower were not to exceed 4*d.* per day with meat and drink, and without diet, 6*d.*; of a reaper or carter, 3*d.* with, and 5*d.* without diet; of a woman labourer or other labourer, 2½*d.* with, and 4½*d.* without meat and drink. In spite of these attempts to regulate the price of labour, the deficiency of labourers, as might be expected, continued to be severely felt.

We have noticed in a preceding page the high esteem in which English wool was held during this period. The Genoese, the Lombards, the Venetians, and others who enjoyed almost the exclusive supply of the richest and most costly cloths, were indebted to the fleece of the English sheep for the quality of their goods. In 1425 the preamble of one of the statutes* states, "that divers persons do from time to time carry out of the realm great numbers of sheep with fleeces into Flanders, and other countries beyond the sea, and there they shear them, and sell as well the said sheep as the wool of the same;" for remedy of which it is provided that no sheep shall be exported without the king's license. In 1429 the penalty for exporting wool or woolfels to any other place than to Calais, excepting such wools which pass the straits of Morocco to the merchants of Venice, Genoa, Tuscany, Lombardy, Florence, and Catalonia, was made double the value of the wool, and two years' imprisonment.† Wool had often been shipped from places in obscure situations on the coast, by which the duty had been evaded; and this led to the above statute. In 1438 a license was granted by Henry VI. to a Portuguese agent in England for leave to export to Florence sixty sacks of Cotteswold wool, to be worked up in cloths of gold and silver for the King of Portugal.‡ Edward IV. is said to have presented King John of Arragon with several English ewes and rams.§ A temporary interruption of trade between England and the subjects of the Duke of Burgundy having occurred in 1464, during which the exportation of wool ceased, the merchants of the staple at Calais addressed the king, urging that "the soldiers of the garrison would lack their wages, and that the merchants would stand in adventure both of loss of stock and credit," unless the trade were again permitted.‖ But in the quality of English wool there was great variety. In 1343, in the reign of Edward III., parliament, in order to keep up the price, attempted to fix it by statute. The price per sack for that of Shropshire was made fourteen marks; for that of Oxfordshire and Staffordshire thirteen marks; for that of Leicester, Gloucester, and Hereford, twelve marks; and from eleven to four marks for that of other counties, the lowest value being put upon that of Cornwall.* The counties which produced the best wool probably continued to do so throughout the present period. The Cotteswold sheep, the wool of which was sent to Florence for the service of the King of Portugal, is still a celebrated breed; and in a statute of the year 1467,† although the wool of Cornwall is not mentioned, that of Devonshire is, and is there held to be so inferior that the cloth-manufacturers of Tavistock and the adjacent hundreds received special permission to mix flocks in the cloth which they made, without which they could not manufacture their cloth, "by reason of the grossness and stubbornness of the said wool, for the same wool is not put in clothing nor in cloth in any part of the realm." The demand for wool seems to have been one of the most active commercial wants of the time. A statute was passed in 1464‡ to prevent persons buying wool before it was shorn. The preamble sets forth that, "by subtle bargains made in buying of wools before that the sheep that bear the same be shorn, the cloth-makers of this realm can well-nigh find none to be sold, to the great grief of them which have been accustomed to have their living by mean of making of cloth:" and the statute not only puts an end to the practice, but provides that those only should be allowed to buy wool who should make it into cloth within the realm. The following are the counties enumerated in the statute, which it may be presumed were most celebrated at that period for the quality of their wool:—Berks, Oxford, Gloucester, Salop, Hereford, Worcester, Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, Essex, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. The fair and honest making up of woolpacks had also before this been an object of legislation. By a statute of the year 1429§ it was provided that "no woolpacker shall make within the realm but good and due packing; and that no man make any inwinding within the fleece of wools at the rolling-up of his wools, nor put in the same locks, pelt-wool, tar, stones, sand, earth, grass, nor any dirt." The trade in wool was, during the whole of this period, by far the most important staple of the kingdom, yielding the king a large portion of his revenue, and enabling the landed proprietors to overcome what would have otherwise been a most inconvenient transition from one state of husbandry to another.

But besides the exportation of wool, and in years of abundance of corn and grain, other descriptions of agricultural produce occasionally found their way to a foreign market. In 1439‖ a statute was passed, enacting that butter and cheese might be exported without a license, but subject to some other regulations, in consequence of the perishable nature of the commodity In 1433 it

* 3 Henry VI. c. 2. † 8 Henry VI. c. 17. ‡ Fœdera, x. 684.
§ Tusser and other authorities quoted by Anderson, Hist. of Commerce, i. 485.
‖ Hall's Chronicle.

* Rymer's Fœdera, v. 369. † 4 Edward IV. c. 1.
‡ 7 Edward IV. c. 2. § 8 Henry VI. c. 22.
‖ 18 Henry VI. c. 3.

was ordered that every city, town, and borough should be provided with a common bushel, according to the standard of the Exchequer.* This, along with many other facts already mentioned, shows that the number of buyers and sellers was increasing, and that the vivifying principle of exchange was more active.

The food abounding in our seas was an object of active pursuit during the period under notice. "Fish-days" were religiously observed; and the manorial residence was incomplete without its fish-ponds. Sir William Dugdale has preserved a curious instance of the high price of a fresh-water fish which is now regarded as very ordinary fare at the humblest table. In 1419 the cost of a

RIVER-FISHING. From Harleian MS. No. 4374.

bream is set down at twenty pence; and in 1453 a pie, containing four of these fish, was sent, from Warwickshire to a distant part of Yorkshire, which cost sixteen shillings, including the wages of two men employed for three days in taking them, the flour and spices with which they were dressed, and the charges of their conveyance.† Under these circumstances the sea-fishery could not fail to prove a source of ample profit. Even before the commencement of the present period the fishery on the coast of Norfolk was considered of so much importance that Richard II., in assembling shipping upon one occasion to make head against the French, exempted the vessels and the men engaged in it. The annual herring-fair at Yarmouth also enjoyed great celebrity, and attracted shipping and strangers from all parts: several statutes were passed for its regulation. A statute was passed in 1482, from which it may be inferred that there was a considerable exportation of fish, as there are provisions for the well packing of salmon, eels, and other fish in casks. At the siege of Orleans in 1424 an escort of seventeen hundred men was sent with a supply of herrings for the English. The liberty to fish without molestation was a frequent article in conventions between this country and other states. In 1403 Henry IV. entered into a treaty with Charles VI. of France, giving to their subjects the mutual right of freely fishing for herrings and other fish in certain specified parts of the seas. In 1404 an agreement was entered into with the Duke of Burgundy for one year, during which period the subjects of both parties were to be free from molestation while engaged in fishing. In 1440, probably with a view to improve the mode of curing fish, Henry VI. granted a license to sixty persons from the Netherlands to come to England in order to practise a new and improved method of making salt.

The use of coal as fuel became now much more general, and developed another source of natural wealth. In 1421 the coal-trade of Newcastle was so considerable that an attempt to evade the payment of certain dues taken by the king in that port on the traffic of coal occasioned a statute to be passed for securing the dues.* At the same time there are indications of the decay of some of the least common species of wood used in various arts. The price of bow-staves, as we have had occasion to notice in a preceding page, became excessive. In 1416 the patten-makers were restrained from making pattens or clogs of asp, in order that the fletchers might sell their arrows cheaper, the same wood being used for arrows.† In 1464, however, the patten-makers represented to the parliament the hardship of this prohibition, and showed that turners, carpenters, wood-mongers, and cole-makers used and wasted a large quantity of asp-wood in their several trades; and they succeeded in obtaining permission to make pattens of such asp-wood as was not fit for arrows.‡

In the department of industry which comprises handicrafts and manufactures, we have proofs of their growing activity and importance in the numerous statutes passed for their regulation. A keen rivalry seems to have been maintained between certain classes of native and foreign artisans, against which the former repeatedly sought protection by the prohibition of foreign goods. The king had now a strong interest in the prosperity of trade, which added to his revenues in proportion as it flourished. The lords became sensible of the advantages which they derived from the activity of the artisan and tradesman; and a statute of the year 1477,§ for repressing the abuses of the Courts of Pie Poudre, which had had the effect of preventing the attendance of traders at the fairs, is avowedly founded on the fact that "the lords of the same fairs do lose great profit by the not coming of divers merchants to their fairs, and also the commons be unserved of such stuff and merchandise which otherwise would come." Allowance must doubtless be made for the turbulent events which are crowded into this period; but it cannot be doubted, nevertheless, that, as more spirited efforts were made in every branch of industry, so also the fruits of industry were more highly prized than at any previous time. Industry was grievously fettered, but it had always been thus cramped in its movements; and the rights of property had long been violated under the sanction of law and custom in a manner nearly as injurious as if the

* 11 Henry VI. c. 3.
† Dugdale's Warwick. p. 668.

* 9 Henry V. c. 10.
‡ 4 Edward IV. c. 9.
† 4 Hen. V. c. 3.
§ 17 Edward IV. c.

evil had proceeded from a foreign enemy who had overrun the country. It had been the practice for the crown to seize ships, mariners, and soldiers, artificers, victuals, materials, conveyances, and goods, the property of the subject, whenever it thought proper to require them. The restrictions upon apprenticeship must also be considered as having greatly impeded the prosperity of individuals, who were thus cut off from participating in the advantages of an active demand for the wares which they manufactured. Such also must have been the effect of the repeated attempts that were made to establish a certain rate of wages in all the departments of manual industry. The wages of several descriptions of artificers as regulated by the statute of 1444,* already mentioned, were as follow:—Those of a mason or master-carpenter not to exceed 4*d.* a-day with his diet, or 5½*d.* without diet; of a master tiler, slater, rough mason, or other builder, with diet 3*d.*, without diet 4½*d.* a-day; of other non-agricultural labourers 2*d.* a-day with, and 3½*d.* without diet. From Michaelmas to Easter they received winter wages, which were 1*d.* per day lower than those paid in summer. Only the wages of the most common kinds of labour are fixed by the statute; from which it may be inferred that the blacksmith, the weaver, and the members of other trades in which a combination of numerous individuals is not required, worked on their own account chiefly; there is no reason indeed to suppose that either the great staple manufacture of the time or any other was usually as yet carried on otherwise than by each man in his own house. Twenty years afterwards (in 1464) we find complaints made of the master-clothiers paying wages in kind; a statute passed in consequence of which† enacted that the clothiers should pay ready money to their work-people, as well as that the wool given them to work up should be previously weighed. In the preamble it is stated that they had been accustomed to force the people they employed to take pins, girdles, and other unprofitable wares instead of money. Nearly every craft was now incorporated, and they were very properly submitted to a uniform principle of government. In 1436 a statute‡ was passed, the preamble of which states that the incorporated guilds and companies, "oftentimes by colour of rule and governance, and other terms in general words to them granted, make themselves many unlawful and unreasonable ordinances." For remedy of this it was provided that the charters of each company should be duly enrolled, and their ordinances approved of by the justices of the peace, or by the local authorities in cities and towns.

The position of several classes of artificers in reference to foreign competition, and also the extent to which the division of employments had been carried may in some degree be judged of from one of the statutes relating to trade and manufactures passed in the beginning of the reign of Richard III.* It enumerates the following artificers as joining in a complaint that the articles the fabrication of which used to furnish them with employment and bread were now brought from parts beyond sea:—Girdlers, r[illegible]nt-makers, pinners, pursers, glovers, cutlers, blade-smiths, blacksmiths, spurriers, gold-beaters, painters, saddlers, lorimers, founders, card-makers, hurers,† wire-mongers, weavers, horners, bottle-makers, and coppersmiths. The statute in consequence prohibited the importation of the following articles:—Girdles, or any harness wrought for girdles, points, laces, leather purses, pouches, pins, gloves, knives, hangers, tailors' shears, scissors, and irons, cobbards, tongs, fire-forks, gridirons, stock-locks, keys, hinges and garnets, spurs, painted glasses, painted papers, painted forcers, painted images and cloths, beaten gold or silver in paper for painters, saddles, saddle-trees; horse-harness, boots, bits, stirrups, chains, buckles, latten-nails with iron shanks, turrets standing candlesticks, holy-water stops, chafing-dishes, hanging lavers, curtain rings, cards for wool except Rouen cards, clasps for gowns, buckles for shoes, brooches, bells except hawk-bells, spoons of tin and lead, chains of wire, as well of latten as of iron, candlesticks of iron, grates, and lantern-horns. The importation of several other articles had been already prohibited by another statute of the same kind passed in 1463.‡

The division of employments was in some instances directly promoted by statutes which forbade certain trades to be carried on together by the same person. Thus, in 1423, a statute § was passed prohibiting "cordwainers using the mystery of tanners." The improvement of a craft was also in some cases attempted to be stimulated by legislative enactments. In the last-mentioned statute it is affirmed that "much of the leather tanned by the tanners is so deceitfully tanned, that boots, shoes, and other necessaries thereof made, be in a small season wasted and destroyed, to the great deceit and loss of the commonalty of the realm." To remedy this a heavy penalty was inflicted upon tanners who made leather of inferior quality.

The following notices of the conditions under which various trades and manufactures were carried on are chiefly derived from the statutes.

When the woollen manufacture first began to assume importance as the great staple of the nation, it was chiefly carried on in London and the immediate neighbourhood, but it soon spread itself into the adjacent counties of Surrey, Kent, Essex, Berks, Oxford, and subsequently into Dorset, Wilts, Somerset, Gloucester, and Worcester. These were the counties which produced the best wool, and, in the imperfect state of the means of communication, the manufacture naturally became located within reach of the raw material. The

* 23 Henry VI. c. 19. † 4 Edward IV. c. 1
‡ 15 Henry V. c. 6

* 1 Richard III. c. 12.
† Macpherson (Ann. of Com. i. 203) conjectures *hurers* to be weavers in hare.
‡ 3 Edward IV. c. iv.
§ 2 Henry VI. c. 7.

woollen manufacture had not yet found its way into Yorkshire, though in Devonshire, the wool of which was of an inferior description, it had existed long before the present period. The various descriptions of cloth manufactured in the kingdom are specified in one of the statutes;* but the names do not indicate anything connected with the history or circumstances of the manufacture. The office of aulneger, from aulne or ell, is mentioned in a statute of 1328. This officer was the duly authorised cloth-measurer. Blackwall Hall, in London, had been purchased as a market-house for cloth in 1397. By a statute passed in 1405 country clothiers and others were allowed to sell their goods by wholesale in London.† In 1439 it was enacted‡ that there should be but one measure of cloth throughout England, by the yard and inch, and not by the yard and handful, according to the measure of London; so that it would seem the commercial customs of London were not always regarded as a standard. In 1464, in a statute § regulating the measure of pieces of cloth, it is asserted in the preamble, that the workmanship of cloths and other woollen goods was become to be of such fraud as to be had in small reputation in other countries, to the great shame of this land; and that by reason thereof great quantities of foreign cloth are imported and sold at excessive prices. It was in consequence provided that no cloth but that of Ireland and Wales should be imported. A later statute‖ directs that no cloth shall be dyed with orchell, or cork called yare-cork; that no chalk shall be put upon white cloth; that tenters shall not be kept within doors; and that no cloths shall be set, drawn, or tentered after being wetted. By the middle of the fifteenth century the prohibition of English cloth was regarded by foreign nations as an effective means of annoying the English. A statute of 1464¶ notices an ordinance of the Duke of Burgundy, prohibiting English cloth in Brabant, and retaliates by interdicting the importation of any merchandise except provisions from the countries governed by the Duke of Burgundy, until English cloths be re-admitted into those countries.

The exportation of woollen-yarn was also vigilantly prevented, lest the foreign manufacturer should obtain facilities for rivalling us. In 1429 it was enacted that "no man buy yarn of wool, called woollen-yarn, unless he will make cloth thereof."** It appears also by another statute of the same year,†† that the weavers had been accustomed, "when they wrought a cloth near the end, to cut away for their private profit the thread which is left unwoven, and call the same thrums," and to sell the said thrums, to the loss of the owners, to persons carrying them into Flanders, "though the king have thereof no profit of customs nor subsidy;" but the principal grievance was, that under cover of thrums, woollen yarn was exported, thereby

* 1 Richard III. c. 8.
‡ 18 Henry VI. c. 16.
‖ 1 Richard III. c. 8.
** 8 Henry VI. c. 5.
† 7 Henry IV. c. 7.
§ 4 Edward IV. c. 1.
¶ 4 Edward IV. c. 5.
†† 8 Henry VI. c. 23.

SPINNING WITH THE DISTAFF. Harl. MS. 4374.

preventing its being wrought in the kingdom. In 1444 the export of thrums and woollen-yarns was prohibited for a term of three years.*

The worsted manufacture had fixed itself in the eastern counties. "Cloths called worsteds" had been an article of export in 1376. In the preamble of a statute† passed in 1441, for the regulation of the trade, it is observed that, "worsted was sometime a good merchandise, and greatly desired and loved in the parts beyond the sea, but now, because that it is of false work and of false stuff, no man thereof taketh regard." Persons purchased goods "trusting that it shall be within as it sheweth without, where of truth it is contrary." To provide a remedy for these malpractices, weavers were ordered to put their marks on their worsted, and those of Norwich, and also the weavers in the county of Norfolk, were each to choose wardens for securing the due observance of the statute. In 1444 the weavers of Suffolk were empowered to appoint wardens;‡ and in 1467 those of Cambridgeshire received the same privilege.§

The interests which were connected with silk as a raw material only come before our notice during this period as claimants for protection against foreigners. This branch of industry does not appear as yet to have stood upon a very broad foundation. In 1455 it was enacted that no wrought silk belonging to the mystery of silk-women shall be brought into England by way of merchandise for five years to come.‖ The preamble of the statute assigns as the ground for this provision the grievous complaints of the silk-women and spinners of the mystery and occupation of silk-working, within the city of London, how that divers Lombards and other strangers, imagining to destroy the said mystery, and all such virtuous occupations of women, bring into the realm such silk so made, wrought, twined, ribands and chains falsely and deceitfully wrought, in no manner of wise bringing any good silk unwrought as they were wont. The Lord Mayor was empowered to appoint

* 23 Henry VI. c. 2.
‡ 23 Henry VI. c. 4.
‖ 33 Henry VI. c. 5.
† 20 Henry VI. c. 10.
§ 7 Edward IV. c. 1.

searchers to prevent any infringement of the statute. These restrictions upon the importation of silk were afterwards repeatedly renewed.*

The crafts which were occupied in working in metals were numerous. The armorers were as much distinguished as the goldsmiths for their skill and taste. One of our old chroniclers gives a description of a solemn just at Oxford in the reign of Henry IV.,† from which it is evident that great variety of design and much skill were displayed by this superior order of artificers. The aid of the goldsmith was required to give the highest degree of beauty to a suit of armour. The jewels and plate pledged by Henry V. to raise the means for invading France evince a magnificence of display which proves that the class of men by whose skill it was produced could not occupy an unimportant station in the rank of traders and merchants. Henry VI. pledged a large quantity of silver plate to two goldsmiths to whom he owed above 3000*l.*‡ The trade of the goldsmiths had been regulated by statute more than once during the fourteenth century. In 1423 it appears that the work in gold and silver done by the goldsmiths of Newcastle, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Coventry, Salisbury and Bristol, in addition to those of London, was so extensive as to render an assay-office necessary in each of these places.§ Several prior statutes show that, from the temptation to fraud which it presented, it was a craft requiring a vigilant eye to be kept upon it. In 1403 an attempt was made by statute ‖ to check the deceits which had crept into the trade. The act provides that, "whereas many fraudulent artificers, imagining to deceive the common people, do daily make locks (brooches), rings, beads, candlesticks, harness for girdles, hilts, chalices, and sword-pommels, powder-boxes, and covers for cups, of copper and of latten, like to gold or silver, and the same sell and put in gage to many men not having full knowledge thereof, for whole gold and whole silver, to the great deceit, loss and hindrance of the common people," in future such articles shall not be gilt or silvered over under a penalty of 100*l.*; but articles for the church, except chalices, are allowed to be silvered though made of copper or latten, "so that always in the foot, or some other part of every such ornament so to be made, the copper and the latten shall be plain, to the intent that a man may see whereof the thing is made, for to eschew the deceit aforesaid." In 1414 another interference by statute¶ was made with the goldsmiths, who, it is alleged, "would not sell the wares of their mystery but at the double price of the weight of the silver of the same, which seemeth to the king very outrageous and too excessive a price." The statute provided a summary remedy by fixing the price per lb. of silver gilt. In 1420 it was enacted** that "none from henceforth shall gild any sheaths nor metal but silver and the ornaments of holy church, nor shall silver any metal but knight's spurs, and all the apparel that pertaineth to a baron." In 1423 a statute enacted* that no gold and silver should be sold "before that it be touched with the touch of the leopard's head." In 1477 the trade of the goldsmiths was again regulated. The great majority were now probably Englishmen, but it is observed in the preamble of the statute,† that there be divers goldsmiths and other workers of gold and silver, aliens and strangers within two miles of the city, who carry on their business secretly, and not under the superintendence of the goldsmiths of London. It is in consequence enacted that, for the better surveying of the said aliens and strangers in time to come, they be required to inhabit the open streets of the city, and "where better and more open showing is of their craft."

An interesting notice respecting the manufacture of hats and caps occurs in the preamble of a statute passed in 1482.‡ It is stated that "hats, bonnets, and caps, as well single as double, were wont to be faithfully made, wrought, fulled and thicked by men's strength, that is to say, with hands and feet, and thereby the makers of the same have honestly before this time gained their living, and kept many apprentices, servants, and good houses, till now of late that, by subtle imagination, to the destruction of the labours and sustenance of many men, such hats, bonnets, and caps have been fulled and thicked in fulling-mills, and in the said mills the said hats and caps be broken, and deceitfully wrought, and in no wise by the mean of any mill may be faithfully made, to the great damage of our sovereign lord the king and of all his subjects, and to the final undoing of such which be the makers of hats, caps and bonnets." The old mode of manufacture, "by hands and feet," is ordered to be continued, and a penalty of 40*s.* is imposed upon those who should set to sale any hats or caps produced by mechanical power.

Scarcely any class of traders escaped the vigilance of this spirit of legislative restriction. In a statute of 1433§ it is affirmed that the wax-chandlers sold candles, images, and figures, and other works of wax made for offerings, at the rate of a lb. of wax for 2*s.* when 1 lb. of wax is worth only 6*d.*, whereby they gain 1*s.* 6*d.* in every lb., by which means people are defrauded of their good intent and devotion. The remedy which the statute provides is, that in future only 3*d.* per lb. should be charged for the manufactured article over the value of the raw material. By another statute passed in 1464,‖ shoemakers in London, or within three miles of it, were prohibited from making "any shoes, galoches, or huseaus, with any pike or poleyn that shall pass the length of two inches, which shall be judged by the wardens or governors of the same mystery." The shoemakers were also prohibited by the same statute under a penalty of

* 1 Richard III. c. 10.
‡ Rymer, Fœd. xi. 195.
‖ 5 Henry IV. c. 13.
† Hall's Chron. p. 17.
§ 2 Henry VI. c. 14.
¶ 2 Henry V. stat. ii. c. 4.
** 8 Henry V. c. 3.

* 2 Henry VI. c. 17.
‡ 22 Edward IV. c. 5.
† 17 Edward IV. c. 1.
§ 11 Henry VI. c. 12.
‖ 7 Edward IV. c. 7.

20s. from following their craft on Sundays. In 1455, a statute was passed,* the reason for which is not alleged, by which it was enacted that no public brewer in Kent shall make above one hundred quarters of malt annually to his own use. But the restriction upon the number of attornies in Norwich, Norfolk and Suffolk is the most remarkable of these examples of legislative interference. The statute was passed in 1455,† and was occasioned by the number of attorneys attending the king's courts in the city of Norwich and counties of Norfolk and Suffolk having increased from six or eight to ten times that number. Under the former state of things, it is remarked in the preamble, "great tranquillity reigned in the said city and counties, and little trouble or vexation was made by untrue or foreign suits." Now, it is added, there are four score attorneys, the greater part of whom have nothing to live upon but the gains of their attorneyship, and also are not possessed of a proper knowledge of the law. Their practices are thus described:—"They come to every market, fair, and other places where there is any assembly of people, exhorting, procuring, moving, and inciting the people to attempt untrue and foreign suits, for small trespasses, little offences, and small sums of debt." The statute provided a summary remedy by enacting that there should be but six common attorneys in Norfolk, six in Suffolk, and two in Norwich, to be elected and admitted by two of the judges.

* 33 Henry VI. c. 4. † 33 Henry VI. c. 7.

GROUP OF ARTISANS. Harl. MS. 4374.

CHAPTER V.

THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE FINE ARTS.

A FEW facts, which may be very briefly related, constitute the history of literature and science in England during the present period. Some of these facts, indeed, form important eras in the chronology of our subject, and were followed by results of great moment, which will engage our attention in a subsequent Book; but the actual contributions of the fifteenth century to our national literature are smaller in amount and value than those of any preceding age since the Norman Conquest.

The ferment of studious enthusiasm which had been excited in men's minds in the beginning of the preceding century had, in a great measure, spent itself before the beginning of this. According to an oration delivered before the pope and cardinals by Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, in 1357, the 30,000 students of the University of Oxford* had even by that time decreased to about 6000. The popular veneration for learning had also, from various causes, undergone a corresponding decline; and instead of the honours formerly paid by all classes to talents and scholarship, and the crowding of eager multitudes around every eminent doctor wherever he appeared, we perceive now the aspect of a general indifference, and encounter occasional instances of the votaries of science and letters begging their bread, and

* See vol. i. p. 842.

Eton College.

their inappreciated acquirements turned into matter of ridicule and mockery by the insolence of rank and wealth. Anthony Wood, the quaint historian of the University of Oxford, relates a story of two itinerating students of this age, who, having one day presented themselves at a baronial castle, and sought an introduction by the exhibition of their academical credentials, in which they were each described as gifted, among other accomplishments, with a poetical vein, were ordered by the baron to be suspended in a pair of buckets over a draw-well, and dipped alternately into the water, until each should produce a couplet on his awkward situation: it was not till after a considerable number of duckings that the unfortunate captives finished the rhymes, while their involuntary ascents and descents, during the process of concoction, were heartily enjoyed by the baron and his company. It would be unfair, indeed, to judge of the general state of things from one or two anecdotes of this kind, although such consequences are only what might be expected when scholars took to perambulating the country as mendicants, with recommendations to the charity of the benevolent by the chancellors of their universities, as we are assured was now become customary; but the circumstances of our own country at least, in this age, must have proved in no small degree depressing to all liberal pursuits.

Although much of the popular effervescence had evaporated, however, the love of knowledge was still alive and active in many of the more select

INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

order of minds, prompting them to zealous exertions both in its acquisition and its diffusion. In the course of the fifteenth century, very nearly forty new universities were founded in the different countries of Europe. In our own several new colleges were added both to Oxford and Cambridge. In the former university, Lincoln College was founded in 1430, by Richard Flemyng, Bishop of Lincoln, though only completed about 1475, by his successor, Thomas Rotherham. All Souls was founded in 1437 by Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, with the design of providing a perpetual service of prayers and masses for the souls of all the faithful departed, and especially of those who had fallen or should fall in the French wars; and Magdalen, which soon became one of the wealthiest academical establishments in Europe, was founded by William Pattyn, or De Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor of England, who began the erection of the fabric in 1458, and lived to witness its completion in 1479. Cambridge received the additions, of King's College, founded in 1441, on a scale of great liberality and magnificence, by Henry VI., who established, about the same time, the celebrated school of Eton, to be a nursery for his college; of Queen's College, founded in 1446, by Henry's consort, Margaret of Anjou; and of Catherine Hall, founded in 1475, by Robert Woodlark, the third provost of King's College. Extensive public buildings, which came to be known by the name of the New Schools, were also erected at Oxford, in 1439, by Thomas Hokenorton, Abbot of Osney, for the delivery of lectures in metaphysics, natural philosophy, moral philosophy, astronomy, geometry, music, arithmetic, logic, rhetoric, and grammar. The foundation of a divinity school and of a public library was laid in the same university about 1427; and although the building was often interrupted, it was, at length, through the liberal donations of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, Cardinal John Kemp, Archbishop of York, his nephew Thomas Kemp, Bishop of London, and other benefactors, completed in 1480, when it formed the most magnificent structure of which the university yet had to boast. The building of public schools was also begun at Cambridge, in 1443, at the expense of the university, and finished, by the aid of various contributors, about 1475.

More interesting, however, than these extensions of former establishments, is the founding of a temple to Learning in a part of the island in which no permanent abode had ever before been built for her. The first of the Scottish universities, that of St. Andrew's, rose a few years after the commencement of the fifteenth century, out of the scheme of a few men of letters in that city, who, probably on the suggestion of the Bishop Henry Wardlaw, formed themselves into an association for giving instruction in the sciences then usually taught in universities to all who chose to attend their lectures, and are supposed to have begun teaching about the year 1410. Their names, as recorded by the father of Scottish history, and eminently worthy to be preserved, were Laurence Lindores, who undertook to explain the Fourth Book of the Master of the Sentences; Richard Cornel, Archdeacon of Lothian; John Litster, canon of St. Andrew's; John Shevez, official of St. Andrew's, and William Stephen, who lectured on the civil and canon laws; and John Gyll, William Fowler, and William Crosier, who taught logic and philosophy.* The institution, with this apparatus of professors, was already, in everything but in form, a university—and such it is styled in the charter or grant of privileges which Wardlaw hastened to bestow upon it. In that instrument, which is dated the 27th of February, 1411, the bishop speaks of the university as having been already actually instituted and founded by himself, saving the authority of the apostolic see, and laudably begun by those to whom he addresses himself, the venerable doctors, masters, bachelors, and scholars dwelling in his city of St. Andrew's. He now proceeded more formally to endow the new seminary, in so far as his jurisdiction extended, with all the rights and liberties of a university. Two years afterwards, bulls of confirmation, &c., in the usual terms, were obtained from Benedict XIII., the one of the three then contending popes who was acknowledged by the kingdom of Scotland. Benedict's bulls are six in number, all dated the same day, the 25th of August, 1413, at Paniscola, in Arragon, where that pope kept his court. They profess to be granted at the request of the Scottish king (though James I. was then a prisoner in England), and of the bishop, prior, and chapter of St. Andrew's, whose project of establishing a university, or *studium generale*, in that city, is expressly stated to have been formed with the counsel, consent, and common participation of the three estates of the realm of Scotland.† The bishop and his associates, it is declared, had been stirred up to the undertaking by the consideration of the many dangers and inconveniences to which the clergy of that kingdom, who desired to be instructed in theology, the canon and civil laws, medicine, and the liberal arts, were exposed, from wars and other impediments in their journeys to foreign *studia generalia*, in consequence of there being no such institution to which they might resort in their own country. The several papal bulls were brought to St. Andrew's by Henry de Ogilby, M.A., on the 3rd of February, 1414, when they were received with processions and ringing of bells, and every demonstration of public joy. When King James returned ten years after this from England, he found the new seminary already firmly established, and still flourishing under the protection of its founder, Wardlaw, who had also been the instructor of his own boyhood.

* Fordun, Scotichronicon.

† Quod olim de consilio, consensu, et communi tractatu trium statuum personarum regni Scotiæ—are the words of the bull of foundation. See Evidence taken by the Commissioners for visiting the Universities of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 171.

ST. ANDREW'S AS IT APPEARED ABOUT A CENTURY AGO.

James granted it a charter confirming all its privileges and immunities, dated at Perth, the 31st of March, 1432; and if we may believe the historian, Hector Boethius, it flourished so greatly under his patronage, that it soon came to have among its teachers no fewer than thirteen doctors of divinity and eight doctors of laws, as well as a prodigious multitude of students. The good and enlightened Bishop Wardlaw presided over the see of St. Andrew's till the year 1444, when the university found in James Kennedy a worthy successor to his virtues and public spirit, as well as to his place. As yet the institution was little more than an incorporated association, without any permanent endowments, and with scarcely any buildings except a few public lecturing rooms; it was a university, therefore, but as yet without a college. Its first college—that of St. Salvator—was built and endowed by Kennedy, whose original foundation charter was confirmed in a bull no longer extant, by Pope Nicholas V., who died in 1455. A second charter was granted by Kennedy, at his castle of St. Andrew's, on the 4th of April, 1458, and confirmed by Pope Pius II., in a bull dated at Rome, the 13th of September, in the same year. In this the whole scheme of the establishment is minutely detailed, and a complete body of rules is laid down for its government. One of the bishop's ordinances is curiously illustrative of the lax morality of the times. Having given some solemn directions as to the hours at which masses were to be said in all time coming by the members of the college, who were all to be clergymen, he proceeds to enjoin that all the members of the said college shall live decently as becomes ecclesiastics, "so as not," it is added, "to keep concubines publicly, nor to be common nightwalkers or robbers, or habitually guilty of other notorious crimes; and if any of them is so (which it is earnestly hoped may not be the case) let him be corrected by his superior; if he prove incorrigible, let him be deprived and another put in his place."* By another bull, dated the 25th of February, 1468, Pope Paul II. granted to the principal and masters of the college of St. Salvator the right of bestowing degrees in theology and the arts, "in consideration," as it is expressed, "of its high and well-known reputation among the other colleges of the realm of Scotland."† The other colleges here spoken of could be nothing more than grammar schools; but the passage proves, what, indeed, is well established by other evidence, that such schools already existed in many of the monasteries and principal towns. It was at these that the Scottish youth were prepared for their attendance upon foreign universities.

Another of the Scottish universities—that of Glasgow—was also founded within the present period. The bull of foundation was granted at the request of James II. in 1450, by Nicholas V., "a pope distinguished by his talents and erudition, and particularly by his munificent patronage of Grecian literature."‡ Other royal and episcopal charters were subsequently granted by King

* Ordinamus insuper, quod omnes dicti collegii honestè vivant, ut decet ecclesiasticos, ita quod non habeant publicas concubinas, nec sint communes noctivagi seu brigantes, aut aliis notoriis criminibus intenti: et si talis sit (quod absit) per superiorem suum, &c.—See Evidence taken by the Commissioners for visiting the Universities of Scotland, vol. iii. 272.

† Quod inter alia collegia regni Scotiæ, collegium ejusdem ecclesiæ egregiam ac notabile reputatur.—Ibid. 273.

‡ Report of the Scottish University Commissioners, p. 213. See a character of Pope Nicholas V. by Gibbon—who observes that his "fame has not been adequate to his merits"—in Decline and Fall of Rom. Emp. ch. 66.

James II. (20th April, 1453); by Bishop Turnbull (1st December, 1453); by Bishop Muirhead (1st July, 1461); and by King James III. (10th December, 1472).* But "in none of the papal, royal, or episcopal letters of privilege, of a date prior to the Reformation," observes the writer of the able and elaborate account of the University of Glasgow appended to the General Report of the late Commission of Inquiry into the State of the Universities of Scotland, "is there any distinct trace of the constitution of the university; and it can scarcely be said that any of these documents refers to the existence of a *college*, or to the possession of any property. It does not appear that it was the intention of the founder of the university that the members should live *collegialiter*, maintained at a public table, and resident within the walls of a separate building . . . . Universities might be established (and some still exist on the continent) without having even class-rooms for the students. The University of Paris subsisted in great efficiency from the age of Charlemagne to the middle of the thirteenth century (a period of nearly five hundred years) without having any schools or places of auditory, except such as were hired in the houses of individuals. During the first twenty years after the foundation of the university of St. Andrew's, great inconvenience was suffered, not merely from the want of such rooms, but from the multiplicity of schools in the different religious houses, all of them claiming to be considered as constituent parts of the university; and even after a Pædagogium was founded in 1430, for the schools and halls of the Faculty of Arts, and for chambers to be used by the students in that Faculty, the studies of the Faculties of Theology and Law were conducted in other buildings; and the congregations of the university continued for at least 130 years to be held in the Augustinian Priory."† A piece of ground, however, with the buildings upon it, in the High-street of the city, was granted to the University of Glasgow by James, the first Lord Hamilton, in 1460, being the site on which the college stands at the present day.

Dark and unproductive as was the greater part of the fifteenth century in England and France, the revival of letters in the western world dates from this age. For some years before the final conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the course of political events in the eastern empire had led to a more frequent intercourse than heretofore between its subjects and their fellow Christians of the west, and had not only drawn some of the most distinguished ornaments of the Byzantine court, including three of the emperors themselves, to visit the Latin kingdoms, but had induced several learned Greeks to come over and settle in Italy. "In their lowest servitude and depression," as Gibbon has said in one of his well-poised sentences, "the subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity,—of a musical and prolific language, that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy." It cannot, perhaps, be said that the knowledge of the Greek tongue was ever entirely lost in western Europe; there were probably in every age a few scholars who had more than a merely elementary acquaintance with it. It is certain, however, that it was not a common study even among the most learned. The most eminent universities—such as Bologna, Paris, and Oxford—were without any regular professor of Greek. Even the few who did read the language seem to have read only the writings in it on science and philosophy. Warton has shown that both the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey' were apparently wholly unknown, or at least not understood, in Europe from the fourth to the fourteenth century.* The renewed intercourse that has been mentioned between the East and the West in the early part of the latter century rapidly effected a great revolution in this respect. Petrarch, about the year 1340, began the study of the language of Homer, under the instructions of the learned Barlaam, who had come to Italy as ambassador from Andronicus the younger; and although the separation of the two friends soon after stopped the Tuscan at the threshold of the new literature, his friend Boccaccio twenty years later was more fortunate in obtaining the assistance of Leontius Pilatus, a disciple of Barlaam, and, under his guidance, penetrated to its inner glories. Meanwhile, the destruction of their ancient empire had driven a crowd of illustrious Greek exiles to Italy—the Cardinal Bessarion, Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, John Argyropulus, Demetrius Chalcondyles, Janus Lascaris, and others—some of whom taught their native language in the universities and chief towns of that country, while the rest, by their translations, by their writings, and their converse with the public mind in various ways, assisted in diffusing a taste for it and a knowledge of it even beyond the Alps. Nor, as Gibbon has remarked, was the ardour of the Latins in receiving and treasuring up this new knowledge inferior to that of their Greek guests in imparting it. The merits of Pope Nicholas V., in the patronage of Greek literature, have been already noticed. During the eight years that he wore the tiara (from 1447 to 1455) this active and liberal head of the Christian church added five thousand volumes to the library of the Vatican. Many of these were Greek books, or translations of them into Latin. "To his munificence," continues the great historian, "the Latin world was indebted for the versions of Xenophon, Diodorus, Polybius, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Appian; of Strabo's Geography, of the Iliad, of the most valuable works of Plato and Aristotle, of Ptolemy and Theophrastus, and of the fathers of the Greek church. The example of the Roman pontiff was

* Evidence of Univ. Com. ii. 230—263.
† Report, p. 214.

* Hist. of Eng. Poetry, i. 128, and ii. 392.

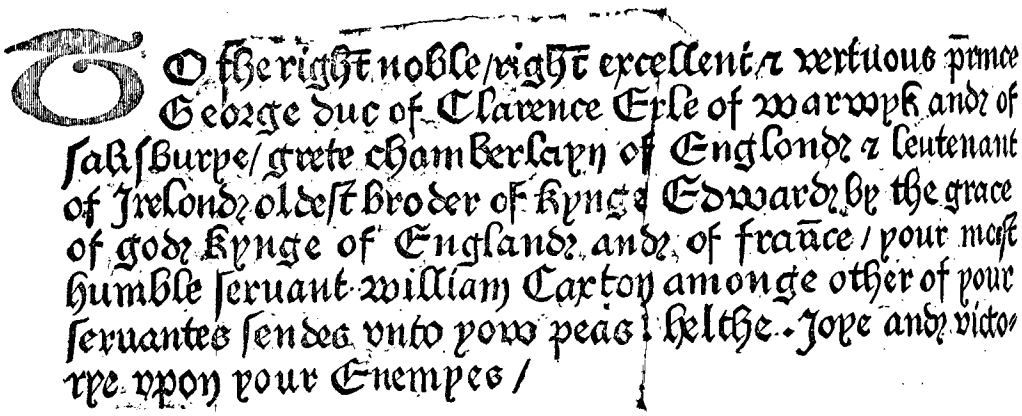
preceded or imitated by a Florentine merchant, who governed the republic without arms and without a title. Cosmo of Medicis was the father of a line of princes whose name and age are almost synonymous with the restoration of learning: his credit was ennobled into fame; his riches were dedicated to the service of mankind: he corresponded at once with Cairo and London; and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books was often imported in the same vessel. In his palace distress was entitled to relief, and merit to reward; his leisure hours were delightfully spent in the Platonic academy; he encouraged the emulation of Demetrius Chalcondyles and Angelo Politian; and his active missionary, Janus Lascaris, returned from the East with a treasure of two hundred manuscripts, fourscore of which were as yet unknown in the libraries of Europe."*

Gibbon adds, that "after a short succession of foreign teachers, the tide of emigration subsided; but the language of Constantinople was spread beyond the Alps; and the natives of France, Germany, and England, imparted to their country the sacred fire which they had kindled in the schools of Florence and Rome." Although, however, it has been necessary, for the sake of chronological distinctness, to notice the revival of learning in Europe in this place, the light of that great dayspring scarcely reached our own country within the present period. The Greek language did not begin to be taught at Oxford till towards the very close of the fifteenth century. The case was different with regard to the other most memorable incident in the history of literature which illustrates the age of which we are now treating. The three towns of Haerlem in Holland, and of Mayence and Strasburg in Germany, contend for the honour of having given birth, shortly before the middle of this century, to the art of printing. The claim of Haerlem rests upon a tradition that one of its citizens, Lawrence, or Laurent Janszoon Coster, had, without assistance or communication with any other individual, not only invented the art, but brought it to perfection, through the successive stages of wooden types, types of cut metal, and types cast in the modern fashion, before the year 1441; in which year one of his servants named John—whom some suppose to have been John Fust—made his escape to Mayence, carrying with him both the secret and a quantity of Coster's types and implements, with which he began to print in the last-mentioned city in the following year. Among those who reject this story there is little disagreement as to the persons to whom the several parts of the invention are to be attributed; the principal dispute is, whether the art was first practised at Mayence or at Strasburg. We have seen that the supporters of the pretensions of Coster of Haerlem assert his claims to the invention both of the art of printing and of the art of typefounding. These are properly to be considered as two perfectly distinct inventions; and, though coming the one in aid of the other, the latter was really as great an improvement upon the former, as the notion of printing with moveable types—the true beginning of the new art—was upon the process long previously practised in China, and not unknown even in ancient as well as in modern Europe, of producing impressions from blocks of wood and other materials. The principle of the one consisted in making the same type available in the production of many different words and pages; the principle of the other consisted in making one cutting serve for the production of many copies of the same type. They proceeded, in fact, in opposite directions; the object of the former was attained by the contrivance of separate types, by the breaking down of the one block into many pieces: the latter was suggested by viewing the different types of each letter as essentially the same, that is to say, by bringing together, as it were, the many into one. The Germans agree in venerating three names as those of the fathers of the whole art of printing—John Gutenberg, or Gutenberger; Peter Schœffer, otherwise called Opilio; and John Fust. The share which Fust had in the matter is involved in some obscurity. According to one account, he merely interested himself warmly in the invention, and, being wealthy, assisted Gutenberg, who was poor, with the means of carrying on his operations. It is admitted that the grand fundamental conception of printing with separate or moveable types is due to Gutenberg alone. And to Schœffer is attributed, with equal unanimity, the invention of casting types of metal by means of a matrix. For this happy improvement—without which, indeed, printing with moveable types would have been checked in its natural development, like an animal or a plant left without adequate nourishment, Schœffer, who was at the time in the service of Gutenberg and Fust, is said to have received from the latter his only daughter in marriage. The first servants of this high mystery, however, were not of the class of ordinary workmen; the fabrication of books, which even in its most mechanical forms had hitherto always been an employment of an intellectual nature, was not now committed to persons without any literary education; Schœffer had studied in his youth at the University of Paris, and his scholarly acquirements had no doubt in the first instance recommended him to Gutenberg as a fit assistant in his scholarly craft.

The art of printing had been practised nearly thirty years in Germany before it was introduced either into England or France—with so tardy a pace did knowledge travel to and fro over the earth in those days, or so unfavourable was the state of these countries for the reception of even the greatest improvements in the arts. At length a citizen of London secured a conspicuous place to his name for ever in the annals of our national literature, by being, as far as is known, the first of his countrymen that learned the new art, and certainly

* Decline and Fall of Rom. Emp. ch. 66.

the first who either practised it in England, or in printing an English book. William Caxton was born, as he tells us himself, in the Weald of Kent, it is supposed about the year 1412. Thirty years after this date his name is found among the members of the Mercers' Company in London. Later in life he appears to have repeatedly visited the Low Countries, at first probably on business of his own, but afterwards in a sort of public capacity,—having in 1464 been commissioned, along with another person, apparently also a merchant, by Edward IV. to negotiate a commercial treaty with the Duke of Burgundy. He was afterwards taken into the household of Margaret Duchess of Burgundy. It was while resident in the Low Countries that he commenced practising the art of printing. He is known to have completed there, before the end of the year 1471, impressions of Raoul le Feure's 'Recueil des Histoires de Troyes,' in folio; of the Latin oration of John Russell on Charles Duke of Burgundy being created a Knight of the Garter, in quarto; and of an English translation by himself, of Le Feure's above-mentioned history, in folio; "whyche sayd translacion and werke," says the title, "was begonne in Brugis in 1468, and ended in the holy cyte of Colen, 19 Sept. 1471." These productions of his foreign press, therefore, exhibit examples of his printing in three different languages—French, Latin, and English. The next work known to have been printed by Caxton, is another English translation by himself, from the French, of a moral treatise entitled 'The Game and Playe of the Chesse,' a folio volume, which is stated to have been "finished the last day of March, 1474." It is generally supposed that this work was printed in England; and the year


O the right noble/right excellent/r vertuous prince George duc of Clarence Erle of warwyk and of salsburye/ grete chamberlayn of Englond/r leutenant of Ireland/ oldest broder of kynge Edward/ by the grace of god kynge of England/ and of france/ your most humble seruant William Caxton amonge other of your seruantes sendes vnto yow peace/ helthe/ joye and victorye vpon your enemyes/

Specimen of Caxton's Printing.—Dedication of Book of Chess.

1474 accordingly is assumed to have been that of the introduction of the art into this country. It is certainly known that Caxton had come to England in 1477, and had set up his press in the Almonry, near Westminster Abbey, where he printed that year, in folio, 'The Dictes and Notable Wyse Sayenges of the Phylosophers,' translated from the French by Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers. From this time Caxton continued both to print and translate with indefatigable industry till after the close of the present period, his last publication with a date having been produced in 1490, and his death having probably taken place in 1491, or 1492.* Before he died he saw the admirable art which he had introduced into his native country already firmly established there and the practice of it extensively diffused. Theodore Rood, John Lettow, William Machelina, and Wynkyn de Worde, foreigners, and Thomas Hunt, an Englishman, all printed in London both before and after Caxton's death. It is probable that the foreigners had been his assistants, and were brought into the country by him. A press was also set up at St. Alban's by a schoolmaster of that place, whose name has not been preserved; and books began to be printed at Oxford so early as the year 1478. It would even appear that before the end of this period some exportation of the productions of the English press had commenced. At the end of a Latin translation of the Epistles of Phalaris, printed at Oxford in 1485, is a Latin couplet, boasting that the English, who had been wont to be indebted for books to the Venetians, now sold books themselves to other nations.*

An enumeration of the principal works printed by Caxton will present the best view that can be given of the popular literature of the times; for of course he employed his press in the multiplication, and his pen in the translation, of the kind of books most in request among the reading portion of his countrymen. The predominant spirit of the age was still a mixture of devotion and romance; the clergy and the nobility were also at once the best educated and the wealthiest classes; accordingly the religious books and the romances form the two largest divisions in the list. The former comprises the Pilgrimage of the Soul, from the French; Liber Festivalis, or, Directions for keeping Feasts

* See article on Caxton in Penny Cyclopædia, vol. vi. p. 393.

* Celatos, Veneti, nobis transmittere libros
Cedite, nos aliis vendimus, O Veneti.
Middleton's Origin of Printing in England, p. 19.

THE ALMONRY, WESTMINSTER, where Caxton's Printing Office was.

all the Year; Quatuor Sermones (or Four Sermons), in English; The Golden Legend (a collection of Lives of the Saints), three editions; The Art and Craft to know well to Die, from the French; Infantia Salvatoris (the Infancy of our Saviour); The Life of St. Catherine of Sens; Speculum Vitæ Christi, or Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ; Directorium Sacerdotum (a Directory of Church Worship); A Book of Divers Ghostly Matters; The Life of St. Wynefrid; The Provincial Constitutions of Bishop Lyndwood of St. Asaph, in Latin; the Profitable Book of Man's Soul, called the Chastising of God's Children, and one or two others. Several of these—such as the Lives of the Saints—might come equally under the title of books of romance. The works more properly relating to romance and chivalry, however, are the following: The History of Troy, already mentioned; The Book of the whole Life of Jason; Godfrey of Boloyn; The Knight of the Tower, from the French; The Book of the Order of Chivalry or Knighthood, from the French; The Book Royal, or the Book for a King; A Book of the Noble Histories of King Arthur and of Certain of his Knights; The History of the Noble, Right Valiant, and Right Worthy Knight Paris and of the Fair Vienne; The Book of Feats of Arms and of Chivalry, from the French of Christine of Pisa; and the History of King Blanchardine and Queen Eglantine his Wife. To these may be added, the History of Renard the Fox, translated by Caxton from the German; and the Subtle Histories and Fables of Æsop, from the French. In English poetry there are the following works of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate: of the first, The Tales of Canterbury, two editions; The Book of Fame; Troylus and Cresseide; and some minor poems:—of the second, The Confessio Amantis, that is to say, in English, the Confession of the Lover: of the third, The Work (or Court) of Sapience; The Life of our Lady; and some minor poems along with those of Chaucer. And here we may take note of the honourable conscientiousness of our first English printer, so worthy of his high vocation as the leader in the great enterprise of giving at once universal diffusion and an imperishable existence to the literature of his country. The manuscript from which he had printed his first edition of Chaucer happened unluckily, to quote the words of Mr. Tyrwhitt, "to be one of the very worst, in all respects, that he could possibly have met with." This he himself, as he tells us in the preface to his second edition, discovered some time after-

wards, in consequence of which he did not rest till he had produced this second edition from another much more correct manuscript—"for to satisfy the auctor," as he expresses it, "whereas tofore by ignorance I erred in hurting and defaming his book in divers places, in setting in some things that he never said ne made, and leaving out many things that he made which been requisite to be set in it." None of the ancient Latin classics were printed in England during the present period; but the list of the productions of Caxton's press contains English translations of Cicero's Treatises on Old Age and on Friendship; of Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy, by Chaucer; of the Sayings of the Philosophers; of Virgil's Æneid, from the French; and of the works called Cato Magnus and Cato Parvus, also from the French. This was by no means a contemptible beginning of the work of transfusing the wisdom and poetry of antiquity into the mother tongue. Provision was also made for the readers of history, though not so plentifully as for those of romance. The list contains the following historical and topographical works: The Chronicles of England; The Description of Britain; The Polychronicon; The Life of Charles the Great, twice printed; and the Siege of the Noble and invincible City of Rhodes. Caxton also printed the statutes of the first year of Richard III., and those of the first, second, and third parliaments of Henry VII. Among a few other publications of a miscellaneous description, the following may be mentioned as relating to morals and the conduct of life: The Game of Chess, already noticed; The Moral Proverbs of Christine of Pisa; The Book of Good Manners; The Doctrinal of Sapience, from the French; and A Boke for Travellers. On the whole, the first books that were printed in England were, for the most part, we see, books for the general reader; none of them were works of recondite learning or science, or adapted to the tasks and studies only of particular classes if they were not all equally edifying, they were all as much as possible addressed to the great body of the reading public—the only audience that was then sufficiently numerous to call into profitable exercise the multiplying powers of the press.

It follows, that it was only books of a certain description the price of which was at first reduced by the new invention. For a considerable time after the art of printing came into use, we find the price of many books still as excessive as ever, and the same anxious precautions taken for their security that had been usual when the only mode of multiplying a volume was by its repeated transcription. In 1471, for example, when Louis XI. of France wished to borrow from the Faculty of Medicine at Paris a copy of the works of the Ara-

Talbot, the great Earl of Shrewsbury, presenting a Book of Romances to Henry VI.
From Royal MS. 15 E. 6.

bian physician Rhasis, that he might have a transcript made for his own library, the Faculty, in a formal letter, took credit for extraordinary loyalty in assenting to the application, and, after all, would not let the king have the book until he had not only deposited in pledge for it a considerable quantity of valuable plate, but procured a nobleman to join with him as surety in a deed by which he bound himself to return it uninjured under a considerable forfeiture.* On a manuscript of Matthew Paris, now in the British Museum, there is an inscription, in Latin, dated 1st June, 1488, in the hand-writing and with the signature of John Russell, then Bishop of Lincoln, in which whosoever shall obliterate or destroy the bishop's memorandum respecting the ownership of the volume is solemnly declared to be accursed.† At this time by far the greater number of books were still unprinted; and every considerable library consisted chiefly of manuscripts, just as it did before the

TRANSCRIBER AT WORK.

invention of the art of printing. Warton has collected the following facts respecting the libraries of the fifteenth century, and the inconveniences and impediments to study which must have been produced by the scarcity of books. "The famous library established in the University of Oxford by that munificent patron of literature, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, contained only six hundred volumes. (It was opened in the year 1480.) About the commencement of the fourteenth century, there were only four classics in the Royal Library at Paris: these were, one copy of Cicero, Ovid, Lucan, and Boëthius; the rest were chiefly books of devotion, which included but few of the Fathers; many treatises of astrology, geomancy, chiromancy, and medicine, originally written in Arabic, and translated into Latin or French; pandects, chronicles, and romances. The whole consisted of nine hundred volumes. They were deposited in three chambers (in the Louvre), which, on this occasion, were wainscotted with Irish oak, and ceiled with cyprus, curiously carved. The windows were of painted glass, fenced with iron bars and copper wire. The English became masters of Paris in the year 1425; on which event the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, sent this whole library—then consisting of only 853 volumes, and valued at 2223 livres—into England; where, perhaps, they became the ground-work of Duke Humphrey's library, just mentioned."* In another place the same writer furnishes the following additional information respecting Duke Humphrey, and his munificence as a book collector:—"About the year 1440 he gave to the University of Oxford a library, containing 600 volumes, only 120 of which were valued at 1000*l*. They were the most splendid and costly copies that could be procured, finely written on vellum, and elegantly embellished with miniatures and illuminations; among the rest was a translation into French of Ovid's Metamorphoses. Only a single specimen of these valuable volumes was suffered to remain: it is a beautiful manuscript, in folio, of Valerius Maximus, enriched with the most elegant decorations, and written in Duke Humphrey's age, evidently with a design of being placed in this sumptuous collection. All the rest of the books—which, like this, being highly ornamented, looked like missals, and conveyed ideas of popish superstition—were destroyed or removed by the pious visitors of the University in the reign of Edward VI., whose zeal was equalled only by their ignorance, or perhaps by their avarice."† Several of the volumes of Duke Humphrey's library, however, still remain in various collections. In the library of Oriel College, Oxford is a copy of John Capgrave's "Commentary on Genesis," in the author's hand-writing, preceded by a Dedication to the Duke, the beautifully illuminated initial letter of which represents Capgrave humbly presenting his book to his patron. The volume contains also an entry, in French, in the hand-writing of the Duke, recording it to have been presented to him in the year 1438. Warton goes on to state that the patronage of Duke Humphrey was not confined to English scholars. Many of the most celebrated writers of France and Italy solicited his favour and shared his bounty. He also employed several learned foreigners in transcribing and in making translations of Greek works into Latin. The only literary production which has been ascribed to this distinguished patron of letters is a small tract on Astronomy; but it appears to have been only compiled at his instance, and after tables which he had constructed. In the library of Gresham College, however, there is a scheme of astronomical calculations which bears his name. "Astronomy," says Warton, "was then a favourite science; nor is it to be doubted that he was intimately acquainted with the polite branches of knowledge, which now began to acquire estimation, and which his liberal and judicious attention greatly contributed to restore."‡

* Crevier, Hist. de l'Univ. de Paris, iv. 337.
† Warton, Dissert. on Introd. of Learning into Eng. p. cxi. The volume is one of the Royal MSS., marked 14 C vii. It appears, from an inscription in the author's own hand, to have been a presentation copy from himself, probably to some church or monastery.

* Diss. on Introd. of Learning, p. cxiii.
† Hist. of Eng. Poetry, ii. 355. ‡ Ibid. 350.

The most distinguished among the English nobility of this rude age for learning and intellectual tastes, was John Tiptoft, originally Lord Tiptoft, and created Earl of Worcester by Henry VI. He afterwards, however, attached himself to the Yorkist family, for which he was put to death, as may be remembered, by Warwick, during the short restoration of Henry VI., in 1470—his execution being the only vindictive act of bloodshed by which that revolution was stained.* The Monk of Croyland, or rather his continuator, asserts that the earl had, by his cruelty in the office of Constable of the Tower, acquired the hatred of the people, who called him "the butcher;" but general and passionate imputations of this kind cannot be allowed to go for much in the inflammation and ferocity of such a contest as then agitated men's minds. The more specific statement of other writers is, that Worcester was sent to the block under the pretence of punishing him for cruelty of which he had been guilty many years before, while exercising the government of Ireland, particularly towards two infant sons of the Earl of Desmond. As Walpole has well said, "it was an unwonted strain of tenderness in a man so little scrupulous of blood as Warwick, to put to death so great a peer for some inhumanity to the children of an Irish Lord; nor does one conceive why he sought for so remote a crime: he was not often so delicate. Tiptoft seems to have been punished by Warwick for leaving Henry for Edward, when Warwick had thought fit to quit Edward for Henry."† Others of the old chroniclers ascribe the charges brought against him to the malice of his enemies. He was probably singled out for destruction as being the ablest and most dangerous man of his party; for Worcester was distinguished for his political and military talents, as well as for his scholarship. It would be strange, at any rate, if his intellectual acquirements—which raised him so high above the herd of his fellow-nobles, and the great body of his countrymen—should, instead of softening and humanising him, according to the ancient poet's celebration of the effect of "having faithfully learned the ingenuous arts,"‡ have had an influence of the very opposite kind upon his nature and conduct. The Earl of Worcester was an ardent lover of books, and was, as well as Duke Humphrey, a liberal contributor to the shelves of the rising public library of the University of Oxford. On his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, after residing for some years at Padua and Venice, and making great purchases of manuscripts in both those places, he repaired to Rome to satisfy his longing curiosity with a sight of the library of the Vatican, and drew tears of delight from Pope Pius II. (the learned Æneas Sylvius), by a Latin oration which he pronounced before him. Of his literary performances the principal one that remains is the translation of Cicero's Treatise on Friendship, which was published by Caxton. He was one of the chief patrons of this earliest English printer, who says of him that he was one, "to whom he knew none like among the lords of the temporality for science and moral virtue"—a far better testimony to his worth than the party-spirit of the Croyland historian, or even the temporary clamour of the populace, if such did make itself heard against him in the triumph of the opposite faction, is of the reverse. He was only in his forty-second year when he was put to death; "at which death," says Caxton, every man that was there might learn to die, and take his death patiently."

Fuller has said that "the axe then did at one blow cut off more learning than was left in the heads of all the surviving nobility." Yet there still survived a noble contemporary of Tiptoft, "by no means," to use the words of Walpole, "inferior to him in learning and politeness, in birth his equal, by alliance his superior, greater in feats of arms, and in pilgrimages more abundant." This was Anthony Widville, or Woodville, Lord Scales, and Earl Rivers, the brother of the fair queen of Edward IV. By a fate closely resembling that of the Earl of Worcester, the brave and accomplished Lord Rivers was beheaded at Pomfret Castle, by order of the Protector Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., along with the Queen's son, the Lord Gray, and other victims, on the 23rd of June, 1483.* The earl, when he thus perished, had not completed his forty-first year. His famous combat with the Bastard of Burgundy has been already mentioned,† and will be more particularly described in the next chapter. On this occasion, it may be here noticed the Earl of Worcester presided as Lord High Constable; so that two of the chief figures at this one of the latest real passages of arms held in England, were the two Englishmen the most distinguished of their time for those intellectual tastes and accomplishments, in the diffused light of which the empire of chivalry and the sword was ere long to fade away, as the stars disappear before the sun. Walpole has drawn the character of Earl Rivers in his most graphic style:—"The credit of his sister, the countenance and example of his prince, the boisterousness of the times, nothing softened, nothing roughened the mind of this amiable lord, who was as gallant as his luxurious brother-in-law, without his weaknesses—as brave as the heroes of either Rose, without their savageness—studious in the intervals of business—and devout after the manner of those whimsical times, when men challenged others whom they never saw, and went barefoot to visit shrines in countries of which they had scarce a map." He was also one of Caxton's great patrons, and was the author of several of those translations from the French which the latter printed. In a manuscript copy in the archbishop's library at Lambeth, of one of these translations—that of the "Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers" (which Rivers executed for the instruction of his nephew, the young Prince of Wales, to

* See ante, p. 107. † Royal and Noble Authors.
‡ Ovid, De Ponto, Lib. ii. Ep. 9, p. 47.

* See ante, p. 121. † Ibid, p. 103.

EARL RIVERS PRESENTING CAXTON TO EDWARD IV.

MS. Lambeth Palace Lib.

whom he was appointed governor)—there is an interesting illumination, in which the earl is represented introducing Caxton to Edward IV., his queen, and the Prince. In this instance, Earl Rivers condescended to translate a translation, for the original of the "Dicts and Sayings" is in Latin. He was also the author of the metrical version of the "Proverbs of Christine of Pisa," and of that of another of Caxton's publications, named "Cordial, or Memorare Novisima," both from the French. But these and the other translations in which the art of printing, on its first establishment among us, exercised its powers of multiplying the fountains of knowledge and of mental gratification, were, as Walpole observes, as much new and real presents to the age as original works would have been. To lords Worcester and Rivers this writer conceives their country to have been in a great measure indebted for the restoration of learning. "The countenance," he remarks, "the example of men in their situation, must have operated more strongly than the attempts of an hundred professors, Benedictines, and commentators."*

Alhough Chaucer had already set the example of writing on scientific subjects in the mother tongue, by his treatise on the Astrolabe, the oldest work in English now known to exist on any branch of science; † this department of study was but very little cultivated in England during the present period. The short list of English scientific works during the fifteenth century does not contain a single name remembered, or deserving of being remembered, in the history of science.* The dreams of astrology and alchemy still captivated and bewildered almost all who turned their attention either to mathematical or natural philosophy. The only difference of opinion with regard to these mysterious pursuits was whether they were or were not forbidden by the law of God. Nobody doubted their most marvellous pretensions; but many thought a skill in them was rather an inspiration from the prince of darkness, than light from heaven. Probably, however, it was not any feeling of this kind that occasioned an act of parliament passed in the beginning of the reign of Henry IV., making it felony to practise the transmutation of metals, there designated the multiplying of gold or silver, or the craft of multiplication: † the prohibition has more the look of having been dictated by political or economical considerations, as if there had been some apprehension that the operations of the multipliers might possibly affect the value of the king's coin. Henry VI., at any rate, with all his piety, was as great a patron of the alchemists as Edward III. had been before him. ‡ These impostors practised with abundant success upon his weakness and credulity, repeatedly inducing him to advance them money wherewith to prosecute their idle operations, as well as procuring from him protections, which he sometimes prevailed upon the parliament to confirm, from the penalties of the statute that has just been mentioned. In one of these pro-

* Royal and Noble Authors, vol. i.
† See Book of Table Talk, i. 199.

* See all those whose names have been recovered enumerated, with notices of their insignificant performances, in a paper on the "English Mathematical and Astronomical Writers, between the Norman Conquest and the year 1600," in the Companion to the Almanac for 1837, pp. 22 and 26.
† See Henry IV., c. iv.
‡ See vol. i., p. 845.

tections granted to the three "famous men," John Fauceby, John Kirkeby, and John Rayny, which was confirmed by parliament, 31st of May, 1456, the object of the researches of the said philosophers is described to be "a certain most precious medicine, called by some the mother and queen of medicines; by some the inestimable glory; by others the quintessence; by others the philosopher's stone; by others the elixir of life; which cures all curable diseases with ease, prolongs human life in perfect health and vigour of faculty to its utmost term, heals all healable wounds, is a most sovereign antidote against all poisons, and is capable," the enumeration of virtues concludes, "of preserving to us, and our kingdom, other great advantages, such as the transmutation of other metals into real and fine gold and silver."* The philosopher's stone, and the elixir of life, it will be observed, are here spoken of as one and the same medicine, contrary, we believe, to the common notion. The power attributed to the medicine, also, in the prolongation of life, scarcely goes the length of the accounts usually given. Fauceby, here mentioned, is elsewhere designated the king's physician. Another of Henry's physicians was Gilbert Kymer, who was a clergyman, and, among other ecclesiastic promotions, held the offices of dean of Salisbury and chancellor of the University of Oxford. From this example we may perceive that the practice of medicine was still, to some extent, in the hands of the clergy. The art itself appears to have made little or no progress within the present period; indeed it may be doubted if the knowledge that had formerly been derived from the Arabic authors and schools was not now diminished rather than increased. Almost the only medical work that appeared in England in the fifteenth century, even the title of which is now remembered, is the "Dietarium de Sanitatis Custodia," (or Dietary for the Preservation of Health,) of this Dr. Gilbert Kymer. It is a tract consisting of twenty-six chapters, and is dedicated, like so many others of the productions of the learned of this age, both in England and other countries, to the great patron of literature, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. Surgery also was in as rude a state as ever. It appears, from a record in the Fœdera, that in Henry V.'s army which won the battle of Agincourt, there was only one surgeon, a certain John Morstede, fifteen assistants, whom he had pressed under a royal warrant, not having yet landed. Of these assistants three were also to act as archers, the whole number having the pay of common archers, and Morstede himself only that of a man at arms. The art indeed was hardly yet considered as anything more than a species of mechanical handicraft. It deserves to be noted, however, that the operation of lithotomy was successfully performed at Paris for the first time, at least by any modern surgeon, in the year 1474, on a condemned criminal, whose life was granted by the king to the petition of the physicians and surgeons of the city, that he might serve, according to the philosophic maxim, as the *corpus vile*, or worthless subject, of the experiment.†

* Fœdera, xi. 379.

Of the literary productions of this age the literary merits are in general of the humblest description. Among the Latin historians, or chroniclers, Thomas Walsingham may be accounted one of the best, if not the chief. He was a Benedictine of the Abbey of St. Alban's, and is the author of two works; one a History of England, entitled 'Historia Brevis,' which begins at 1273, where Matthew Paris ends, and extends to the beginning of the reign of Henry VI.; the other a History of Normandy, under the title of 'Ypodigma Neustriæ,' from the first acquisition of the duchy by Rollo the Dane. The style of these chronicles is sufficiently rude and unpolished; but they are very full and circumstantial, and the English history, even in the earlier part of it, contains many things not mentioned by any contemporary writer.* The compilation of English History by Thomas Otterbourne, a Franciscan friar, from the landing of Brutus to the year 1420, is very little esteemed.† A much more valuable performance is the 'Chronicon' of John de Whethamstede, Abbot of St. Alban's, although it only extends from the year 1441 to 1461.‡ Whethamstede was a person of judgment as well as of considerable learning, and is entitled to remembrance as the first of our English historians who ventured to dispute the popular legend of Brutus and his Trojans. He was an especial favourite with Duke Humphrey, who was accustomed to visit him in his monastery, where the monks, however, accused their abbot of spending too much of his time in study and in writing books, though he was a most liberal benefactor to their establishment. But neither the libraries he built and furnished both at St. Alban's and at Oxford, the organs and pictures with which he adorned the church and chapels of his monastery, nor the extensive additions which he made to its buildings, probably compensated in their estimation for tastes and habits so different from their own. Another of the Latin historians of this period whose name is connected with Duke Humphrey is the Italian Titus Livius Forojuliensis, as he calls himself, the author of a Life of Henry V.§ He was invited to England by the duke, who appointed him to be his poet and orator. His Life of Henry V., however, is very little else than an abridgment of the work on the same subject by Thomas de Elmham,‖ Prior of Linton, whose barbarous style does not prevent his performance from being one of great historical value. The Italian affects to imitate the style of the illustrious ancient whose name he assumes; but he is, it must be confessed, a very modern Livy. Another of these annalists is William Botoner, or William of Worcester, the author of a chronicle extending

* Published together by Archbishop Parker, fol. Lon. 1574. Also in Camden's Anglica, &c. fol. Francof. 1603.
† Published by Hearne, in 2 vols. 8vo. Oxon. 1732.
‡ Published by Hearne, along with Otterbourne
§ Published by Hearne, 8vo. Oxon. 1716.
‖ Published by Hearne, 8vo. Oxon. 1727.

from 1324 to 1491, which is nearly all a compilation, and of very little value.* Botoner is also the author of the translation of Cicero's Treatise on Old Age, already mentioned as one of Caxton's publications. The last of this class of writers we shall mention is John Rossus, or Rouse, of Warwick, the author of what he calls a History of the Kings of England,† which, nevertheless, commences with the creation of the world. Although it does not contain much that is interesting till the author comes down to his own age, the latter part of the fifteenth century, it furnishes some curious details both of the events and the manners of that time.

Two French writers, Monstrelet and Comines, may be considered as in some sort belonging to this period of English history. Monstrelet, whose narrative extends from 1400 to 1452 (with a supplement coming down to 1467 by another hand), is a very faithful but not a very lively chronicler of the contentions of the Houses of Orleans and Burgundy, and of the wars of the English in France, in his own day. Comines, an actor to a considerable extent in the affairs which he relates, is a writer of a superior stamp. His Memoirs extend from 1464 to 1498, a period comprehending nearly the whole reign of Louis XI. of France, whom Comines may be said to make his hero, and whose singular character gives much of a dramatic life to the narrative of the historian. Comines has none of the chivalrous enthusiasm of Froissart, and no other excitement of a very warm or imaginative character to make up for the want of it, but observation, sagacity, and an unaffected, straight-forward way of writing give him a great power of carrying his reader along with him. He is the best authority for the French transactions of the reign of our Edward IV.

This period also affords us two or three English chroniclers. The series of our modern English chronicles may perhaps be most properly considered as commencing with John de Trevisa's translation of Higden, with various additions, which appears to have been finished in the reign of Richard II.‡ It was printed, as mentioned in a preceding page, under the title of 'Polychronicon' by Caxton, in 1482. After Trevisa, comes John Harding, who belongs to the present period; his metrical 'Chronicle of England' coming down to the reign of Edward IV.§ The metre is melancholy enough; but the part of the work relating to the author's own times is not without value. Harding is chiefly notorious as the author, or at least the collector and producer, of a great number of charters and other documents attesting acts of fealty done by the Scottish to the English kings, which are now universally admitted to be forgeries. Caxton himself must be reckoned our next English chronicler, as the author both of the concluding part of the volume entitled 'The Chronicles of England,' published by him in 1480, —the body of which is translated from a Latin chronicle by Douglas, the monk of Glastonbury, who lived in the preceding century; and also of a continuation of Trevisa down to the year 1482' Neither of these performances, however, is calculated to add to the fame of the celebrated printer. To this period we may also in part assign the better-known 'Concordance of Histories' of Robert Fabyan, citizen and draper of London; though the author only died in 1512, nor was his work printed till a few years later. Fabyan's history, which begins with Brutus and comes down to his own time, is in the greater part merely a translation from preceding chroniclers; its chief value consists in a number of notices it has preserved relating to the city of London.*

The most numerous class of writers in the mother tongue, however, are the poets, by courtesy so called. We must refer to the learned and curious pages of Warton, or to the still more elaborate researches of Ritson,† for the names of a crowd of worthless and forgotten versifiers that fill up the annals of our national minstrelsy from Chaucer to Lord Surrey. The last-mentioned antiquary has furnished a list of about seventy English poets who flourished in this interval. We can here notice only two or three of the number. The first known writer of any considerable quantity of verse after Chaucer, is Thomas Occleve. Warton places him about the year 1420. He is the author of many minor pieces, which mostly remain in manuscript—although "six of peculiar stupidity" says Ritson, "were selected and published" by Dr. Askew in 1796; —and also of a longer poem, entitled "De Regimine Principum," (On the Government of Princes) chiefly founded on a Latin work, with the same name, written in the 13th century by an Italian ecclesiastic Egidius, styled the Doctor Fundatissimus, and on the Latin treatise on the game of chess of Jacobus de Casulis, another Italian writer of the same age—the latter being the original of the 'Game of the Chess,' translated by Caxton from the French, and published by him in 1474. Occleve's poem has never been published—and is chiefly remembered for a drawing of Chaucer by the hand of Occleve, which is found in one of the manuscripts of it now in the British Museum.‡ Occleve repeatedly speaks of Chaucer as his master and poetic father, and was no doubt personally acquainted with the great poet. The same drawing occurs in other manuscripts of that age, and it bears a strong resemblance to other portraits of Chaucer which are probably of the same antiquity.§ All that Occleve appears to have gained, however, from his admirable model, is some initiation in a that smoothness and regularity of style of which Chaucer's writings set the first great example.

* Published by Hearne, in the Appendix to the Liber Niger Scaccarii, 2 vols. 8vo. Oxon. 1728.
† Published by Hearne, 8vo. Oxon. 1716.
‡ See vol. i. p. 847.
§ First printed by Grafton in 1543. The most recent edition is that by Sir H. Ellis, 4to. Lond. 1812.

* First published in 1516. The last edition is that of Sir H. Ellis, Lon. 4to. 1811.
† Bibliographia Poetica.
‡ Royal MS. 17 D vi.
§ See Warton, Hist. Eng. Poetry, ii. 354.

his own endowment of poetical power and feeling appears to have been very small—the very titles of his pieces, as Warton remarks, indicating the poverty and frigidity of his genius.

By far the most famous of these versifiers of the fifteenth century is John Lydgate, the monk of Bury, whom the Historian of our Poetry considers to have arrived at his highest point of eminence about the year 1430. Ritson has given a list of above 250 poems attributed to Lydgate. Indeed he seems to have followed the manufacture of rhymes as a sort of trade, furnishing any quantity to order whenever he was called upon. On one occasion, for instance, we find him employed by the historian Whethamstede, who was abbot of St. Alban's, to make a translation into English, for the use of that convent, of the Latin legend of its patron saint. "The chronicler," observes Warton, "who records a part of this anecdote seems to consider Lydgate's translation as a matter of mere manual mechanism; for he adds, that Whethamstede paid for the translation, the writing, and illuminations, one hundred shillings."* Lydgate, however, though excessively diffuse, and possessed of very little strength or originality of imagination, is a much livelier writer than Occleve. His memory was also abundantly stored with the learning of his age; he had travelled in France and Italy, and was intimately acquainted with the literature of both these countries; and his English makes decidedly a nearer approach to the modern form of the language than that of any preceding writer. His best known poem consists of nine books of "Tragedies," as he entitles them, respecting the falls of princes, translated from a Latin work of Boccaccio's: it was printed at London in the reign of Henry VIII.

* See Warton, Hist. Eng. Poetry, p. 363.

Lydgate presenting his Poem of 'The Pilgrim' to the Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, the celebrated "King Maker."
From Harleian MS. No. 4826.

The prince of our poets, however, of the early part of the fifteenth century, is King James I. of Scotland, the author of the "King's Quair," which we have already had occasion to mention,* and also, it is believed, of many minor pieces, which however have nearly all perished. There is nothing in English poetry so elegant and tender as the "King's Quair," from the time of Chaucer to that of Spenser. If James was the author of the two other poems usually atrributed to him, entitled "Christ's Kirk on the Green," and "Peebles to the Play," he had likewise inherited no small portion of the rich comic humour of his great predecessor; but the best critics are disposed from the internal evidence to attribute both these pieces, not to this prince, but to his equally gifted and equally unfortunate descendant King James V., the undoubted author of the famous ballads, in much the same style, of the "Gaberlunzie Man," and the "Jolly Beggar."*

We shall now add a series of specimens of the

* See ante, p. 132.

* See Percy's Reliques, Series II., Book 1st; and Note to the last edition of Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, ii. 438.

language, which will bring down the history of its progress from the point at which our last selection terminated, and which may be considered as having been that of the boundary between the Saxon and what is properly called English.*. The present specimens will exhibit the latter in the different stages of what may be called the process of formation; for it was not till after the close of the present period that it had entirely assumed even that general system of grammatical forms upon which it is now moulded.

Robert of Gloucester, in the Chronicle which bears his name, affords us the earliest specimen of what can strictly be called English. We select his account of the Battle of Evesham; of the darkness which prevailed at which he was an eyewitness. The battle was fought in 1265: the account was written about or before the year 1280.†

—Sir Simon the old com, the Monendai iwis,
To a toun biside Wircetre, that Kemeseie ihote is.
The Tiwesday to Evesham he wende the morweninge,
And there he let him & is folc prestes massen singe,
And thozte to wende northward, is sone vor to mete.
Ac the king nolde a vot, bote he dined other ete.
And Sir Simon the zonge and his ost at Alcestre were,
And nolde thanne wende a vot, ar hii dinede there.
Thulke to divers deluol were, alas!
Vor mani was the gode bodi, that ther thoru islawe was.
Sir Edward and is poer sone come tho ride
To the north half of the town, bataile vor to abide.
Tho Sir Simon it iwuste, and hii that with him were,
Some hii lete hom armi, and hor baners arere.
The bissop Water of Wurcetre assoiled hom alle there.
And prechede hom, that hii adde of deth the lass fere.
Then wei euene to hor fon a Gode's half hii nome,
And wende, that Sir Simon the zonge azen hom come.
Sir Edwarde's ost, and othere al so nei,
He avisede the ost suithe wel, and thoru Gode's grace,
He hopede winne a day the maistrie of the place.
Tho sei he ther biside, as he bihulde aboute,
The erle's baner of Gloucetre, and him mid al is route,
As him vor to close, in the other half ywis.
"Onz," he sede, "redi folk and wel iwar this is,
"And more conne of bataile, than hii couthe biuore."
"Vr soules," he sede, "abbe God, vor vr bodies beth hore.
"Sir Henri," he sede to is sone, "this hath imad thi prute.
"Were thi brother icome, hope we mizte zute."
Hii bitoke lif and soule to God's grace ech on,
And into bataile smite vast among hor fon.
And, as gode kniztes, to grounde slow anon,
That hor fon flowe sone, thicke mani on.
Sir Warin of Blasingbourne, tho he this isei,
Biuore he gan prikie, and to grede an hei,
"Azen, traitors, azen, and habbeth in ower thozt,
"How villiche at Lewes ze were to grounde ibrozt.
"Turneth azen, and thencheth, that thut power al oure is,
"And we ssolie, as vor nozt, ouer com vr fon iwis."

Tho was the bataile strong in eith side, alas!
Ac atten ende was binethe thulke, that feblore was.
And Sir Simond was aslawe, and is folk al to grounde.
More murthre are nas in so lute stounde.
Vor there was werst Simond de Mountfort aslawe, alas!
And Sir Henri is sone, that so gentil knizt was,
And Sir Hue the Despencer, the noble justise,
And Sir Peris de Mountfort, that stronge were and wise.
Sir Willam de Verous, and Sir Rauf Basset al so.
Sir John de Sein Jon, Sir Jon Diue ther to.
Sir William Trossel, Sir Gileberd of Eisnesfelde,
And mani god bodi were aslawe there in thulke felde.
And among alle other mest reuthe it was ido,
That Sir Simon the olde man demembered was so.
Vor Sir William Mautravers (thonk nabbe he non)
Carf him of fet and honde, and is limes mani on.

. . . . . .

And is heued hii smiten of, and to Wigemor it sende
To dam Maud the Mortimer, that wel foule it ssende.
And of al that me him bilimede, hii ne bledde nozt, me sede,
And the harde here was is lich the next wede.
Suich was the morthre of Eiuesham (uor bataile non it nas),
And ther with Jesu Crist wel vuele ipaied was,
As he ssewede bitokninge grisliche and gode,
As it vel of him sulue, tho he deide on the rode,
That thoru al the middelerd derk hede ther was inou.
Also the wule the gode men at Euesham me slou,
As in the north west a derk weder ther aros,
Sodeinliche suart inou, that mani man agros,
And ouer caste it thozte al thut lond, that me mizte vnnethe ise.
Grisloker weder than it was ne mizte an erth be.
An vewe dropes of reine ther velle grete inou.
This tokninge vel in this lond, tho me this men slou,
Vor thretti mile thanne. *This isei Roberd,*
That verst this boc made, and was wel sore aferd.
Louerdinges ther were inome at Euesham mani on.
As Sir Vnfrai de Boun, Sir Jon le fiz Jon,
And Simonde's sone de Mountfort Sir Gwy.
Sir Baudewine de Wake, Sir John de Vescy.
Sir Henry de Hastinges, and Sir Nicole iwis
De Segrave was there inome, and al so Sir Peris,
And Sir Roberd, that Sir Peris de Mountfort soens were.
Thuse, and wel mo, were inome in thulke morthre there.
Ac the Welsse fot men, that ther were mani on,
Ac the biginninge of the bataile bigonne to fle ech one.
And com thoru Teukesburi, and there men of the toune
Slowe hom al to grounde, that there hii leie ther doune
So thicke histrete, that reuthe it was to se,
And grace nadde non of hom, to fizte ne to fle.
Tho the bataile was ido, and the gode men aslawe were,
Sir Simond the zonge com to mete his fader there.
He mizte tho at his diner abbe bileued al so wel,
As me seith, "wan ich am ded, make me a caudel.'
And tho me tolde him bi the wei, wuche the erde was ther,
He turnde azen to Keningwurthe, wel longe him thouzte er.

* See vol. i. p. 613. † See vol. i. p. 850.

He mizte segge, wan he com, "lute iche abbe iwonne,
'Ich mai honge up min ax, febliche ic abbe agonne,'
The King of Alemaine, that was is moder brother,
And Sir Reinaud le fiz Peris, and ek mani an other,
That in is prison were at Keningwurthe tho,
Tho he ne sei other red, he let hom quit go.
The sixte day of Septembre, that tho wae Sonenday,
He let hom go a Gode's half, tho he other ne say."

About the same time, or soon after, we have what Warton describes as "the most ancient English song that appears in our manuscripts with the musical notes annexed." The music, however, is believed to be considerably less ancient than the words, which are probably of the early part of the thirteenth century. The verses have been often printed, but are here correctly transcribed from the Harleian MS. in the British Museum, No. 978.

Sumer is icumen in,
Lhude sing cuccu
Groweth sed,
And bloweth med,
And springth the wde nu.
Sing cuccu.

Awe bleteth after lomb
Lhouth after calve cu
Bulluc sterteth,
Bucke uerteth,
Murie sing cuccu.
Cuccu, cuccu.

Well singes thu cuccu
Ne swik nauer nu.
Sing cuccu nu; sing cuccu.
Sing cuccu; sing cuccu nu.

The earliest English love-song which Warton had discovered, and which he places before or about the year 1200, is contained, with other verses apparently of the same antiquity, in the Harleian MS. 2253. It begins—

Blow northern wynd,
Sent thou me my swetynge;
Blow northern wynd,
Blow, blow, blow;—

is full of alliteration, and has a burthen, or chorus.

In Edward III.'s reign we have a greater choice both in prose and poetry. Our first specimen shall be from a translation of the Psalter, written, apparently, very soon after Edward's accession.

Ps. I.

Seli biern that noght is gan
In the rede of wicked man,
And in strete of sinfull noght he stode,
Ne sat in setel of storme ungode
Bot in lagh of lau'd his will bei n
And his lag. think he night an. dai,
And als his li. swa sal it be,
Als it fares bi a tre.
That stremes of w. set es nere
That gives his fruit in time of yhere;
And lef of him todreue ne sal
What swa he does sal s. full al.
Night swa wicked men n. swa
Bot also duste that wind ye. s fra:
And tharfore wik in dome noght rise
Ne sinfull in rede of right wise.
For lauerd of right wise wate ye wai
And gate of wicked forworth sal ai.
Blisse to the fadre and to the sone
And to the haligaste wil with ani wone,
Als first was, es, and ai sal be,
In werlde of werldes to the thre.

A few books belonging to this period that still exist in our manuscript libraries expressly state themselves to be written in the dialects of particular counties. The Arundel Manuscript, No. 57, entitled 'Ayenbyte of Inwyt,' is a very curious specimen of the English language in 1340, being written in the dialect of Kent, as we learn from a passage which will be presently quoted. At the beginning it is said,—"This boc is dan Michelis of Northgate, ywrite an Englis of his ozene hand; and is of the bochouse of Saynt Austines of Canterberi under the lettres CC."

In folio 48 we read—

The yonge grihound thet is yet al novis that yernth efter eche beste that yernth bevore him, and ne maketh bote him weri and his time lyese. Ther of zet Ysopes the fable of the little hounde and of the lesse. The hond at eche time that he yherth his hlord cometh hom, he yernth to yens hym, and lharth about his zwere, and the lhord him maketh uayre chiere and him froteth, and maker him greate feste. The asse him be thozte thous ssolde ich do, and zuo wolde mi lhord me louie, betere he ssolde me make joye thet ich serui eche daye thanne thise hounde thet him serueth of nazt. Hit nes naz longe efterward thet the asse ne yzez his lhord come hom, he beginth to lheape and yernth to yens him, and him prauth the uet aboute his zuere and beginth zinge grauntliche. The sergons thet hit y zeze nome steues and byete than asse rizt to the uolle, and ther of thet he wende habbe worthssipe and guod he hedde ssame and harm.*

Another passage,† which gives the date of the manuscript, comprises the Kentish version of the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, and Creed:—

Nou ich wille that ye ywryte hou hit is y went; thet this boc is ywrite mid Engliss of Kent. This boc is ymad uor lewede men, vor uader and uor moder and uor other ken ham uor to berze uram alle manyere zen that ine hare in wytte ne bleue ne uoul wen. Huo ase God is his name yred thet this boc made God him yeue thet bread of angles of heuene and ther to his red and onderuonge his zaule huanne thet he is dyad. Amen.

Ymende thet this boc is uolueld ine the eue of the holy apostles Symon and Judas of ane brother of the cloystre of Sauynt Austin of Canterberi ine the yeare of oure lhordes beringe, 1340.

Pater Noster.—Vader oure thet art ine heuenes y halzed by thi name, cominde thi riche, y worthe thi wil ase in heuene and ine erthe, bread oure eche dayes yef ous to day, and uor let ous oure yeldinges ase and we norleteth oure yelderes, and ne ous let nazt in to uondinge, ac vri ous uram queade. zuo by hit.

Ave Maria.—Hayl Marie of thonke uol. H.. dby mid the, yblissed thou ine wymmen, and yblissed thet ouet of thine wombe. zuo by hit.

* MS. Brit. Mus. Arundel, 57, fol. 48. † Ibid. fol. 82.

Credo.—Ich leue ine God uader almizti, makere of heuene and of erthe, and ine Jesu Crist his zone onlepi our lhord, thet ykend is of the holy gost, ybore of Marie mayde, y pyned under Pontis Pilate, ynayled a rode dyade and be bered, yede down to helle, thane thridde day a ros uram the dyade, steaz to heuenes, zit athe rizt half of God the uader almizti thannes to comene he is to deme the quike and the dyade. Ich yleue ine the holy gost, holy cherche generalliche, menesse of halzen, lesnesse of zennes of ulesse arizinge, and lyf eurelestinde. Zuo by hit.

The Harleian Manuscript, No. 1022, contains several tracts in Northern English of a nearly corresponding age; one, a Poem on the Decalogue, translated from the Latin in 1357, at the request of Archbishop Thoresby, by John de Taystoke, a monk of St. Mary's, York.

The reader who is inquisitive as to dialects will find, among the Harleian Manuscripts, one, No. 221, which contains a dictionary in English and Latin, the former language in the dialect of the East Country, compiled ninety years later by a friar preacher, a recluse at Lynne in Norfolk.

From Sir John Mandeville's Travels, written in 1356, we shall select the first of his two chapters upon Jerusalem, and his Account of Mahomet, both copied from the Cottonian Manuscript, Titus C. xvi., the best exemplar of his work known; a manuscript too of his own age. The first of these extracts presents an entertaining picture of the condition of Jerusalem in the early part of the fourteenth century, with a recital of the stories and traditions then current upon the spot:—

OF THE PILGRIMAGES IN JERUSALEM, AND OF THE HOLY PLACES THERE ABOWTE.

After for to speke of Jerusalem the holy cytee, zee schull undirstonde that it stont full faire betwene hilles, and there be no rivers ne welles, but water cometh by condyte from Ebron. And zee schull understonde that Jerusalem of olde tyme, unto the tyme of Melchisedech, was cleped Jebus: and after it was clept Salem, unto the tyme of Kyng David, that put these two names to gider, and cleped it Jebusalem. And after that Kyng Salomon cleped it Jerosolomye. And after that men cleped it Jerusalem, and so it is cleped zit. And aboute Jerusalem is the kyngdom of Surrye. And there besyde, is the lond of Palestyne. And besyde it is Ascolon. And besyde that is the lond of Maritanie. But Jerusalem is in the lond of Judee, and it is clept Jude, for that Judas Machabeus was kyng of that contree. And it marcheth estward to the kyngdom of Arabye; on the south syde to the lond of Egipt; and on the west syde to the grete see. On the north syde toward the kyngdom of Surrye, and to the see of Cypre.

In Jerusalem was wont to be a Patriark and Erchebysshopes, and Bisshoppes abouten in the contree. Abowte Jerusalem be theise cytees; Ebron at seven myle, Jerico at six myle, Bersabee at eyght myle, Ascalon at xvii myle, Jaff at xvi myle, Ramatha at iij myle, and Bethleem at ij myle. And a jj myle from Bethleem toward the southe is the chirche of Seynt Karitot that was abbot there, for whom thei maden meche doel amongs the monks whan he scholde dye, and zit be in moornynge in the wise that thei maden her lamentacon for him the first tyme, and it is full gret pytee to beholde. This contree and lond of Jerusalem hath ben in many dyverse nacones hondes. And often therfore hath the contree suffred meche tribulacion for the synne of the people that duelle ther: for that contree hath be in the honds of all nacyonns: that is to seyne of Jewes, of Chanances, Assiryenes, Perses, Medoynes, Macedoynes, of Grekes, Romaynes, of Cristenemen, of Sarrazines, Barbaryenes, Turkes, Tartaryenes, and of manye othere dyverse nacyons. For God wole not that it be longe in the honds of traytours ne of synneres, be thei cristene or other. And now have the hethene men holden that lond in her honds xl. zer and more. But thei schull not holde it longe zif God wold. And zee schull undirstonde that whan men comen to Jerusalem her first pilgrymage is to the chirche of the Holy Sepulcr wher oure Lord was buryed, that is with oute the cytee on the north syde. But it is now enclosed in with the ton wall. And there is a full fair chirche all rownd, and open above, and covered with leed. And on the west syde is a fair tour and an high for belles strongly made. And in the myddes of the chirche is a tabernacle as it wer a lytyll hows, made with a low lityll dore: and that tabernacle is made in maner of a half a compas right curiousely and richely made of gold and azure and othere riche coloures, full nobelyche made. And in the ryght side of that tabernacle is the sepulcre of oure Lord. And the tabernacle is viij. fote long and v. fote wyde, and xj. fote in heghte. And it is not longe sithe the sepulcre was all open, that men myghte kisse it and touche it. But for pilgrymes that comen thider peyned hem to breke the ston in peces, or in poudr; therefore the Soudan hath do make a wall aboute the sepulcr that noman may towche it. But in the left syde of the wall of the tabernacle is well the heighte of a man, is a gret ston, to the quantytee of a mannes hed, that was of the holy sepulcr, and that ston kissen the pilgrymes that comen thider. In that tabernacle ben no wyndowes, but it is all made light with lampes that hangen befor the sepulcr. And there is a lampe that hongeth before the sepulcr that brenneth light, and on the Gode ffryday it goth out be him self, at that hour that our Lord roos fro deth to lyve. Also within the chirche at the right syde besyde the queer of the churche is the Mount of Calvarye, wher our Lord was don on the cros. And it is a roche of white colour, and a lytill medled with red. And the cros was set in a morteys in the same roche, and on that roche dropped the woundes of our Lord, whan he was pyned on the cros, and that is cleped Golgatha. And men gon up to that Golgatha be degrees. And in the place of that morteys was Adames hed found after Noes flode, in tokene that the synnes of Adam scholde ben bought in that same place. And upon that roche made Abraham sacrifise to our Lord. And there is an Awter, and before that Awtier lyzn Godefray de Boleyne, and Bawdewyn, and othere cristene Kyngs of Jerusalem. And ther nygh wher our Lord was crucyfied is this writen in Greew, *Otheos basilion ysmon psionas ergasa. sothias emesotis gye;* that is to seyne in Latyn, 'Hic Deus noster Rex, ante secula, operatus est salutem in medio terre;' that is to seye 'This God oure Kyng, before the worldes, hath wrought hele in mydds of the Erthe.' And also on that roche where the cros was sett, is writen with in the roche these wordes, *Cyos myst ys basis toupisteos they thesmofy*, that is to sayne in Latyn, 'Quod vides est fundamentum tocius fidei Mundi hujus;' that is to seye, 'That thou seest is ground of all the world and of this

feyth. And zee schull vndirstonde that whan oure Lord was don upon the cros, ho was xxxiij. zer and iij. monethes of elde. And the prophecye of David sayth that, 'Quadraginta annis proximus fui generacioni huic;' that is to seye, 'Forty zeer was I neighbore to this kynrede.' And thus scholde it seme that the prophecyes ne wer not trewe. but thei ben bothe trewe: for in old tyme men maden o zeer of x. monethes of the whiche March was the firste and Decembr was the last. But Gayus that was Emperour of Rome putten theise ij. moneths there to Janyuer and Feverer, and ordeyned the zeer of xij. monethes, that is to seye ccc.lxv. dayes, without leep zeer, after the propre cours of the Sonne. And therefore after cowntynge of x. monethes of the zeer, he dyede in the xl. zeer as the prophete seyde: and after the zeer of xij. monethes he was of age xxxiij. zeer and iij. monethes. Also within the Mount of Calvarie, on the right side, is an Awter, wher the piler lyzth that oure lord Jhesu was bounden to whan he was scourged; and there besyde iiij. fote, ben iiij. pilers of ston that allweys droppen water. And summe seyn that thei wepen for our Lordes deth. And nygh that awtier is a place under erthe xlij. degrees of depnesse, wher the holy croys was founden be the wytt of Seynte Elyne, under a roche wher the Jewes had hidde it. And that was the verray croys assayed. For thei founden iij. crosses, on of our Lord, and ij. of the ij. thefes. And Seynte Elyne preved hem on a ded body that aros from deth to lyve, whan that it was leyd on it that our Lord dyed on. And there by in the wall is the place wher the iiij. nayles of our Lord were hidd, for he had ij. in his honds, and ij. in his feet: and of on of theise the Emperour of Constantynople made a brydill to his nors, to ber him in bataylle, and thorgh vertue there of he overcam his enemyes, and wan all the lond of Asye the lesse that is to seye Turkye, Ermonye the lasse and the more. and from Surrye to Jerusalem, from Arabye to Persie, from Mesopotayme to the kingdom of Halappee, from Egypte the highe and the lowe, and all the othere kyngdomes unto the depe of Ethiope, and in to Ynde the lesse that thanne was cristerne. And there was in that tyme many gode holy men and holy Heremytes of whom the book of Fadres lyfes speketh and thei ben now in paynemes and Sarazines honds. And in mydds of that chirche is a compas in the whiche Joseph of Aramathie leyde the body of our Lord whan he had taken him down of the croys and wer he wassched the wounds of our Lord. And that compas sey men is the mydds of the world. And in the chirche of the Sepulchre on the north syde is the place wher oure Lord was put in preson. For he was in preson in many places. And ther is a partye of the cheyne that he was bounden with. And ther he appered first to Marie Magdaleyne, whan he was rysen, and sche wende that he had ben a gardener. In the chirche of Seynt Sepulcr was wont to be chanons of the ordr of Seynt Augustyn, and hadden a Priour, but the Patriark was her sovereyn. And with oute the dores of the chirche, on the right syde as men gon upward xviij. greces seyd our Lord to his moder '*Mulier ecce filius tuus*,' that is to seye, 'Woman lo thi sone.' And after that he seyde to John his disciple '*Ecce Mater tua*,' that is to seyne 'Lo behold thi moder.' And theise words he seyde on the cros. And on theise greces went our Lord whan he bar the cros on his schulder. And under this grees is a chapell and in that chapell syngen prestes yndyenes, that is to seye prests of Ynde, noght after oure law, but after her. and all wey thei maken her sacrement of the awtier, seyenge '*Pater noster*' and othere preyeres there with. With the whiche preyeres thei seye the words that the sacrement is made of. For thei ne knowe not the addicions that many Popes han made, but thei synge with gode devocion. And there ner is the place where that oure Lord rested him whan he was wery for berynge of the cros. And zee schull understonde that before the chirche of the Sepulcre is the cytee more feble than in ony other partie, for the grete playn that is betwene the chirche and the citee. And toward the est syde, with oute the walles of the cytee, is the Vale of Josaphath, that toucheth to the walles as though it wer a large dych. And above that Vale of Josaphath out of the cytee is the chirche of Seynt Stevene wher he was stoned to deth. And there beside is the gildene zate that may not be opened, be the which zate our Lord entred on Palmesonday upon an asse, and the zate opened azenst him whan he wolde go unto the Temple. And zit apperen the steppes of the asses feet in iij. places of the degrees that ben of full harde ston. And before the chirche of Seynt Sepulcr toward the south, a cc. paas is the gret Hospitall of Seynt John, of the whiche the Hospitleres hadd here foundacon. And with inne the Palays of the sekemen of that Hospitall be sixe score and iiij pileres of ston. And in the walles of the hows with oute the nombre aboveseyd there be liiij. pileres that beren up the hows. And fro that Hospitall to go toward the est is a full fayr chirche that is clept Notre Dame la graund. And than is there another chirche right nygh that is clept Notre Dame de Latyne. And there were Marie Cleophes and Marie Magdaleyne and teren here heer, whan our Lord was peyned in the cros.

The account of Mahomet will not be read with less interest:—

And zee schull vnderstonde that Machamote was born in Arabye, that was first a pore knaue that kept Cameles that wenten with Marchantes for marchandise, and so befell that he wente with the marchandes in to Egipt, and thei were thanne cristene in tho partyes. And at the desartes of Arabye he wente in to a chapell wher a Eremyte duelte. And whan he entred in to the chapell, that was but a lytill and a low thing, and had but a lityl dor and a low; than the entree began to wexe so gret and so large, and so high, as though it had be of a gret mynstr, or the zate of a paleys. And this was the first myracle the Sarazins seyn that Machomete dide in his zouthe. After began he for to wexe wyse and riche, and he was a gret Astronomer, and, after, he was gouernour and prince of the lond of Corrodane, and he gouerned it full wisely in such manere, that whan the Prince was ded, he toke the lady to wyfe that highte Gadrige. And Machomete fell often in the grete sikeness that men calle the fallynge euyll. Wherfore the lady was full sory that euere sche toke him to husbonde. But Machomete made hire to beleeue that all tymes when he fell so, Gabriel the angel cam for to speke with him, and for the grete light and brightnesse of the angell, he myghte not susteyne him fro fallynge. And therefore the Sarazines seyn that Gabriel cam often to speke with him. This Machomete regned in Arabye, the zeer of our lord Jhesu Crist sixe hundred and ten, and was of the generacion of Ysmael, that was Abrahames sone that he gat upon Agar his chamberer, and therefore ther be Sarazines that be clept Ismaelytenes

and sume Agarzenes of Agar, and the othere propurly be clept Sarrazines of Sarra, and summe be clept Moabytes, and summe Amonytes, for the two sones of Loth, Moab and Amon that he begatt on his daughtres that were aftirward grete erthely princes. And also Machomete loued wel a gode heremyte that duelled in the desertes, a myle from Mount Synay in the weye that men gon fro Arabye toward Caldee, and toward Ynde, o day iorney fro the See wher the Marchaunts of Venyse comen often for marchandize. And so often wente Machomete to this heremyte that all his men were wrothe, for he wolde gladly here this heremyte preche, and make his men wake all nyght, and therefore his men thoughten to putte the heremyte to deth, and so befell vpon a nyght that Machomete was dronken of god wyn and he fell on slepe, and his men toke Machomete's swerd out of his schethe, whils he slepte, and there with thei slowgh this heremyte and putte his swerd al blody in his schethe azen. And at morwe whan he fond the heremyte ded, he was fully sory and wroth, and wolde haue don his men to deth, but thei all with on accord [said] that he him self had slayn him whan he was dronken and schewed him his swerd all blody, and he trowed that thei hadden seyd soth. And than he cursed the wyn, and all tho that drynken it. And therfore Sarrazines that be deuout drynken neuer no wyn, but sum drynken it priuyly, for zif thei dronken it openly thei scholde ben reproued. But thei drynken gode beuerage and swete and noryfshynge that is made of Galamell, and that is that men maken sugr' of that is of right gode sauor, and it is gode for the breest. Also it befalleth sumtyme that cristene men become Sarazines outher for pouertee or for sympleness, or elles for her owne wykkedness. And therefore the Archiflamyn or the Flamyn os our Echebisshopp or Bisshop, whan he resceyueth hem seyth thus: *La ellec olla syla Machomet rores alla,* that is to seye, "There is no God but on and Machomete his messager."

Owen and Blakeway, in their History of Shrewsbury, vol. i. p. 167, observe justly, that the pestilence of 1349 forms a remarkable era in the history of our language. Before that time, from the Norman Conquest, the nobility and gentry of this country affected to converse in French: children even construed their lessons at school into that language. So Higden tells us in his Polychronicon. But from the time of "the first moreyn," as Trevisa, his translator, terms it, this "maner" was 'somdel ychaungide." A schoolmaster named Cornwall was the first that introduced English into the instruction of his pupils; and this example was so eagerly followed that, by the year 1385, when Trevisa wrote, it was become nearly general. The clergy, in all christian countries, are the chief persons by whom the education of youth is conducted; and it is probable that the dreadful scourge of which we have been treating, by carrying off many of those ancient instructors, enabled Cornwall to work a change in the mode of teaching which, but for that event, he would never have been able to effect. The great pestilence of 1349 will be found to be alluded to in our next specimen, which is one of alliterative metre, from the opening of the well-known satire entitled 'The Vision (or Visions) of Pierce Plowman,' written, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has shown, soon after 1362. We quote from Crowley's "real second edition" of 1550, in which year, so great was its popularity, he printed three editions of the work:*—

In a somer season, when set was the sunne,
I shope me into shroubs, as I a shepe were;
In habyte as an hermet, unholy of werkes
Went wyde in thys world wonders to here;
And on a May morning, on Malverne hilles
Me befell a ferly, of a fayry me thought.
I was wery of wandering, and went me to rest
Under a brode banke, by a bourne side,
And as I lay and lened, and loked on the water
I slombred into a sleping, it swyzed so mery.

Than gan I to meten, a mervelous sweuen
That I was in wildernes, I wyst neuer where,
As I beheld into the aste, on high to the sunne
I sawe a tower on a loft, rychlych ymaked
A depe dale beneth, a dungeon therin
With depe diches and darcke, and dreadful of syght.
A fayre felde ful of folke found I there betwene,
Of all maner men, the meane and the ryche
Werking and wandring, as the world asketh.

Some put hem to the ploughe, pleiden full selde
In setting and sowing, swonken full harde
And wonnen that wasters, with glotony destroyen;
And some put hem to pryd, appareled therafter
In continuaunce of clothynge, commen disgised
In prayers and penaunce putten hem many
In hope to haue after heuenriche blysse,
And for the loue of our Lorde liuyden full harde
As Ankers and Hermets that hold hem in her selles
And coueten nought in contrey to carien aboute
For no liquerous liuelode her likam to please.

And some chosen chaffer, they cheueden the better
As it semeth to our sight that such do thriuen
And some mirthes to maken, as minstrels cunneth
And getten gold with her glee, sinles I leue
As Japers and Janglers, Judas chyldren,
Fayneth hem fantacies; and foles hem maketh,
And han her wyt at wyl, to werke if they should
That Paule preacheth of hem I nil not preue it here
Qui loquitur turpiloquium, &c. Is Lucifer's knaue.
Bydders and beggers, fast aboute yede,
With hyr bealies and hyr bagges of bread ful crammed,
Fraitenden for her fode, foughten at the ale
In glotony Godwote gone they to bedde
And rise with rebaudry, as Rebertes knaues,
Slepe and sory slouth, sheweth hem euer.
Pylgrames and Palmers plight hem togythers
For to seke S. James and Saintes at Rome.
They went forth their waye with many wyse tales,
And had leue to lye all her life after.
I see some that sayd they had sought sayntes,
To eche a tale that they told, her tong was tempred to lye
More then to say soth, it semed by her speche.
Hermets on a heape, wyth hoked staues,
Wenten to Walsingham and her wenches after.
Great loubies and long, that loth were to swink,
Clothed him in copes, to be knowen from other
And shopen hem hermets, her ease to haue

* The different manuscripts and printed editions of the 'Visions' vary so considerably as to have given rise to a supposition that the poem, after its first production, had been remoulded by the author and that it has come down to us in both versions. The reasons for preferring Crowley's text, which appears to be founded upon an excellent manuscript, to that of the modern editor, Dr. Whitaker, are stated in the late Mr. Price's edition of Warton's History of English Poetry (4 vols. 8vo. 1824), pp. 103 and 482.

I found there fryres, all the four Orders
Preached to the people for profite of them selues,
Glosed the gospel as hem good lyked
For couetouse of copes, construe it as they wold
Mani of these master friers might cloth hem at liking
For her money and her marchaundise marchen to gither.
For sith cheritie was chapman and chefe to shriue lords
Many ferleis haue fallen in few yeres:
But holy church and they hold better to gither
The most mischiefe on mould is mounting well fast.

There preached a pardoner, as he a priest were,
Brought forth a bull with many bishops seales,
And sayd that him selfe might absoyle hem all
Of falsehode and of fasting, and of vowes broken;
Lewde men loued him well, and liked his wordes
Commen up kneling to kisse his bulles.
He bouched hem with his brenet, and blered her eyes,
And raught with his ragman both ringes and broches,
Thus they giue their gold glotons to kepe,
And leueth it to such losels as lichery hunteth.
Were the bishop blessed, and worth both his ears,
His seale shold not be sent, to deceaue the people;
And it is nought by the bishop that the boy preacheth,
For the parish and the pardoner part the siluer,
That the pouertie of the parish should haue if thyne were.
Persons and her priestes pleyned hem to the bishop
That her parishes were pore, sithen the pestilence time,
To haue a licence and leue at London to dwell,
To sing there for Simony, for siluer is swete.
Bishops and bachelers, both masters and doctors,
That haue cure under Christ, and crowning in token,
And signe that they should shriue her parishinges
Preach and pray for hem, and the poore fede,
Lye at London in lenten; and elles
Some seruen the kyng and his siluer tellen
In cheker and in chauncery, chalenge his dettes
Of wardes and warmottes, of wayues and strayues,
And some seruen as seruauntes to lords and to ladies,
And in stede of Stewerdes sit and demen
Her masses and her mattens, and many of her hours
Are done undeuoutly, drede is at the laste
Lest Christ in consistory, accurse ful many.

The most important work, however, of the reign of Edward III. was the translation of the Bible by Wicklif, which does not seem to have been finished before 1382. Wicklif died in 1384. The Old Testament of this translation still remains unpublished, though numerous manuscripts of it are preserved in our public and collegiate libraries. From one of the best of these (MS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 1 C viii.), we have selected as a specimen the Song of Moses:*—

Thanne Moises song, and the sones of Israel, this song to the Lord; and thei seiden, Synge we to the Lord for he is magnafied gloriousli; he castide down the hors and the stiere into the see. My strengthe and my preisyng is the Lord, and he is maad to me into heelthe, this is my God: y schal glorifie hym the God of my fadir: and y schal enhaunce hym: the Lord is as a man fizten: his name is almizti. He castide doun into the see the charis of Farao and his oost, his chosun princes weren drenchid in the reed see, the deepe watris hiliden them; thei zeden doun into the depthe as a stoon, Lord thy rizt hond is magnyfied in strengthe: Lord thi rizt hond smoot the enemye: and in the mythilnesse of thi glorie thou hast put doun all myn adversaryes; thou sentist thine ire that devouride hem as stobil: and watris weren gaderid in the spirit of thi woodnesse, flowinge watir stood: depe watris weren gaderid in the middis of the see: the enemy seide, Y schal pursue and y schal take, y schal departe spuylis: my soule schal be fillid: I schal drawe out my swerde: myn hond schal sle hem. Thi spirit blew; and the see hilide hem, thei weren drenchid as leed, in grete watris. Lord who is lyk thee in stronge men: who is lyk thee, thou art greet doere in hoolynesse; ferdful and p'isable, and doyng miracles, thou heldist forth thin hond, and the erthe devouride hem: Thou were ledere, in thi merci, to thi puple, which thou azen bouztest, and thou hast bore hym in thi strengthe, to thin holi dwellyng place: puplis stieden and weren wroothe: sorewis helden the dwelleris of filistiym; thane the pryncis of Edom weren disturblid: trembling helde the stronge men of Moab: all the dwelleris of Canaan weren starke. Inward drede falle on hem: and outward drede in the greetnesse of thin arm. Be thei maad unmoovable as a stoon, til thi puple passe lord, til this thi puple passe. Whom thou weldidist, thou schalt brynge hem in and thou schalt plaunte in the hil of thin eritage: in the moost stidefast dwellyng place which thou hast wroht Lord, Lord thi seyntuarie which thin hondis made stidefast. The Lord schal regne in to the world and ferth'e. Forsothe Farao a ridere entride with his charis and knyztis in to the see: and the Lord brouzte the watris of the see on him; sotheli the sones of Israel zeden bi the drie place, in the myddis of the see.

Therefore Marie profetesse, the sister of Aaron, tooke a tympan in hir hond, and all the wymmen zeden out aftir hyr with tympans cumpanyes: to which sche song before and seide, Synge we to the Lord: for he is magnyfied gloriously, he castide doun into the see the hors and the stiere of hym.

From Wicklif's New Testament we shall select the last chapter of St. Luke:—

But in o day of the woke ful eerli thei camen to the grave, and broughten swete smelling spices that thei hadden arayed. And thei founden the stoon turnyd awey fro the graue. And thei geden in and foundun not the bodi of the Lord Jhesus. And it was don the while thei weren astonyed in thought of this thing lo twey men stodun bisidis hem in schynyng cloth. And whanne thei dredden and bowiden her semblaunt into erthe, thei seiden to hem, what seeken ye him that lyueth with deede men? He is not here: but he is risun: haue ye minde how he spak to you whanne he was yit in Golilee, and seide for it behoueth mannes sone to be bitakun into the hondis of synful men: and to be crucifyed: and the thridde day to rise agen? And thei bithoughten on hise wordis, and thei geden agen fro the graue: and teelden alle these thingis to the ellevene and to alle othere. And there was Marye Maudeleyn and Jone and Marye of James, and othere wymmen that weren with hem, that seiden to Aposthis these thingis. And these wordis were seyn bifore hem as madnesse and thei bileueden not to hem; but Petre roos up and ran to the graue, and he bowide doun

* Exodus, chap. xv.

and sigh the lynen clothis liynge aloone, and he wente by himsilf, wondrynge on that that was don.

And lo tweyne of hem wenten in that day into a castel, that was fro Jerusalem the space of sixty furlongis, by name Emaws. And thei spaken togidre of alle these thingis that hadden bifalle. And it was don the while thei talkiden, and soughten by hemsilf: Jesus himsilf neighede and wente with hem. But her yghen weren holdun, that thei knewen him not. And he seide to hem, what ben these wordis that ye speken togidere wondringe: and ye ben sorewful? And oon, whos name was Cleofas, answerde and seyde, thou thi silf art a pilgrim in Jerusalem, and hast thou not knowun what thingis ben don in it these dayes? To whom he seyde, what thingis? and thei seiden to him, of Jhesus of Nazareth, that was a man profete myghti in werk and word bifore God and al the puple. And how the higheste prestis of oure Princis bitokun him into dampnacioun of deeth: and crucifieden him. But we hopiden that he schulde haue agen boughte Israel: and now on alle these thingis, the thridde day is to day that these thingis weren don. But also summe wymmen of ouris maden us aferd whiche bifore day weren at the graue. And whan his bodi was not foundun, thei camen and seiden that they sighen also a sight of aungels, which seiden that he lyueth: And summe of ouren wenten to the graue, and thei foundun so as the wymmen seiden; but they foundun not him. And he seide to hem, a foolis and slowe of herte to bileue in alle thingis that the profetis han spoken; Wher it bihofte not Crist to suffre these thingis, and so to entre into his glorye? And he bigan at Moyses and at alle the profetis and declaride to hem in alle scripturis that weren of him. And thei camen nygh the castel whidir thei wenten: and he made countenaunce that he wolde go ferthir. And thei constreyneden him and seiden, dwelle with us, for it drawith to nyght, and the day is now bowid doun, and he entride with them. And it was don the while he sat at the mete with hem, he took breed and blisside and brak, and took to hem. And the yghen of hem weren opened, and thei knewen him; and he vanyschide fro her yghen. And thei seiden togidere, wher oure herte was not biernynge in us, while he spak to us in the weye, and opened to us Scripturis? And thei risen up in the same our and wenten agen into Jerusalem, and foundun the ellevene gaderid togidre, and hem that weren with hem, seiynge, that the Lord is risun verily: and apperide to Symount. And thei tolden what thingis weren don in the weye, and how thei knewen him in the brakinge of bred. And the while thei spaken these thingis Jhesus stood in the myddil of hem and seide to hem, pees to you, I am, nyl ye drede: but thei weren affrayed and agast and gessiden hem to be a spirit. And he seide to hem, what ben ye troubled: and thoughtis camen up into youre hertis? Se ye my hondis and my feet: for I my silf am, feele ye and se ye, for a spirit hath not flesch and boones as ye seen that I haue. And whenne he hadde seid this thing: he schewide hondis and feet to hem. And yit while thei bileueden not and wondriden for joye: he seide, han ye here ony thing that schal be etun? and thei profriden to him a part of a fisch roostyd, and a honycomb. And whanne he hadde etun bifore hem, he toke that that lefte and gaf to hem, and seyde to hem, these ben the wordis that I spak to you, whanne I was yit with you, for it is nede that alle thingis ben fulfilled that ben writun in the Lawe of Moyses and in the profetis, and in Salmes of me; Thanne he openide to hem with that thei schulden undirstonde Scripturis. And he seide to hem, for thus it is writun, and thus it bihofte Crist to suffre: and rise agen fro death in the thridde day: and penaunce and remissioun of synnes to be prechid in his name into all folkis bigynnynge at Jerusalem. And ye ben witnessis of these thingis. And I schal send the biheest of my fadir into you, but sitte ye in the citee till that ye ben clothed with vertu fro an high. And he ledde hem forth into Bethanye; and whan hise hondes weren lift up, he blesside hem. And it was don the while he blessid hem he departede fro hem, and was borun into hevene. And thei worschipiden and wenten agen into Jerusalem, with gret ioye: and weren euer more in the temple heriynge and blessinge God.

Gower and Chaucer were contemporary, but Gower was born before Chaucer. We give precedence, therefore, to a short extract from Gower's 'Confessio Amantis,' being his "example" of an incorrupt judge: the text is taken from a very early MS. of his poem in the Harleian Collection, No. 3490:—

In a Croniq I fynde thus,
How that Caius Fabricius
Wich whilome was consul of Rome,
By whome the lawes yede and come,
Whan the Sampnitees to him brouht
A somme of golde, and hym by souht
To done hem fauoure in the lawe,
Towarde the golde he gan hym drawe:
Wherof, in alle mennes loke,
A part in to his honde he tooke,
Wich to his mouthe in alle haste
He put hit for to smelle and taste,
And to his ihe and to his ere,
Bot he ne fonde no comfort there:
And thanne he be gan it to despise,
And tolde vnto hem in this wise:
"I not what is with golde to thryve
Whan none of alle my wittes fyve
Fynt savour ne delite ther inne.
So is it bot a nyce synne
Of golde to ben to coveitous,
Bot he is riche an glorious
Wich hath in his subieccion
The men wich in possession
Ben riche of golde and by this skile,
For he may alday whan he wille
Or be him leef or be him loth
Justice don vppon hem bothe."
Lo thus he seide and with that worde
He threwe to fore hem on the borde
The golde oute of his honde anon
And seide hem that he wolde none,
So that he kepte his liberte
To do justice and equite,
Without lucre of suche richesse.
There be nowe fewe of such I gesse,
For it was thilke tymes used
That every juge was refused,
Wich was not frende to commoun riht;
Bot thei that wolden stonde vpriht
For trouth only to do justice
Preferred were in thilke office,
To deme and juge comoun lawe
Wich nowe men seyn is alle withdrawe.
To set a lawe and kepe it nouht
Ther is no comoun profit souht,

Bot above alle natheles
The lawe wich is made for pees
Is good to kepe for the beste
For that set alle men in reste.

As a specimen of Chaucer's poetry we shall give the description of the Clerk, from the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales. The Canterbury Tales, as we have mentioned above, were twice printed by Caxton, but in both instances with no critical accuracy. In this and the next extract we follow the very carefully-prepared modern edition of Tyrwhitt, which undoubtedly gives much more faithfully than any preceding one the actual language of Chaucer :—

A *Clerk* ther was of Oxenforde also,
That unto logike hadde long ygo.
As lene was his hors as is a rake,
And he was not right fat I undertake,
But loked holwe, and therto soberly.
Ful thredbare was his overest courtepy,
For he hadde geten hin yet no benefice
Ne was nought worldly to have an office;
For him was lever han at his beddes hed
Twenty bokes clothed in blake or red
Of Aristotle and his philosophie
Then robes riche, or fidel or sautrie.
But all be that he was a philosophre
Yet hadde he but litel gold in cofre,
But all that he might of his frendes hente
On bokes and on lerning he it spente,
And besily gan for the soules praie
Of hem that yave him wherwith to scolaie.
Of studie toke he most cure and hede;
Not a word spake he more than was nede,
And that was said in forme and reverence,
And short and quike, and full of high sentence:
Souning in moral vertue was his speche,
And gladly wolde he lerne and gladly teche.

Chaucer's prose may be judged of by the following passage from the Parson's Tale, in the same work :—

Now ben there two maner of prides: that on of hem is within the herte of a man, and that other is without; of whiche sothely thise foresayd thinges, and mo than I haue sayd, apperteinen to pride that is within the herte of man, and ther be other spices of pride that ben withouten; but natheles that on of these spices of pride is signe of that other, right as the gay Levesell at the tauerne is signe of the win that is in the celler. And this is in many thinges, as in speche and contenance, and outragious array of clothing: for certes, if there had ben no sinne in clothing, Crist wold not so sone have noted and spoken of the clothing of thilk rich man in the Gospel; and, as Seint Gregory sayth, that precious clothing is culpable for the derthe of it, and for his softnesse, and for his strangenesse and disguising, and for the superfluitee or for the inordinate scantnesse of it. Alas! may not a man see as in our daies, the sinnefull costlewe array of clothing, and namely in to moche superfluitee, or elles in to disordinate scantnesse.

As to the first sinne, in superfluitee of clothing, whiche that maketh it so dere, to the harme of the peple, not only the coste of the enbrouding, the disguysing, endenting or barring, ounding, paling, winding, or bending, and semblable wast of cloth in vanitee, but ther is also the costlewe furring in her gounes, so moch pounsoning of chesel to maken holes, so moch dagging of sheres, with the superfluitee in length of the foresaide gounes, trailing in the dong and in the myre, on hors and eke on foot, as wel of man as of woman, that all thilke trailing is veraily (as in effect) wasted, consumed, thredbare, and rotten with dong, rather that it is yeven to the poure, to gret domage of the foresayd poure folk, and that in sondry wise; this is to sayn, the more that cloth is wasted, the more must it cost to the pour peple for the scarcenesse: and furtherover, if so be that they wolden yeve swiche pounsoned and dagged clothing to the poure peple it is not conuenient to were for hir estate, ne suffisant to bote hir necessitee, to kepe hem fro the distemperance of the firmament. . . . . Now as to the outragious array of women, God wote that though the visages of som of hem semen ful chaste and debonaire, yet notifien they in hir array of attire likerousnesse and pride. I say not that honestee in clothing of man or woman is uncovenable, but certes the superfluitee or disordinat scarcitee of clothing is reprevable. Also the sinne of ornement or of apparaile is in thinges that appertaine to riding, as in to many delicat hors that ben holden for delit, that ben so faire, fatte, and costlewe; and also in many a vicious knave that is susteined because of hem; in curious harneis, as in sadler, cropers, peitrels, and bridles, covered with precious cloth and rich, barred and plated of gold and of silver; for which God sayth by Zacharie the prophet, I wol confounde the riders of swiche hors. These folke taken litel regard of the riding of Goddes sone of heuen, and of his harneis, when he rode upon the asse, and had non other harneis but the poure clothes of his disciples, ne we rede not that euer he rode on ony other best. I speke this for the sinne of superfluitee, and not for honestee, when reson it requireth.

Two poems of no ordinary beauty of style, of the early part of Richard II.'s reign, occur in a volume called the Vernon Manuscript, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. One is an Elegy on the death of Edward III.; the other, a poem on the disturbances whilst Richard was a child. A few of the smoothest stanzas of each are here presented to the reader. These poems were first introduced to notice in the Archæologia, by the late Rev. J. J. Conybeare. The Elegy begins,—

Ah! dere God! what mai this be
That alle thing weres and wasteth awai,
Frendschip is but a vanyte
Unnethe hit dures al a day:
Thei beo so sliper at assai
So leof to han and loth to lete,
And so fikel in heore fai,
That selden I seige is sone forgete.

* * *

Sum tyme an Englisch ship we had,
Noble hit was and heih of tour,
Thorw al Cristendam hit was drad,
And stif wolde stande in uch a stour.
And best dorst byde a scharp schour
And other stormes smale and grete.
Now is that schip that bar the flour
Selden sege and sone forgete.

Into that schip ther longed a roothur,
That steered the schip, and governed hit
In all this world nis such a nothar
As me thinketh in my wit.

Whyl schip and rothur togeder was knit,
Thei dredde nouther tempest driyge nor wete.
Nou be thei both in synder flit,
That selden seyge is sone forgete.

* * *

This goode schip, I may remene
To the chivalrye of this londe,
Some time thei counted nougt a bene
Beo al France ich understonde
Thei tok and sloug hem with heore honde
The power of France both smal and grete,
And brougt ther kyng hider to bide her bonde.
And nou rigt sone hit is forgete.

That schip had a ful siker mast,
And a sayle strong and large,
That made the gode schip never agast
To undertake a thyng of charge.
And to that schip ther longed a barge,
Of al France gaf nougt a clete.
To us hit was a siker targe.
And now riht clene hit is forgete.

The rothur was nouther ok ne elm,
Hit was Edward the Thridde the noble kniht:
The Prince his sone bare up his helm,
That never 'sconfited was in fiht.
The Kyng him rod and rouwed ariht,
The Prince drad nouther stok nor strete,
Nou of hym we lete ful liht,
That selde is sege is sone forgete.

The swift barge was Duk Henri
That noble kniht and wel assayed,
And in his leggance worthili
He abod mony a bitter braid.
Gif that his enemys ougt outrayed
To chastis hem wold he not lete.
Nou is that Lord ful lowe ileyd.
That selde is sege is sone forgete.

This gode communes, by the rode,
I likne hem to the schipes mast,
That with heore catel and heore gode
Meynteyned the werre both furst and last.
The wynd that bleug the schip with blast
Hit was gode preyers, I sei hit a trete,
Now is devoutnes out-i-cast,
And mony gode dedes be clen forgete.

* * *

And therefore, gode siris, taketh reward
Of gor douhti kyng that dyzede in age,
And to his son Prince Edward
That welle was of al corage.
Such two lords of high parage
In not in eorthe whon we shal gete.
And nou heore los biginneth to swage
That selde i-sege is sone forgete.

The Poem on the disturbances of Richard's reign begins:—

Yet is God a curteis Lord,
And mekeliche con schewe his miht
Fayne he wold bring til acord
Monkuynde to live in treuthe ariht.
Allas! whi set we that Lord so liht,
And al to foule with him we fare?
In world is no so wys no wiht,
That thei ne have warning to beware.

* * *

Whon the comuynes bigan to ryse,
Was non so gret Lord as I gesse
That thei in herte bigon to gryse,
And leide her jolyte in presse.
Wher was thene heore wwrthinesse?
Whon thei made lordes droup and dare.
Of all wyse men I take wytnesse
This a warnyng to beware.

* * *

And also whon this eorthe quok,
Was non so proud he n'as agast,
And al his jolite forsok
And thougt on God whyl that hit last
And alsone as hit was overpast
Men wor as wel as thei dude are.
Uche mon in his herte mai cast
This was a warnyng to beware.

Forsoth this was a Lord to drede
So sodeynly mad mon aghast.
Of gold and selver thei tok non hede
But out of the houses ful sone thei past.
Chambres, chimeneys, al to barst,
Chirches and castels foul gon fare,
Pinacles, steples, to ground hit cast,
And al was warnyng to beware.

The rysing of the comuynes in Londe,
The pestilens, and the eorthequake,
Theose thres thynges, I understonde,
Beo tokenes the great vengeaunce and wrake
That schulde fall for synnes sake,
As this clerkes con declare.
Now mai we chese to leve or take,
For warnyng have we to ben ware.

Ever I drede, be my trouthe
Ther mai no warnyng stande in stede,
We ben so ful of synne and slouthe
The schame is passed the sched of hed.
And we ligger riht hevy as led
Cumbred in the Fendes snare,
I leave this beo ur beste red,
To thenke on this warnyng to beware.

Bewar, for I con sey no more,
Bewar of vengeaunce of trespas,
Bewar and thenk upon this lore,
Bewar of this sodeyn cas.
And git bewar while we have spas,
And thonke that child that Marie bare,
Of his gret goodnesse and his gras
Send us such warnyng to beware.

The mention of the earthquake after the rising of the commons, seems to fix the date of the poem about 1382 or 1383.

The earliest specimen of a royal letter in English with which we are acquainted is a short note from King Henry V. to the Bishop of Durham, dated before Falaise, 10th February, 1418. It is preserved in the Cottonian MS. Vespasian, C. xii.

Worshipful fader in God, right trusty and welbeloved, for as moche as oure welbeloved squier John Hull haath long tyme be in oure ambassiat and service in the parties of Spaigne, for the whiche as he haath complained to us he is endaungerd gretly and certain goodys of his leyd to wedde: wherfor we wol that ye see that theer be taaken dewe accomptes of the said John how many dayes he haath stande in our said ambassiat and service and therupon that he be contented and agreed in the best wyse as

longeth un to hym in this cas. Yeven under oure signet in our howst beside oure toun of Faloise the x. day of Feverer.*

From Osbern Bokenham's Lives of some of the Saints, written in 1443 and 1445, translated from the Legenda Aurea, with occasional prologues, we have transcribed the prologue of 'Marie Maudelyn's Life.' It was translated at the express desire of Isabel, Countess of Eu. Bokenham was a friar Austin, of the convent of Stoke Clare, in Suffolk. His manuscript is preserved in the Arundel Collection in the British Museum, No. 397.

THE PROLOGE OF MARYE MAUDELYN'S LIFE.

Of a Mary to wrytyn I wyl begynne,
  The lyf as God me yeuyn wyl grace,
I mene not Mary wyth owtyn synne,
  Wych of al man kynd bare ye solace,
But hyr I mene wych of hyr trespace
  In Symondys hous, whan she cam yn,
Padone thergh penaunce dede purchace
  And clepyd is Marye Mawdelyn.

And wurthyly yis name Marye
  To hyr pertenyth as it semyth me,
For as Legenda Aurea doth specyfye
  Maria hath yese interpretacyons thre,
Fyrst it betoknyth a byttyr se,
  An illumynere, or ellys maad lyht,
And yese thre thyngys in excellent degre,
  Thys blyssyd Mary Maudelyn had ful ryht.

And by yese thre yingys we vndyrstond moun,
  Ye thre best yingys wych yis Mary ches,
As outward penaunce and inward contemplacyoun,
  And vpward blys, wych neuer shal ses;
Of wych God seyd wyth owtyn lees
  That ye beeste part to hir ches Mary,
Wych euere shal endure and neuere dyscrees,
  But wyth hyr abydyn eternally.

The fyrt part wych yat hycht penytence
  Be cause of ye syne wych is getyng of blys
Shal hyr be byrefth by no vyolence,
  Ner ye secunde of contemplacyon for yat is
Contunyd wyth heuenely wyche neuere shal mys,
  Wherfore it may not fayl in no degre,
Ner ye thrydde of heuene may sece I wys
  For the mesure yer of is eternyte.

For as mych yan as yis Mary
  The best part chees of penaunce doyng,
A byttyr se be clepyd ryht conuenyently
  She may me semyth for in yat thyng
Greth byttyrnesse she felt whan repentyng
  Be hynde Cryst she stood shamefastly,
And wyth ye terys shed in hyr wepyng
  Hys feet she wessh ful deuouthly.

In yat also yat of inwarde contemplacyon
  The best part she ches in yis lyf here
To hyr longyth ye secunde interpretacyoun
  Wych is to seyn an illumynere,
Or a yeuer of lyht in wurdys more clere,
  For in hyr contemplacyon she took swych lyht
Wyth wych many oon, as ye aftyr shul here,
  In goostly goodnesse she maad shyn bryht.

In yat, ye best part of heuenely blys,
  Thys Mary ches in hir affeceyoun,
Wurthyly alumynyd she clepyd is,
  For now abouyn in ye celestyal regyoun
Illumynd she is wyth clere cognycyoun
  In hir soule, and aftyr shal fynally,
When complet is ye general resurreccyoun,
  Illumynyd bene in hyr glorýous body.

Thys Mary is also clepyd Mawdelyn,
  Conuenyently after Januency's decre,
For yis wurd Magdalena wych is latyn,
  By ye interpretacyoun betoknyth yings thre
As gylty, streynghthyd, & wurthy of degre;
  Wych thre yings by dew applycacyoun
Mown clerly shewyn what was she
  Before & yn & aftyr hyr conuercyoun.

Beforn hyr conuercyoun she was gylty
  Be of synful lyuyng ye abhomynacyoun
Dysseuyrd from God & heuenely cumpany
  Dyffamyd also in ye werdys oppynyoun
In Jerusalem & in al yat regyoun
  And bysydyn alle yese myscheuys here
She bounde was by an oblygacyoun
  Wyth ye deuyl to dwellyn in endles fer.

But aftyr yis in hyr conuercyoun
  Whan she forsuke al hyr fyrst foly
And hyr repentyd of hyr transgressyoun
  And wyth penaunce purchacyd hyr mercy,
Than was she strenghthyd & made myhty
  For as many delytes as in sundry wysys
Of synnys he hade in hyr body
  So many of hyr self she maad sacryfysys.

Aftyr hyr conuersyoun eek in goostly grace
  How strong she wer & how myhty
Who lyst know he not hens pace
  Tyl completly rede he yis story
Wych both of ye gospel yat kan not ly
  And of hyr legende to gydyr is bounde
And he shal fynde yat wher wrechydly
  Synne regnyd grace doth superhabounde.

Now gracyous lady Mary Mawdelyn
  Wyth grace aftyr synne copyously founde
Let not Sathanas wyth hys sotyl gyn
  Of yem yat ye seruyn ye soulys confounde
And specyally lady lat yi grace redounde
  To dame Isabel ye countesse of Hu
Counfort hyr & kepe hyr both heyl & sounde
  And alle temptacyouns help hyr to escheu.

Also lady to ye humble intent
  Of hym uouchesaf for to intende
Wych at ye seyd ladyis comaundement
  To translate hym bysyde yi legende
Purchase hym grace hys lyf to amende
  Er yan he passe from yis outlawry
And help hem both up to ascende
  Aftyr hyr fatal cours to blysse heuenely. Amen.

We shall now give a specimen of a sermon, such as the parochial clergy were accustomed to preach in the time of Edward IV. and Henry VII., from a MS. in the Harleian Collection, No. 2247. It is upon the three days preceding Easter, called 'Tenebræ.'

Worshipfull frenedis, ye shall cum to holi chirch on Wednysday, Thursday, and Friday at even, fer to here dyvyne service, as commendable costom of holy chirch hath ordeynd. And holy chirch usith tho iij dayes Wednysday, Thursday, and Friday the seruice to be saide in the even tyde in derkenes. And it is called, with divers men, Tenables, but holy chirch callith it Tenebras, as *Rationale Divinorum* saith, that is to say thirnes or derkenes, for then

* See the Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, vol. ii. pp. 239, 240.

is the seruice seid in derknes for thre causes, oon is for Criste that nyght, beforn he was take, he went thries to the Mount of Olyvet, praying his fadir in blisse for to take awey his hard, paynfull passion that he felt in his spiryte; he swete water and blode for angwissh of his dethe. The second cause is this, for after mydnyght gadred fifty knyghts with grete company of armyd men, with swerdis, clubbis, batts, wepons, and lanterns beforn them for to take Criste, but it was that thei cowde not knowe Crist from Seynt James the minor, for thei were like in persone and stature: that fals traytour Judas gave the Jewis and men of armes a token, saying *Quæcunque osculatus fuero &c.* Take hym that I shall kysse, for he it is, holde hym and lede hym slyghly and warely. And so thei toke Criste and putte hym on the crosse. The thrid cause whi the seruice chese thre nyghts besayde in derknes. For when our sovereyn Saviour Criste Jhesu was nayled vnto the crosse, fote and hand hanging thre owris of the day, fro under unto none. The son with drowgh his lyght, and it was derk thorow oute al the worlde, tokenyng and shewyng that the matter of light, of Son and Mone, was that tyme payned unto the dethe. For these thre causes the seruice of these thre nyghts is done in derkenes. But unto the seruice of Thursday at eve and Friday ys no bell rong, but a clapper the sound of a tree, tokenyng that euery man and woman shuld cum devoutly to the Chirch without noise making. And all that thei shuld speke in goyng and commyng shuld sown of the tree of Criste, that is to say of the Holy Crosse that Cryste dyed upon for mans redempcion and of his precious passion, and remembr how mercyable Criste was when he graunted the thefe Paradise that heng on his right syde, whun he axed mercy. So every man and woman and child shuld dispose them vertuously commyng and goyng to this holy place and leeve talkyng of vanytees, and speke Godds worship of his holy passion and of his mercy. Also in this seruis called Tenebras before the awter is sett an Herse with xxiiii. candels brennyng, for xij Apostells and xij prophetts, which candels be quenchid one after an othir in tokenyng that Crists disciples went from hym evere one after an othir. But when all be quenchid, yett oon is kept light, which light is secretely, whiles the clerkis syng the kyries and the verses, and that signyfyeth the holy woman that made lamentacion at Crists sepulture. Than aftirwarde that candyll is brought ageyn, which betokenyth Criste in his manhode dede and leyde in sepultur. But sone aftir he rose from dethe to life, and gafe light of mercy and grace to all that wer quenchid by dispayr. The strokes that the preste yeveth up on the Boke be tokyn the thunder clappes whan Criste brak hell gates and destroyed the power of the Devell in his resurreccion. Now ye have herd what this seruice be tokenyth, be not unkynde to that mercifull Lorde that suffrid his peynfull passion for you: for unkyndnes is a syn that stinketh in the sight of God. Wherefore seith seynt Ambrose ther may no man fynde a peyn sufficient to ponnysh an unkynde man. Example I fynde of Alisaundr Nexam, as he wryteth, how there was sumtyme a knyght cam from ferr' cuntries wolde seke Aventurs. So it fortuned to a forrest wher he herd a grete noyce of a beste crying. So this knyght drowgh nygh, and there he sawe how an Edder had acomberd and all to clypped a lyon and venemyd hym and bounde the lyon to a tree while he lay and slept. Whan the lyon waked of his slepe, and perceyvid himselfe bounde, and myght not helpe hym self, he made an horrible cry. Than the knyght had compassion on the lyon and sawe that the kyng of bestes was in distresse, he drough oute his swerde and slough the edder, and lowesyd the lyon. And whan the lyon founde hym self unbounde he fell doun to the knyghts fete, and evere after he sarved the knyght and every nyght lay at his beddis fete; in tornaments and bataylls evere helpid the knyght; in so moch that all men spake of the knyght and the lyon. By this knyght is undirstonde Criste Jhesu, second person in Trynyte, that cam from ferr cuntrey, that is to say from heven into the vale of this wreechid worlde, to unbynde mankynde that was bounde with the olde adder the devell that had bounde mankynde to the tree of inobedyence. And so Criste lowesyd mankynde oute of the bonde of the devill with the swerd of his precious passion, and made hym fre. Wherfore must every man and woman shewe kyndenes to that gode lorde, as the lyon dyd unto the knyght, to be obesaunte to hym and thanke hym of his godenes and of hys unbyndinge from the bondes of the devell, and purseu and folow the tru teching of God. That so whan we shall passe the payne of bodily dethe, that we may have the perpetuall joye of blisse bought by Crist's blessid blode. Amen.

This is a sample of the strange stories which were written at that period for general amusement.

Our last specimen is from the seventy-second chapter of Caxton's 'Booke of th'enseygnements and techynge that the Knyght of the Tower made to his daughters,' translated from the French by Caxton himself, in 1483.

HOW A WOMAN OUGHT TO OBEYE HER HUSBOND IN ALLE THYNGE HONEST.

I wold ye knewe wel the tale and example of the lady, which daygned not to come to her dyner for ony commaundement that her lord coud make to her, and so many tyme he sent for her that at the last whanne he sawe she wold not come at his commaundement, he made to com be fore hym his swyneherd, he that kept his swynes, whiche was foule and ouermoche hydous, and bad hym fetche the clowte of the kechyn wherwith men wype dysshes and platers. And thenne he made a table or bord to be dressyd before hys wyf, and made it to be couerd with the sayde cloute, and commaunded to his swyneherd to sytte besyde her, and thenne he sayd thus to her, Lady yf ye ne wylle ete with me, ne come at me, ne come at my commaundement, ye shalle have the kepar of my swyne to hold yow company and good felauship, and this cloute to wype your handes with al. And whenne she that thenne was sore ashamed and more wrothe than she was tofore sawe and knewe that her lord mocked her, refreyned her proude herte and knewe her foly. Therfor a woman ought not in no wyse to refuse to come at the commaundement of her lord yf she wylle haue and kepe his loue and pees. And also by good reason humylyte ought to come fyrste to the woman, for euer she ought to shewe herself meke and humble toward her lord.

From the specimens here given of the best writers of nearly three centuries, both in prose and verse, the reader must have observed, with some

surprise, their variety of strange and irregular modes of spelling, which still contributes not a little to the obscurity of their writings. At that, and even to a much later period, orthography was unsettled. From the time of the Anglo-Saxons to that of Queen Elizabeth, the same word was often spelt two or three different ways in the same page; and every writer contented himself with putting together that combination of letters which he imagined would best express the sound of the word he was using, without at all considering what letters others used, or what he himself had used on former occasions for the same purpose.

For the changes of terms, and the gradual introduction of new words, especially from the French and Latin, numerous reasons will suggest themselves. We had French dominions, and the Latin service in our churches. In the middle period, although the Norman settlers had become amalgamated with the people, genteel education was still considered incomplete without French. "Also gentilmens children," says Trevisa, "ben lerned and taught from their yongth to speke Frenssh, and up londissh men will counterfete and likene hem selfe to gentilmen, and arn besy to speke Frenssh for to be more sette by. Wherefore it is said by a common proverb, Jack would be a gentilman if he coude speke Frenssh."

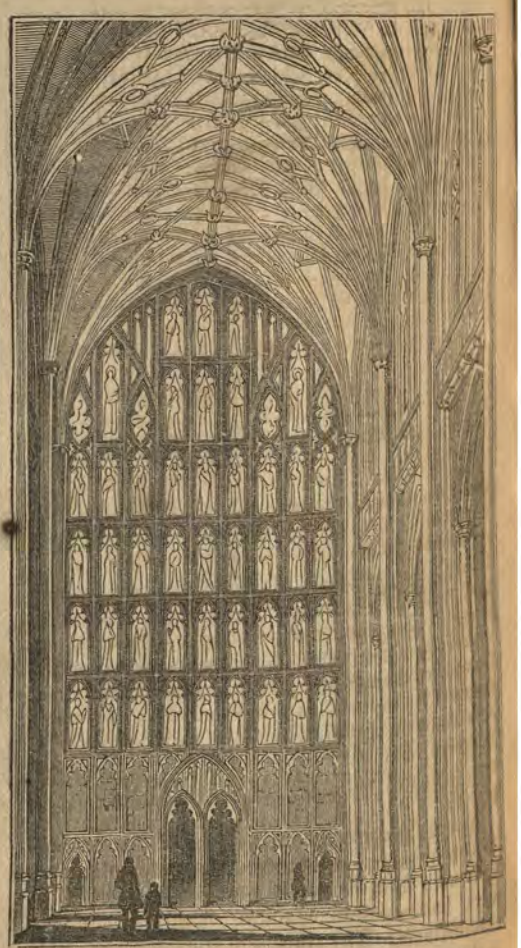
Beside the ordinary change of terms to which living tongues in all ages are liable, the fourteenth century produced in England numerous men of learning, who, beside composing voluminous works, made many translations, not only from French and Latin, but from Italian, and even Greek—a circumstance which accounts not only for the introduction of new words, but for the borrowing of new idioms.

Gower, Chaucer, Wyclif, and Lydgate, are names which learning venerates; and nothing can be more surprising than that Wyclif's translation of the Old Testament—one of the most curious and beautiful monuments of our ancient language—should still remain in manuscript.

It must not be forgotten by the reader who follows the progress of English architecture through the middle ages, that, however clearly the styles of Gothic, which successively prevailed, may be distinguished from each other, yet it is not always easy to mark the boundary lines which separate them. A farther difficulty on this point is incidental to the present work, from the want of coincidence between the historical and architectural eras. It will therefore be necessary, in treating of the period now under consideration, to look back to the end of Edward III.'s reign in 1377 (which is the date conventionally assigned to the close of the second style, or decorated English, and the introduction of the third, known as the *perpendicular*), and to anticipate, in some particulars, as far as the middle of the sixteenth century.

The perpendicular Gothic is essentially and exclusively English; and "heartily," says Professor Willis, "may we congratulate ourselves upon it when we compare it with the sister styles of France and Germany." It sprung up in our own country as a new and vigorous shoot, and flourished during a period when the continental Gothic, exhausted by excessive luxuriance, was declining irretrievably. The principal characteristic of this style, and that to which it owes its name, is the perpendicular direction of the mullions of the windows, which are carried up in straight lines till they reach the curve of the arch, the sub-divisions in the head of the window being also for the most part formed of lines having a similar tendency. These perpendicular lines being crossed at right angles by transoms, now first introduced in large windows, the whole becomes a combination of open panels.

"Panelling," says Mr. Rickman, "is the grand source of ornament in this style,—indeed, the interior of most rich buildings is only a series of it: for example, King's College Chapel, Cambridge, is all panel except the floor; for the doors and windows are nothing but panels included in the general design, and the very roof is a series of them in different shapes."



Nave of Winchester Cathedral.

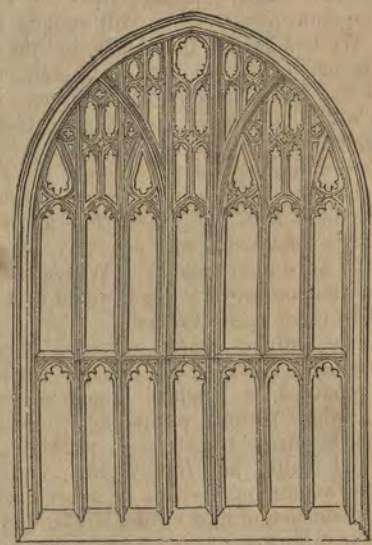
This principle is nowhere developed in a more simple or striking manner than in the nave of Winchester Cathedral, built by William of Wykeham, who held that see from 1367 to 1404. This magnificent work, which appears to have occupied the last ten years of his life, is therefore an early example of the style, having been executed at a period when the decorated English was by no means entirely superseded.

Most of the peculiarities in which the perpendicular Gothic differs strikingly from the two former styles may be observed in this specimen. The suppression of the distinctive character of the triforium, which merges in a series of panels entering into composition with the clerestory window above,—the depressed four-centered arch, which, at a more advanced stage of the perpendicular style, almost superseded every other form,—and the square plane of decoration, by which the arches are enclosed as in a frame, a form of composition so especially appropriated to doorways, that comparatively few are executed in any other. The

PERPENDICULAR DOOR.—From the Bishop's Palace, Lincoln.

triangular panel, or spandril, thus generated, is usually filled with tracery or other ornament, and occasionally, when not very large, with a mass of foliage; this being one of the few cases in which that mode of decoration is retained. Running foliage is also occasionally met with in the hollow mouldings of cornices, but it is principally applied in detached flowers, and in the form of crockets and finials. In capitals it is seldom seen. In whatever shape it occurs it is poor and conventional in design, and stiff and mechanical in its execution, compared with that of either of the former periods.

Among the minor characteristics of the perpendicular style is to be observed the disuse of shafts. They are still used in the main arches and doorways, but never in windows or any subordinate combinations. The transition from the last style in this particular may be observed in Westminster Hall, where the astragals of the windows are worked with a base, but no capital. A profusion of little battlements crowded upon the string-courses and other horizontal lines, even to the transoms of the windows, is another marked feature of this style. In the display of tracery in the windows, the principle of composition operates with a somewhat unfavourable effect; and on this point the perpendicular style must yield to the decorated English. It is nevertheless susceptible of many pleasing combinations, of which St. Mary's, Oxford, may afford an example, often followed—with slight variations—in windows of seven openings.



PERPENDICULAR WINDOW.—From St. Mary's Church, Oxford.

It was upon the multiplicity of parts that the architects of this period chiefly depended for richness of effect. Among the decorations, however, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, heraldry occupies a conspicuous place. Heraldic bearings, as we have had occasion to notice, were sculptured upon tombs very soon after their introduction; but one of the earliest instances in which they are called to the aid of architecture appears in Westminster Abbey, where, in that portion of the church lying immediately west of the transept, and carried on during the reign of Edward I., the spandrils of the dado arches are filled by large shields of arms, instead of the sculpture with which they are decorated in the structure of Henry III. Throughout the decorated English period shields are used in a similar manner, but sparingly, and without any of the appendages of crests, supporters, &c., which afterwards accompanied them. They are at this time usually represented as simply hung against the wall, as in the nave of York Cathedral, both inside and out. But in the decorations of the perpendicular style heraldry is introduced in profusion. Shields of arms occupy every point in which they can be placed with ad-

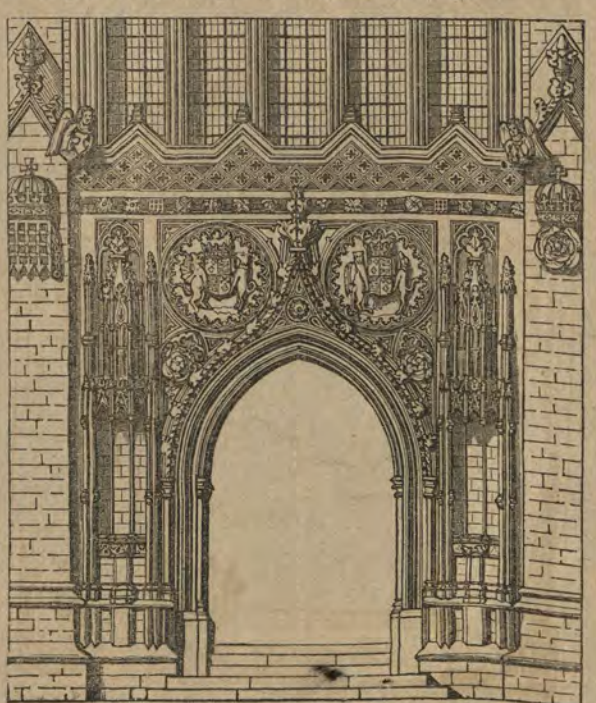
vantage; and, besides such as fill the panels and spandrils, they are made to serve as corbels, as terminations to the labels of doors and windows, and as bosses at the intersections of groined roofs. In the beautiful vaulting of the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral, built early in the fifteenth century, above eight hundred shields are thus assembled, commemorative of the royal family and the dignitaries and benefactors of the church. The whole have been emblazoned in their proper colours, and, when in a perfect state, must have afforded a display of surpassing splendour and brilliancy.

But it was not only in this direct manner that heraldry was turned to account in architecture. Its bearings, supporters, crests, cognizances, devices, and mottoes, were a fund from which an infinite variety of objects were drawn and ingeniously woven into the decorations of this period, rendering them significant as well as ornamental, and investing them with a power of speaking the language of history and chronology to after ages. Thus, a great portion of the carvings about Westminster Hall represent the bearings of its princely restorer, those attributed to his chosen patron Edward the Confessor, the crests and devices of the Plantagenets, and the white hart, the peculiar cognizance of Richard II. himself. The devices of Henry V., the swan and antelope, are profusely introduced among the decorations of his chapel at Westminster; and in that of Henry VII. the whole history of his royal descent, and connexion with both branches of the House of Plantagenet, is indicated by the heraldic insignia lavished upon every part. The lion of England, the dragon of Cadwallader (from whom Henry VII. was fond of tracing the descent of the House of Tudor), and the greyhound of York,* cling to the external buttresses and turrets, and to the canopies and piers within. The portcullis of Henry's maternal ancestry of Beaufort, the rose and the fleur-de-lis, alternate in studding the cornices, filling the panels, and surmounting the internal dado, royally crowned and supported by angels. To these are added the well-known Yorkist cognizance of the falcon and fetterlock, and the Lancastrian device of the *Marguerite*, or daisy, adopted by his mother the Countess of Richmond. King's College Chapel is equally rich in heraldic decorations, of which, and of the niche work and open battlements of the perpendicular style, the annexed doorway affords a specimen.†

The groined roofs of this style are exuberantly ornamented. Numerous ribs enclosing rich tracery spread over the vaulting in a great variety of beautiful combinations, intricate but not confused, the mouldings of the subordinate parts being judiciously reduced to the simplest form, and the leading lines being marked by additional members. But the stone roof only reached its utmost point of magnificence with the invention of *fan tracery*, consisting of clusters of rays diverging from the supporting shafts on a circular plan, and forming

* Sandford.

† The chapel of King's College at Cambridge, begun by Henry VI., made little progress until the conclusion of the civil wars. It is consequently impressed with the insignia of the new dynasty under whom it was completed; but it seems extraordinary that the Tudor mark should have been set upon the extensive buildings executed at this college within a few years past, to the exclusion of any tribute of respect to its munificent and pious founder or to the reigning royal family.



Doorway of King's College Chapel, Cambridge.

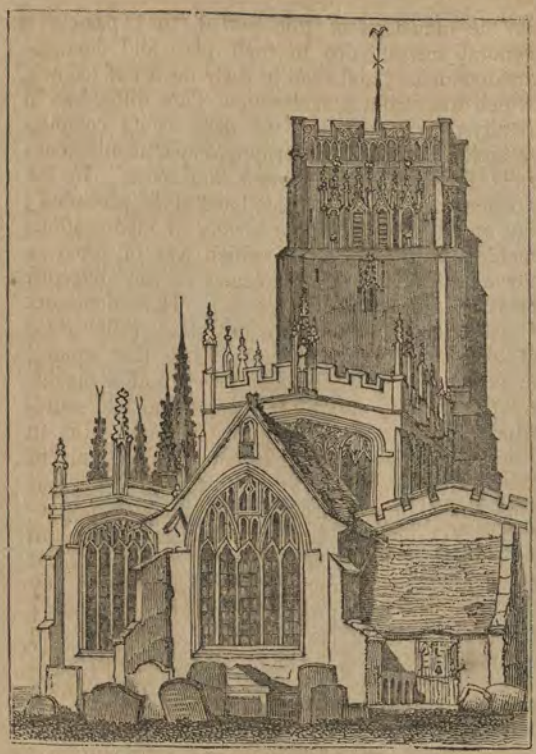
minute panels subdivided and multiplied as they spread; the centre of the vault broken into corresponding panels and tracery, or returning downwards in a form similar to that with which it sprung, and pendent like an artificial stalactite. The cloister of Gloucester Cathedral, completed by Abbot Froucester between 1381 and 1412, is among the earliest and best examples of fan tracery.* It was freely introduced throughout the fifteenth century in chapels and other small erections, in which carved stone seems to imitate the elegant designs and delicate execution of lace and embroidery.

The effect of these vaultings, which dazzle the eye by the number and complication of their parts, is rivalled by the open timber roofs of the same period. The origin of these beautiful frames may be traced to an early date. The naked or flat-ceiled roofs of the Norman era were constructed upon the common principle derived from antiquity, of a horizontal tie-beam connecting the lateral walls. But in the high-pitched coverings of the early Gothic the attention of the builders was principally directed to obviate the effect of the wind upon their vast surfaces, and they could afford to neglect the outward thrust upon walls calculated to resist that of a stone vault. When roofs of this construction were used to cover buildings without vaulting, the inside, being boarded on the cross timbers, became a polygonal arched ceiling (as in the old church at Yarmouth);* and many roofs of this form are undoubtedly very old. But the picturesque effect produced by the complication of timbers of which these roofs consist, was soon observed and taken advantage of. Their decoration was assimilated to their construction; and the *arch of timber*, in a simple form, appears frequently in the roofs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The roof of Westminster Hall, completed in 1399, is one of the first examples of a new style of constructing and decorating the open roof, which accompanied the last modification of Gothic architecture, and is the parent of many others of the fifteenth and following century still more elaborately decorated. Such are the roofs of the halls of Eltham Palace, Crosby Place, the College of Christ Church at Oxford, and Hampton Court. This style of composition also extends beyond the Gothic period. It is blended with the capricious ornaments of the age of James I., and attempts were even made to adapt it to the more regular details of the Italian schools. Its success at its first appearance seems to have been so great as to produce a sort of re-action upon the construction of the Gothic arch; and the clustered pendants and pierced spandrils of the divinity school at Oxford show an evident intention to imitate its effect in stone.†

* See Britton's Hist. of Gloucester Cathedral.

* See Neale's Churches.
† See Ackerman's Hist. of Oxford.

THE GREAT HALL OF ELTHAM PALACE.



Northleach Church, Gloucestershire.

This form of roof is more peculiarly characteristic of domestic architecture. In churches, where the proportions confine the roof to a less important place in the composition, the horizontal tie is generally retained; and the spandrils of a flat arch beneath, and the triangular space formed by the slope of the rafters above, afford sufficient scope for a variety of open tracery and other ornament. Sometimes the roof is brought down close to the tie-beam, and is nearly flat. It is decorated either by moulding the rafters or covering them with a panelled ceiling.

The introduction of flat timber roofs, by diminishing the weight and annulling all outward pressure upon the walls, tended greatly to favour the taste for lightness of construction, which was carried to an extreme in the perpendicular style. In the magnificent churches of the second class, in which this period is rich beyond every other, the supporting piers are reduced by every artifice to an appearance scarcely consistent with stability; and the clerestory is opened from end to end like a lantern, two windows being generally grouped over each compartment below. As specimens of this style may be cited, the Collegiate church at Manchester, the University churches of Cambridge and Oxford, those of Melford and Lavenham in Suffolk, remarkable for their florid decoration, and the conventual church of Great Malvern in Worcestershire,* the four former erected in the fifteenth and the two latter at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Gloucestershire abounds in churches no less worthy of remark as specimens of style, though less regular in design, among which may be noticed those of Northleach, Winchcombe, and Cirencester.* St. Mary's Church, at Bury, in which an arched timber roof without a tie is raised upon a structure of magical lightness, is perhaps surpassed by none as a monument of bold design and skilful execution.

Of the greater churches there is not much to be recorded during the fifteenth century. The most important work of the age is the nave of Canterbury Cathedral, which, with the great transept and cloister, was begun by Prior Chillenden in 1400. The centre tower of the same church, matchless for its proportion and chaste style of decoration, was begun by Prior Sellynge in 1472; and the more gorgeous, but less graceful tower of Gloucester, by Abbot Sebroke in 1454. This latter cathedral, though of ancient fabric, exhibits more of the perpendicular character than any other, owing to the restorations which were in progress throughout the greater part of the fifteenth century. The west front and south porch were the work of Abbot Morwent, between 1420 and 1437; and the Lady Chapel was not completed till 1498. The west tower of York Cathedral also belongs to this style, having been erected in 1402.†

West Gate, Canterbury.

* For all these buildings, except the first, see Neale's Churches.

* See Neale's Churches.
† See Britton's Hist. of these three Cathedrals.

The minor additions and alterations received by our ecclesiastical edifices during the perpendicular period are so extensive, that Mr. Rickman supposes full one-half of all the windows in our churches to be in that style. To the same period is also to be referred nearly the whole of the stall and screen work in the kingdom.

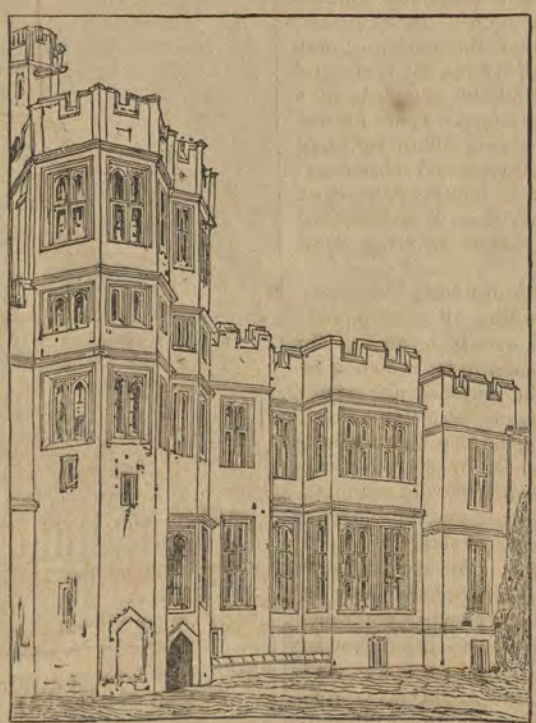
In the fifteenth century the distinction between castellated and domestic architecture begins to be lost. The castles of an earlier date were indeed maintained at this time in all their strength and majesty, and additions made to them in perfect accordance with their original style. Many machicolated gateways erected throughout this period, with their massive circular towers, unrelieved by any openings save the loophole and œillet, are truly warlike in their appearance. Such, among numerous examples, is the well-known gateway of Carisbrooke Castle,* erected in the reign of Edward IV., and closely resembling the west gate of Canterbury, built by Archbishop Sudbury toward the close of the fourteenth century.

But in the castles, or castellated mansions as it is more proper to designate them, which date from the middle of the fifteenth century, the form and details of domestic architecture blend with the tower and turret, and their military character suffers in proportion. It is the external outline which is principally affected by the difference of the two styles; and whichever may predominate in the mansions of this period, they possess a general resemblance in their plan and domestic arrangements; and even in their means of defence, which was still a consideration, they differ less in reality than appearance, the moat being common to both classes, and the principal apartments generally facing inwards towards the court. In the greater mansions the castellated style prevailed; but under a considerable variety of modifications incident to the transition which was in progress toward the domestic architecture of the sixteenth century, known as the *Tudor* style. Hertsmonceaux Castle, erected in 1448, was a regular parallelogram of about one hundred and eighty feet square, flanked by seventeen octagon towers and a machicolated gateway of a most picturesque and somewhat fanciful design.* At Tattershall Castle, in Lincolnshire, we have an imitation of an ancient keep, a huge square tower with turrets at the four angles, and a machicoulis of formidable projection. Yet there is little appearance of strength in this vast mass, whatever it might possess of a military character being neutralised by the number and proportion of the windows.† Oxburgh Hall, in Norfolk, is an embattled and moated *house*, with little of the castellated style about it except its massive though ornamented gateway, towering over the rest of the structure to

* See Woolnoth's Ancient Castles, vol. i.

* See Woolnoth's Ancient Castles, vol. i.—A general elevation of this building is given in Pugin's Examples of Gothic Architecture, second series.

† See Britton's Antiquities, vol. ii.

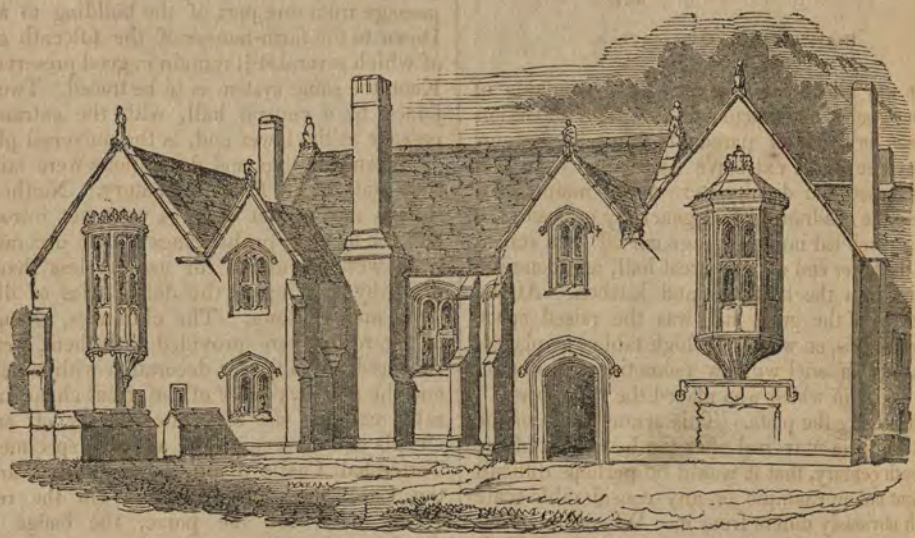


PART OF THE GREAT COURT OF WARWICK CASTLE.

the height of eighty feet.* Raglan Castle, begun in the reign of Edward IV., exhibits more of the genuine castellated style outside,† but is purely domestic within in all its arrangements and details.‡ In the later additions to Warwick Castle the two styles begin to blend very intimately, the bold

* See Britton's Antiquities, vol. ii.
† See Woolnoth's Castles, vol. ii.
‡ Pugin's Examples of Gothic Architecture, second series.

turretted outline entering into composition with the expanse of window which was carried to such excess at a later period. The additions made by Edward IV. to the castle at Nottingham were probably very similar to this, judging by Leland's account of it, as "a gallant building for lodging," with "a goodly tower of three heights and marvellous fair compassed windows;" a description which will be found equally applicable to the



Great Chatfield Manor House, Wilts.

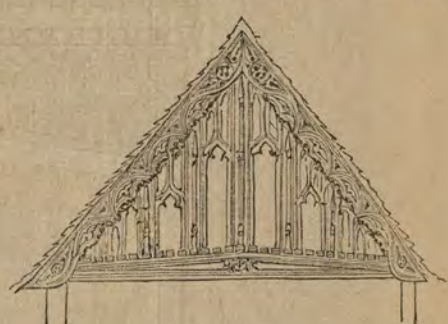
style of Thornbury Castle in Gloucestershire, built late in the reign of Henry VIII. by Edward Duke of Buckingham.*

In houses of a smaller class the domestic character was more distinctly preserved, and many were erected in the fifteenth century displaying a highly ornamental style of architecture, in which the oriel window forms a principal feature. Of this description is the manor-house of Great Chatfield, in Wiltshire. The view above represents the main body of the edifice, forming the upper side of a court, of which the other three sides were composed of inferior buildings containing the offices. This building appears to be designed according to an architectural canon of the period, the outline and disposition of the gables being extremely common. The old manor-house of Harlaxton in Lincolnshire, and that of Ockwells in Berkshire, exactly resemble it in these particulars. The latter is remarkable as a timber edifice of most elaborate workmanship.†

The use of animals as finials in domestic architecture, in the manner shown in the foregoing example, was very common. They were of course allusive to the heraldic devices of the house. They were generally introduced as supporters for vanes,

* See Britton's Antiq., vol. iv., and Woolnoth's Ancient Castles, vol. ii.
† See Lyson's Berkshire; in which, however, the engraving gives very little idea of the exquisite detail of the gables.

decorated with armorial bearings in imitation of banners, and sometimes blazoned in their proper



Carved Timber Gable at Ockwells, Berks.

colours. This mode of decoration is as old as the time of Edward III. Chaucer speaks of the "golden fanes," and there "grete melody," and "swete armony." They undoubtedly suggested to the mind of the poet, as they creaked in the wind, the noble and exalted associations inseparably connected with the privilege of bearing arms. A very curious heraldic vane is still left on the gateway of Oxburgh Hall.

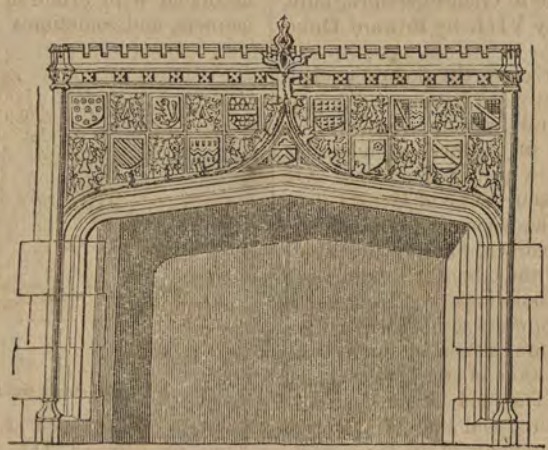
Whether the English noble was surrounded by the military retainers of the feudal age, or the more courtly train of the Tudor period, his resi-

HERALDIC VANE OF OXBURGH HALL.

dence was filled with a crowd of dependants of various grades, and calculated for accommodation to them, for a life of parade to himself, and for the exercise of the extensive hospitality by which his influence and dignity were to be maintained. Within the quadrangle, and generally opposite the gate, a porch led into a passage cut off by a screen from the lower end of the great hall, and communicating with the butteries and kitchen. At the upper end of the great hall was the raised space called the dais, on which the high table was placed, flanked by an oriel window (sometimes by one on each side), in which was placed the "cupboard" for displaying the plate. This arrangement of the great hall is so universal after the beginning of the fifteenth century, that it would be perhaps difficult to point out an example on any considerable scale which obviously differs from it. When a mansion is of sufficient extent to inclose two courts, the hall is placed between them. The principal apartments adjoined the upper end of the hall. There was usually at least one of large dimensions calculated for state purposes, and frequently used as a dining-room, apart from the more public meal in the great hall. But the great houses of this age were scantily provided with living rooms as compared with the number of the lodging rooms and offices. Little was done for comfort or convenience. The facility of communication, so indispensable to the habits of modern life, was totally disregarded, and the open court was the only passage from one part of the building to another. Down to the farm-houses of the fifteenth century, of which several still remain in good preservation in Kent, the same system is to be traced. Two wings, joined by a central hall, with the entrance and passage at the lower end, is the universal plan.

Internal fittings and decorations were still in a rude state in the fifteenth century. Neither wood linings nor plaster ceilings were yet introduced; and the tapestry or hangings which decorated the walls were calculated for use no less than ornament, by covering all the deficiencies of ill-closed doors and windows. The chimneys, though few of the rooms were provided with them, were now rendered available for decoration with much taste, and the chimney-piece of the great chamber generally exhibits an elaborate display of armorial shields and devices. The annexed specimen from Tattershall Castle displays the family bearings of the Lord Treasurer Cromwell (in the reign of Henry VI.), and the purse, the badge of his dignity. In the preceding century the ancient projecting funnel was still used.*

* See vol. i. p. 628.



CHIMNEY-PIECE AT TATTERSHALL CASTLE.

One of the most interesting and important events in the architectural history of the fifteenth century is the revival of building with brick, which is used in the construction of three considerable edifices already referred to,—namely, the castles of Hertsmonceaux and Tattershall, and Oxburgh Hall. The changes which this material first produced in the style of domestic architecture, and the total revolution it afterwards effected in the art of building in general, will be the subject of a future page. Its past history is obscure. There is no reason to believe that the art of making the Roman brick was ever lost from the time it was introduced into our island till the adoption of the Flemish brick, which is the form in use at the present day. The former may be traced during the Norman period,

under circumstances not easily reconciled with the common opinion, that it is the spoil of Roman edifices; and the latter is found in remains satisfactorily assigned to the time of Edward II. The fabrication of tiles was certainly never laid aside. Still brick constructions of an earlier date than the reign of Richard II. are of extreme rarity, though it seems unaccountable why so useful a building material should have been neglected during so many centuries.

If little has hitherto been said upon town buildings and the habitations of the commoners of England, it is because the materials have been too scanty to afford information likely to interest the general reader. The earliest detailed description extant of any English town is Fitz-Stephen's account of London, written in the latter part of the twelfth century;* but we can gather few hints from it on the subject of domestic architecture. He tells us that almost all the bishops, abbots, and great men had goodly houses (*ædificia præclara*) in London, to which they resorted, and where their disbursements and expenses were not sparing, whenever they were summoned from the country to attend councils, &c. He tells us, also, that the two great evils of London were drunkenness and the frequency of fires. To the latter fact all our early histories bear sufficient evidence; and, in order to obviate the evil, it was enacted in the first year of Richard I. that the lower story of all houses in the city of London should be built with stone, and the roofs covered with tiles or slates. This had probably been until that time the mode of constructing the superior class of houses only, the ordinary dwellings of the citizens being wood and thatch. Houses built entirely of stone were at all times scarce in London. All those of which Stow has preserved memorials appear to have been of early date, and for the most part buildings of importance. One which he notices was traditionally known as "a Jew's house,"—"as though," says the antiquary, "none but Jews had dwelt in stone houses." But this is not a singular instance of such a tradition; and we may infer from it that the possession of a house beyond the common class, by any one in the rank of a citizen, was so uncommon as to be popularly associated with the idea of the exaggerated riches attributed to the Jews in the middle ages.

In the fifteenth century the town houses, or *inns* as they were called, of the nobility, were of great extent; a fact which might be inferred from the modern acceptation of the word. At a meeting of the great estates of the realm, in the year 1457,† Richard Duke of York came with four hundred men, who were lodged in Baynard's Castle. The Earl of Salisbury, with five hundred men on horseback, lodged in "the Herber," a house at Dowgate belonging to the Earl of Warwick, who lodged himself, with six hundred men, at his inn in Warwick-lane,—"where," says Stow, "there were oftentimes six oxen eaten at a breakfast." Eight hundred men were brought by the dukes of Exeter and Somerset, and fifteen hundred by the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Egremont, and the Lord Clifford. The names of their noble owners are still attached to the sites of several of their inns, of which even now the plans are in some degree preserved, in their modern adaptation, as inns of law; but we shall in vain seek for any vestiges of the original structures. They were already dilapidated or perverted from their original purposes when Stow wrote his "Survey" in 1598. A portion of one building only of this class has been preserved,—the magnificent house erected by Sir John Crosby, an alderman of London, in 1466, not more interesting as an architectural monument than as an evidence of the increasing wealth and importance of the commons, and also on account of its historical associations—for it was here, it may be remembered, that Richard III. took up his residence, and held his daily consultations with his adherents on the eve of his usurpation of the crown*. Stow describes this mansion as "very large and beautiful, and the highest at that time in London." He also tells us of this and many other houses of the same class of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that they were "builded with stone and timber,"—from which description, concise as it is, coupled with the existing remains, we may conclude that the hall and principal apartments of these inns were of stone, and the remaining and larger portions of the structure of timber,—upon which it was the fashion at this time to bestow as much care and decoration as upon the more durable material. In the provincial

* See vol. i. pp. 589, 668, &c.

† Stow.

* See ante, p. 119.

House of the Fifteenth Century, at Leicester, In which it is said Richard III. slept the night before the Battle of Bosworth.

towns of England time has spared enough of street architecture to show that a refined taste in that art was universally diffused; and the beautiful carving with which many of the timber fronts of this period are loaded exhibit a luxury of execution apparently inconsistent with the mean scale of some of the houses to which it is applied.* But in the important requisites of space and convenience, the ordinary dwellings of our citizens and burgesses had as yet undergone little improvement. A narrow façade, with the gable end overhanging the street, was the general form of that class of buildings from the thirteenth century down to the seventeenth; and though in the nineteenth all classes of the commons are incomparably better lodged in proportion to their means than in the fifteenth century, yet there is a greater similarity between the buildings of the two periods than may be obvious at first sight. The compact plan, the narrow front, the moderate elevation, and the contracted apartment, are the peculiar characteristics of the English town-house, established in accordance with our domestic habits, pertinaciously adhered to during the lapse of ages, and even adopted in later times in edifices to which they are little applicable.

The annexed example, showing the style of the few street buildings of this period in stone, was standing until lately in the town of Grantham.

HOUSE AT GRANTHAM, LINCOLNSHIRE.

The disturbed state of the Scottish borders was an effectual check to the arts of refinement in that quarter. The inhabitants of Northumberland and Cumberland were still obliged to fortify themselves in their dwellings. Hepburn Tower, in Northumberland, is an example among many of a house of this period, differing from that of the twelfth century in nothing but some increase of accommodation, and the convenience of several chimneys instead of one.† The peel-houses of Scotland, and even the palatial fortress of Linlithgow, are as far behind the general progress of the age. The alliance of Scotland with the continent becomes very visible in the architecture of this period. Gowrie House, at Perth (well known in history by the extraordinary conspiracy acted there), was entirely in the French style,—a gabled house, with an oriel window proportioned like a turret, and crowned with a high peaked roof, overhanging the angle. These *tourelles* became very common in Scotland in the sixteenth century. The high timber superstructures raised on many of the peel-towers are in the same taste, which never obtained in England at any period.

There is little to notice in the ecclesiastical architecture of Scotland in the fifteenth century. The later parts of Melrose Abbey are in a fine perpendicular style. The celebrated chapel of Rosslyn, founded in 1446, was the work of foreign artists. It is not more remarkable for its lavish decoration than for its singular architecture, which resembles no definite style of Gothic, either English or continental.*

The tomb-architecture of this period is still more sumptuous than that of the last. The canopies described in a former chapter not only acquired the more gorgeous character consistent with the change of style, but were increased in size beyond the limits of the altar-tomb they were intended to cover, until they expanded into inclosures sufficiently capacious to serve as chapels for celebrating masses for the deceased. The most elaborate specimens of Gothic art are displayed in some of these *chantries*, which add greatly to the effect of many of our large churches. That of Wykeham, which occupies an arch of his own nave at Winchester, is one of the earliest erections of the kind, but is less remarkable for design than the twin chantries of Beaufort and Waynflete in the presbytery of the same cathedral, upon which the art of clustering pinnacles and niche work seems to be exhausted.† Henry V. is the only English monarch distinguished by a monument in this style. His chantry is raised above the ambulatory at the eastern extremity of Westminster Abbey, and is surpassed by no work of the age either in design or execution.

The greater part of the engraved and inlaid monumental brasses which abound in our churches are of this and the next century. Though introduced at an early period they were certainly uncommon before the middle of the fourteenth century. About the year 1380 they came into general use, and were thenceforward multiplied exceedingly among all ranks. The architectural embellishments of many of these memorials are extremely elegant, and they afford valuable information upon the costume of the period. They were sometimes enamelled, as in the heraldic portions of the monument from which the annexed engraving has been taken, though the colours have long been lost.

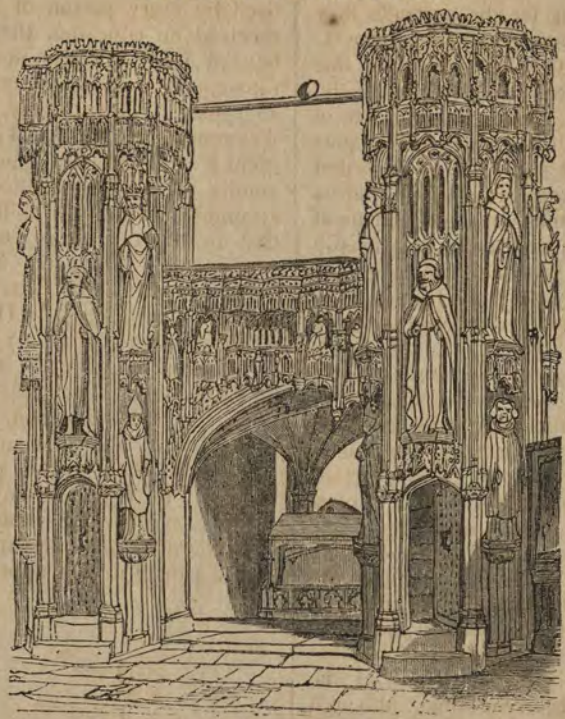
In painting the fifteenth century is perhaps

* Coventry is rich in carved buildings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, of which the reader will find numerous details in Pugin's Gothic Ornaments.

† See vol. i. p. 626.

* See Britton's Antiquities, vol. iii.

† See Britton's Hist. of Winchester Cathedral.



Front of Henry V.'s Chantry, Westminster.

Inlaid Brass Monument of Eleanor Bohun, wife to Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester,—Died, 1399.

the most barren period of English history. The art was certainly not likely to be raised by the patronage of the great in an age when the Earl of Warwick contracted with his tailor for the painter's work to be displayed in the pageantry of his embassy to France.* Among the items in this artist's bill is one "for a grete streamer for the ship of XL yerdes length, and VIII yerdes of brede, with a grete bere and gryfon holding a ragged staffe, poudred full of ragged staves, and for a grete crosse of St. George,—for the lymning and portraying, 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*" "If it is objected to me," says Walpole, "that this was mere herald's painting, I answer that was almost the only painting we had." And it is certainly true that, except a few portraits, and those even of very doubtful authenticity, the age produced little beyond the pale of decorative painting. We must not, however, omit to notice the 'Dance of Death,' painted in the cloister of St. Paul's at the expense of a citizen of London, in imitation of that in the Innocents at Paris. This subject had the good fortune to be repeated in better times, and is popularly known by the admirable version of Holbein.

The illuminators of manuscripts were still, therefore, the only artists who deserved the name; and their works, though less rich in purple and gold than those of the fourteenth century, present us with a variety of natural objects, flowers, fruits, birds, insects, &c., accurately and tastefully executed, in place of the grotesque and capricious forms of the preceding style. The manuscripts of

* Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting

this date are also valuable for the portraits they frequently contain of their royal and noble owners.

When we reflect upon the total absence, at this period, of that general capability to appreciate, and disposition to cherish, the higher branches of painting and sculpture, without which genius puts forth its buds in vain, we shall not be surprised that the latter art "unbeseemed the promise of its spring." If, amidst the numerous productions of this art, we find some superior mind occasionally raising itself above the level mechanism of the age, it is still depressed by the want of knowledge, which there were neither means nor encouragement to obtain. The statues of Henry VI. and Archbishop Chichele, over the gate of All Souls College at Oxford, and the sculptures on the chantry of Henry V., are works coming under this description. "The latter," says Flaxman, "are bold and characteristic,—the equestrian group is furious and warlike,—the standing figures have a natural sentiment in their actions, and a simple grandeur in their draperies, such as we admire in the paintings of Raffaelle or Masaccio." The small bronze statues which surround the altar-tomb of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in his chapel at that place, are estimated by the same great authority as "not to be excelled by anything of the kind done in Italy at the same time, although Donatelli and Ghiberti were living when this tomb was executed in 1439."* But the good seed fell in an ungrateful soil. In Italy the sculptor, William Austen, would have been the founder of a school, and his fame co-extensive with the study of the arts. In England his name is preserved from oblivion only by the existence of the contract which secures the performance of his work and the payment of 13*s.* 4*d.* each for these beautiful statues.†

Early in the fifteenth century, and more particularly towards its close, English Music began to take a form in which, though in the rudest state, something like modern melody and harmony is distinguishable; but so little remains whereon any decided opinion can be safely founded,—the quantity is so small, the transcribers appear to have been so liable to error, and our knowledge of the ancient notation, as well as of the marks formerly in use, is so incomplete, — that, possibly, what seem to us proofs of a most barbarous state of the art, are, occasionally, errors of copyists, or the misinterpretations of a comparatively recent date. This is the only way in which we can account for the gross offences to the ear that are found in the few very old musical compositions now extant, and of which instances of a striking kind will appear in the specimen presently to be given.

But, though rude the music, and rough the instruments, the art, in its infant state, was practised by every person of rank, and all who had received an education then called liberal. The hero of Azincourt was a devoted admirer of church music, and a performer on the organ.* His accomplished contemporary, James I. of Scotland, was remarkable for his skill on the same instrument.† Ecclesiastical music was studied by the youths at the Universities, with a view to the attainment of degrees as bachelors and doctors in that faculty or science, which generally secured preferment. In 1463 Thomas Saintivex (or Saintwix), Mus. Doc., was made Provost of King's College, Cambridge, by Henry VI., its founder.‡ At the coronation of Henry V. a prodigious number of harps were employed, we are told by Thomas de Elmham, who mentions no other instruments; but many of various kinds were used, and among them drums, the first introduction of which is assigned by Stow to this period. On this point, however, he was misinformed, for, in the *Liber Regalis*, written immediately after the coronation of Richard II., the following figure of a drummer, with a pair of drums, appears.

DRUMMERS.

Engraved by Strutt, from the Liber Regalis, Westminster Abbey.

Henry had so little vainglory in his nature, that he prohibited all songs, and such modes of rejoicing, on the occasion of the victory of Azincourt.§ Nevertheless, it was this splendid event which gave birth to the first English musical production entitled to be considered as a regular composition, of which we have any remains or any account. It is preserved in the Pepysian Collection, Magdalen College, Cambridge;‖ and, as a curious relic, is worthy of a place in a work intended to illustrate the history, in all its branches, of our country. It is written on vellum, in the Gregorian, or square and lozenge, notes; but we here present it in modern characters.

* This is the year of the earl's death, but the tomb was not executed till 1452.

† Several of these figures are accurately given on a large scale in Pugin's Gothic Ornaments.

* Thomas de Elmham, Vita et Gesta Hen. V.

† Forduni Scotieronicon, lib. xvi. c. 28.

‡ Rymer's Fœd., xi. 510.

§ Thomas de Elmham.—See also Holinshed.

‖ Vol. i. folio. It appears to be a transcript from one ex Biblioth. Bodleianâ, Arch. B. Seld. 10. A copy of this Pepysian MS. is given, with all the words, in the 2nd vol. of Percy's Reliques. Stafford Smith seems to have been the first that deciphered the composition, and he printed it in his Collection of Ancient English Songs. Dr. Burney afterwards went through the same labour. See his History, ii. 383. We have adopted Smith's interpretation, but have changed the time, or measure, from three-minim to three-crotchet. Of that portion in two staves, the upper staff is, we suppose, to be considered as an accompaniment; but it may be sung by either a soprano or an alto voice.

SONG ON THE VICTORY AT AZINCOURT, 1415.

De - o gra - ti - - as An - gli - - - a, Red - de pro vic - - - to - ri - a!

Owre Kynge went forth to Nor-man - dy, With grace and myzt of

chy - val - ry; The God for hym wrouzt marv' - lus - ly, Where-

fore Eng-lande may calle and cry, *De - o - - - - gra - - ti - as!*

Chorus.

Alto. De - o gra - ti - as An - - gli-

Tenor, 8vo lower. De - o gra - ti - - as An - gli-

Base. De o gra - ti - as An - - gli-

a - - - - - - - - -, Red - de - - - - pro vic - - to - - ri - - a!

a - - - - -, Red - de pro - - vic - to - - - - - - - - ri - - - a!

a - - - Red - de pro vic - to - - - - - - - - - ri - - a!

Coeval with the foregoing, or perhaps of rather later date, judging from the music,—though the words are certainly much older,—is a canon in the unison, in four parts, with a free tenor and base added, as a kind of burden, set to the lines so well known to all who are acquainted with our early poetry,—

> Sumer is i-cumen in,
> Lihude sing cuccu: &c.*

This, though containing a few harsh notes, is not only far superior to the Azincourt song, but a better example of air and harmony than some compositions of a more advanced period can furnish.† The name of the composer is unknown.

Towards the middle of the fifteenth century lived John of Dunstable, author of a treatise *De Mensurabili Musicâ*, to whom both Tinctor and Franchinus erroneously ascribe the invention of *the new art of counterpoint.* On the continent, as well as in England, he was considered highly eminent in his art, but not one of his compositions in a perfect state is preserved. Warton‡ observes that, at the period just named, minstrels were paid much higher for their services than priests, and cites many instances in proof. But priests were many, minstrels—at least able ones—few; and the value of any service will always bear a proportion to the number of those who are ready to serve. That some minstrels were sufficiently wealthy and liberal to contribute to the erection and decoration of public buildings, may be inferred from what is to be seen in St. Mary's Church, Beverley, an edifice which, from its style, seems to have been raised about the time of Henry VI. Against a column in the nave of the church are five figures, of which the subjoined is a representation, together with the following inscription:—

Thys Pillor made the Meynstyrls.§

The first figure is playing on a tabor and pipe; the second on a crwth, or violin; the third on a base flute; the fourth on a gittern, cittern, or lute; and the fifth on a treble flute *à bec*, i.e., an old English flute,—or, perhaps, that kind of oboe anciently called a wayght, or wait. The minstrel profession was, in the year 1469, chartered by Edward IV., and the guild, or fraternity, was governed by a Marshal and two Wardens, chosen annually.‖ This at once gave respectability to a profession which was beginning to take somewhat of the vagrant character. The Chapel Establishment of the same monarch includes a curious but not powerful band of musicians, vocal and instrumental,—"Thirteen minstrels, whereof some be trumpets, some with the shalms and small pipes." Their pay was fourpence a day, besides other rewards, and clothing for winter and summer. Amongst them they had, "nightly," four gallons of ale, three wax candles, six of pitch, and four *talesheids*, i.e., billets of wood. Two servants were allowed them, and also lodging for themselves and their horses. Dinner was, it is to be inferred, provided for them in the "hall." To these were added a *wayte*, whose duty it was to "pipe watch." He lived with the minstrels, and had nearly the same allowances. Besides the above, were eight children of the chapel,¶ placed under the direction of the dean, or of the "master of song assigned to teach them." Their allowances were on a liberal scale; and at eighteen years of age they were sent to one of the royal colleges at Oxford or Cambridge, there to study till the king could "otherwise advance them." In this establishment we trace the foundation of a school from which afterwards sprung musicians not excelled as composers in any part of Europe; but more than half a century elapsed before it produced any whose names now hold a distinguished place in the roll of fame.

* See ante, page 212.

† This canon, or *rota*, as it is called in the MS., is No. 978 of the Harleian Collection. Sir John Hawkins, the exact and indefatigable historian of music, gives a copy of the original in the ancient character, and also a good score of it in modern notes.—Hist. ii. 93.

‡ Hist. Eng. Poetry, sec. xxiv. § See Carter's Ancient Sculpture and Painting, vol. ii. ‖ Rymer's Fœd. xi.

¶ These, with two added to their number, still continue as part of the royal household, and under the same title.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HISTORY OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

S the country advanced in wealth and its intercourse with other parts of the world became more extended and active—as was the case upon the whole throughout the present period, notwithstanding the public distractions and calamities by which a great part of it is darkened—improvements of various kinds would gradually be introduced in all the accommodations of life. A few sentences, however, will comprise all that is of much interest in the information that has come down to us respecting any novelties that now made their appearance in the furniture and decorations of English dwelling-houses. In the last Book we noticed the fashion prevailing during the fourteenth century of painting the walls of rooms with historical and scriptural subjects, in lieu of hanging them with needlework as in the preceding age. In the fifteenth century a return was made to the warmer and more comfortable style of decoration by drapery; and the walls of the noble and the wealthy were hung with *tapestry*, which, being fabricated more especially at Arras, generally went by the name of that town. The learned writer of the introduction to Shaw's splendid work on 'Ancient Furniture' informs us that the earliest specimen of arras he has seen is preserved in the church of St. Sebald, at Nuremberg, being of the time of our Henry IV., and representing the life of the saint to whom the edifice is dedicated. In about forty years afterwards, John Holland, Duke of Exeter, by will, dated July 10, 1447, gives to his son Sir Henry all the stuff of his wardrobe and of his arras. A very ancient specimen may still be seen at Berkeley Castle.

In the thirteenth Part of Mr. Shaw's Specimens

Furniture of a Bed-room of the time of Henry VI. Harleian MS. 2278.

of Ancient Furniture will be found some elegant and classically-shaped chairs and stools of this period copied from the 'Roman de Renaud de Montauban;' and in Part ninth, an engraving of the finely-carved chair preserved in St. Mary's Hall, Coventry.

In the same work are given a table belonging to the beginning of the fifteenth century, from a drawing in a MS. marked No. 264, in the Bodleian Library; some very handsome buffets of the same time from MSS. in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris; a reading-desk in Ramsay Church, Hants, of about the year 1450, or rather later; and a chest, or coffer, in Heconby Church, Lincolnshire. All these articles are elaborately carved. Of beds the same work furnishes us with a beautiful specimen from a French MS., 'Les Miracles de St. Louis;' and Strutt, in his 'Dresses and Habits,' gives us a most interesting picture of a lady's bedchamber, complete, of the time of Henry VI., from a MS. in the Royal Collection in the British Museum. The newly-introduced tapestry-work soon formed part of the bed-furniture of the time. In 1415, Edward Duke of York names in his will his "bed of feathers and leopards, with the furniture appertaining to the same;" also his "white and red tapestry of garters, fetterlocks and falcons" (the falcon and fetterlock being the badge of the House of York), and his "green bed embroidered with a compass," &c. In 1434, we have a still more detailed account of bed-furniture in the will of Joan Lady Bergavenny: "A bed of gold swans, with tapetter of green tapestry, with branches and flowers of divers colours; and two pairs of sheets of Raynes (Rennes), a pair of fustians, six pairs of other sheets, six pairs of blankets, six mattrasses, six pillows, and with cushions and bancours that longen to the bed aforesaid; a bed of cloth of gold with lebardes, with those cushions and tapettes of my best red worsted that belong to the same bed and bancours, and formez that belong to the same bed; also four pairs of sheets, four pairs of blankets, three pillows, and three mattrasses; a bed of velvet, white and black, paled with cushions, tapettes, and formez, that belong to the same bed. . . . . My bed of silk, black and red, embroidered with woodbined flowers of silver, and all the costers and apparel that belongeth thereto; twelve pairs of sheets of the best cloth I have, save Reynes, six pairs of blankets, and a *pane* of minever." This *pane* of fur was succeeded by the counterpane, *i. e.*, one that was contrepointé, or having knotted threads stitched through. Sir S. Meyrick derives the word pane from the Latin pannus; but we read of paned shoes and paned hose; and

A BED-ROOM IN THE TIME OF EDWARD IV. From Rouse's Hist. of Rich. Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. Cotton MS. Julius E 4.

the former are described by Chaucer as appearing to have Paul's windows carved on them, by which we must understand lattice-work; and we would, therefore, rather derive the word from the French *panneau*, a *square* of glass, wainscot, &c.—whence a window-pane. The well-known diamond pattern of the modern quilt or counterpane is in favour of the latter etymology.

Clocks, with strings and weights, hung against the wall, something like Dutch clocks, are represented in MSS. of this period. Willemin gives one from the 'Roman de Renaud de Montauban;' and a similar one was in the tapestry of the time of Edward IV., which hung in the Painted Chamber of the palace of Westminster In a work lately published is the following entry, dated April 4, 1480: "To John of Paris, clockmaker, the sum of 16*l.* 10*d.*, ordered for him by the said Lord in the month of March, for a clock, which has a dial plate, and which sounds the hours, garnished with all that pertains to it, and which the said Lord caused to be taken and bought, that he might carry it with him to every place whither he might go."*

In the Temple Church at Bristol is a magnificent brass chandelier of the fifteenth century; and the cradle of Henry V. is now in the possession of G. W. Brakenridge, Esq., of Brislington, near the same city.

During the short reigns of Henry IV. and

* Interesting papers relating to the History of France from the time of Louis XI. to Louis XVIII.

Henry IV. and his Court. From a MS. in the Bodleian Lib. marked Digby, 233.

Henry V. the extravagant fashions of dress introduced by Richard II. appear to have retained their ground, or, at least, to have undergone very little alteration. The chaperon or hood attained its last and best-known form, namely, a sort of turban called the roundlet, surrounding a skull-cap for the head, and having a long "tippet," as it was designated, which hung from one side of it, and was either tucked into the girdle or wrapped round the neck as circumstances required, and by which the hood, when thrown off the head, depended behind the shoulder.* The same long and jagged sleeves—the same trailing robes or indecently short jackets—continued in vogue, notwithstanding various legislative enactments against such enormities, and the satirical writings of Occleve and other poets. The toes of the shoes seem to have lost their long pikes for a short time during the reign of Henry V., to recover them again in the following reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV., when we shall find them still more preposterous. The principal change, however, appears in the fashion of the hair, which, instead of being worn long or in natural curls, as it was from the time of the Conquest, was cropped at the commencement of the fifteenth century so close as to have satisfied Bishop Serlo himself, had he been alive to witness the reformation. The face was again shaven close, except by aged or official personages, and military men, who occasionally wore moustaches. The decoration of the collar of SS. is first observable on monuments of this period. The most reasonable conjecture respecting its origin (for there exists no positive authority) is that of Sir S. Meyrick, who considers it to be the initial letter of Henry IV.'s *word* or *motto*, "Souveraine," which, with the "Falcon volant," his device, and the usual appendage to the collar, is seen upon the canopy of his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral.*

The female costume of the time of Henry IV. presents as little change from that of the preceding reign as the habits of the men. The only variation of consequence is in the head-dress, which becomes

* It is called "a new jett" by Occleve, and "a foul waste of cloth," as no less than a yard of broad cloth was consumed by the tippet alone.—Poem on "Pride and Waste Clothing of Lords' Men, which is against their Estate."

* The throne of Henry V., in the following wood-cut, will be found powdered with the letter S.

more elaborate and fantastic than any we have yet had occasion to notice. The simple caul of gold net,—the elegant chaplet of natural flowers, or of imitative goldsmiths' work,—are superseded by sumptuous monstrosities, of which engravings alone can give a tolerable idea. They have been called by modern antiquaries the reticulated and heart-shaped head-dresses; and, in the reign of Henry V., the horned head-dress makes its appearance, beside which all similar absurdities sink into insignificance.* The ordinary robe or gown of a lady of the reign of Henry V. (if we except the preposterously long sleeves, which, like those of the men, literally trailed on the ground) was not inelegant. It was made high in the neck, and its folds were confined at the waist by a simple band and buckle as at the present day. The *cote hardi* and the singular sleeveless robe of the past century, with the facings and borders of fur or jewellery, were still worn, with or without a mantle, on state occasions.

The armour of the time of Henry IV. offers no particular variation, but his son's reign introduces some of the most important changes we are called upon to remark during the history of this subject. The monumental effigies now begin to present us with complete suits of plate, occasionally uncovered by either jupon or surcoat, although both were as yet generally worn; the camail is superseded by the haussecol, or steel gorget, and the petticoat or apron of chain by a succession of long horizontal plates of steel, called taces or tassets, forming a sort

* Vide Effigy of Beatrice Countess of Arundel, in Arundel church, and Royal MS., xv. D 3. in Brit. Mus.

MALE COSTUME IN THE TIME OF HENRY IV.
Harl. MS. No. 2332.

MALE COSTUME IN THE TIME OF HENRY V.
Royal MS. 15 D 3.

HENRY V. AND HIS COURT. From a MS., formerly his own, in Benuet College Library, Cambridge, being a Translation of Cardinal Bonaventura's Life of Christ, by John Galopes, Dean of the Collegiate Church of St. Louis of Saisoye, in Normandy.

Effigy of Lady de Thorpe. In Ashwelthorpe Church, Norfolk.

Effigy of Beatrice Countess of Arundel. In Arundel Church.

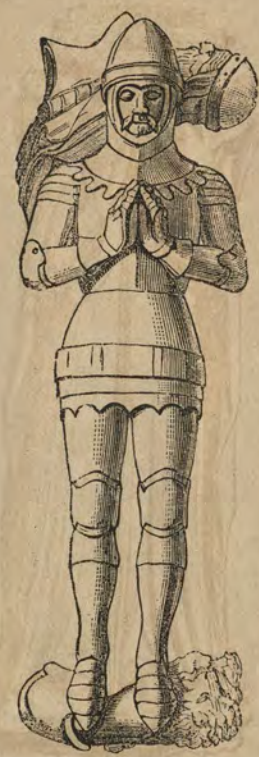
Female Costume in the time of Henry V.
Royal MS. 15 D 3.

of skirt to the breast and back-plates, and extending from the waist to about the middle of the thigh: the arm-pits were protected by circular plates of steel called palettes, which were attached by straps or points, as they were termed, with tags or aiguilettes at the end. The visored bascinet was alone worn for war, the helmet being appropriated solely to the tournament. Upon the latter only was placed the crest of the knight; but the apex of the bascinet was now furnished with a small pipe, into which was inserted, for the first time, that most elegant of chivalric ornaments, the pennache or plume of feathers. Knights are said to have worn three, the king's esquires were limited to two, and all other esquires to a single feather.* Another marking peculiarity of the armour of the reign of Henry V. is the curious fashion of wearing long sleeves of cloth, silk, or rich stuffs, with escalloped edges, with or without the surcoat or jupon over the pauldrons or shoulder-plates. Sometimes a cloak with such sleeves was worn over the armour.† The tournament helmet of Henry V. is suspended over his tomb in Westminster Abbey, with his shield and

* This common assertion is not borne out, however, by the authorities, the number of feathers varying, apparently, according to the wearer's fancy. See for armour of the commencement of the reign of Henry V. our wood-cut at p. 456 of vol. i., representing the murder of Becket, from a painting on board, of this period, suspended at the head of the tomb of Henry IV. at Canterbury. One of the knights wears a plume of *five* feathers. It may be that regulations existed on this point, but were as little regarded as the sumptuary laws respecting clothing.

† See for this and other peculiarities of the military costume of this reign the illumination given at p. 210, from the Harleian MS. 4826, of Lydgate presenting his poem of the Pilgrim to the Earl of Salisbury (*i. e.*, Thomas de Montacute, who held the earldom from 1409 till his death in 1428, not the famous king-maker, as stated by mistake under the cut); the figure of Robert Chamberlayne, esquire to Henry V., in Cotton MS. Nero, D 7; the monumental effigies of Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, in Wingfield Church, and of Sir Robert Grushill, Hoveringham Church, Notts, &c.

EFFIGY OF SIR ROBERT GRUSHILL.
Haversham Church, Notts.



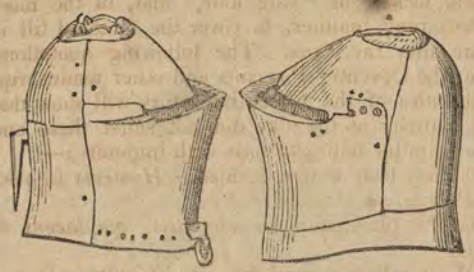
EFFIGY OF MICHAEL DE LA POLE, EARL OF SUFFOLK.
Haversham Church, Notts.

ROBERT CHAMBERLAIN,
Esquire to Henry V. Cotton MS. Nero, D 7.

war-saddle: the two latter are believed to have been really *in* the battle of Azincourt. In Cobham Church, Kent, hang two tournament helmets of the same period; upon one of them remain the staples for fastening on the crest and other ornaments.

The general costume of the fifteenth century, from the accession of Henry VI. to the close of the reign of Richard III., appears to have been a mixture of all the fashions of the preceding century, with some few additions to, rather than alterations of, their absurdities and extravagancies.

HELMET, SHIELD, AND SADDLE OF HENRY V. Westminster Abbey.
(Both sides of the shield are shown.)



Tournament or Tilting Helmets in the time of Henry V. Cobham Church, Kent.

Male Costume in the time of Henry VI. Harleian MS. 2278.

Lydgate's Life of St. Edmund, Harleian MS. 2278, and the illuminated Froissart, marked 4880 in the same collection, from the multiplicity and variety of their miniatures, almost bewilder us with authorities. We have the long toes longer than ever,—the hoods with tippets or liripipes reaching to the ground,—the pocketing sleeves, called *pokys* (pokes) by the Monk of Evesham, "shaped like a bagpipe,"—and all the other absurdities of the times of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., with the introduction of high caps with single feathers behind, enormously high-padded shoulders to the short jackets and long gowns, loose robes with arm-holes, guiltless of sleeves; and, again, both jackets and gowns with long hanging sleeves trimmed with fur, which could be worn on the arm or flung behind at pleasure. Henry VI. himself must not be considered guilty of having encouraged these enormities. Blackman, a Carthusian monk, who had much intercourse with him, testifies to the plainness of his attire and to the fact that he would not wear the up-pointed horn-like toes then in fashion.*

The practice of slitting the doublets at the elbows so as to show the shirt through appears during the reign of Edward IV., and gradually leads to the slashing and puffing of the whole suit in the following century. The toes of the shoes and boots suddenly took a fancy to expand instead of to elongate, and a sumptuary law was passed limiting the breadth at the toe to six inches. The

* Collect. printed by Hearne at the end of his Otterbourne, pp. 288, 302.

Henry VI. and Court. John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, receiving a Sword. Strutt's Dresses and Habits.

MALE COSTUME IN THE TIME OF EDWARD IV.
Cotton MS. Nero, D 9, and Royal MS. 15 E 2.

long toes were not, however, totally abandoned till after the accession of Henry VII., although "cursing by the clergy" was added to the other pains and penalties to which the makers of such articles were subjected by the law.* The hair, which was worn so closely cropped from the commencement of the century, was now again suffered to hang over the ears in large thick masses, called "side locks" or "side hair," and, in the most unbecoming manner, to cover the forehead till it came into the eyes. The following quotations from the Coventry Pageants and other manuscript authorities of the fifteenth century will show that the satirists of the day did not suffer these and other similar follies to pass with impunity:—

"They bear a new fashion,—*Humeris in pectore tergo.*

God's placination,—*non illis complacent in ergo.*

Wide collars and high,—*gladio sunt colla parata.*

'Ware the prophecy,—*contra tales recitata.*

Long spurs on their heels,—*et rostra fovent ocrearum.*

They think it doth well,—*non sit regula Sarum.*

A strait band hath the hose,—*languent a corpore crura.*

They may not, I suppose,—*curvare genu sine cura.*

When others kneel,—*pro Christo vota ferentes.*

They stand on their heels,—*sed non curvare volentes.*

For hurting of their hose,—*non inclinare taborant.*

I trow for their long toes,—*dum stant ferialiter orant.*"*

In the twenty-sixth Coventry Pageant occurs the

* At Shirbeckslnice, near Boston, Lincolnshire, a smith's forge was discovered some few years back, buried about sixteen feet deep, with the remains, also, of several ancient tan-vats, besides a great quantity of horns and some shoe-soles of a very unusual form, being sharp pointed in the fashion of those worn from the reign of Richard II. to that of Richard III.

* Harleian MS. 536. We have modernised the spelling of the English. The Latin words at the end of each line seem to be quotations from, or burlesques upon, the church service.

EDWARD IV. AND HIS COURT. Royal MS. 15 E 4.

following description of Satan's dress when disguised as a gallant:—

"Of fine cordevan, a goodly pair of peaked shoon (shoes).

Hosen enclosed of the most costious (costly) cloth of crimson . . with two dozen points of cheverelle, the aglets of silver fine.

A shirt of fine Holland.

A stomacher of clear Reynes,* the best that may be bought.

Cadice wool† or flock, to stuff withal the doublet.

A gown of three yards.

A dagger for devotion.

With side-locks to the collar hanging down." And

"A high small bonnet."

The monk of Croyland tells us that the new fashion Edward IV. chose for his last state dresses was to have them with "very full hanging sleeves, like a monk's, lined with most sumptuous furs, and so rolled over his shoulders as to give his tall person an air of peculiar grandeur." By the sumptuary law enacted in the last year of his reign, cloth of gold or silk, of a *purple* colour, was permitted to none but the royal family. Cloth of gold of tissue was confined to the use of dukes, and plain cloth of gold to that of lords; velvet and damask satin were appropriated to the gowns and doublets of knights,—damask or satin doublets and camlet gowns to esquires and gentlemen. None but noblemen were allowed to wear woollen cloth made out of England, or furs of sables; and no labourer, servant, or artificer might wear any cloth which cost more than two shillings a-yard.

Richard III. and his "cousin of Buckingham" were notorious for their love of dress and finery; but there is little if anything to distinguish any fashion peculiar to this short reign. A splendid manuscript, marked No. xv. E 4, in the Royal Collection in the British Museum, being the 'Chronicles of England,' written by command of Edward IV. and dedicated to the noble King "Edouard V^e de ce nom;" and another manuscript in the same collection, marked No. xv. E 2, and *dated* 1482, afford us the latest authorities previous to the accession of Richard. In the former, the clog or patten spoken of by writers of the fifteenth century is visible, with the rolling furs, collars, and hanging sleeves described by the Monk of Croyland.

The female costume of the reign of Henry VI. is marked by the prevalence of the horned and the heart-shaped head-dresses, with the short waists and the long trains to the gowns; the surcoat and other outer garments having, except upon state occasions, disappeared almost entirely. In April, 1429, we are told, a cordelier came to Paris, and

* That is, of cloth of Rennes, in Brittany. The stomacher was a common article of male apparel at the close of the fifteenth century, and laced across like the better-known stomachers of our great-grandmothers.

† The sumptuary law of the 3rd of Edward IV. expressly forbids the stuffing of the doublet with wool, cotton, or *Cadis* (Qy. Cadiz or Spanish wool?) to any yeoman or person under that degree.

Female Costume in the time of Henry VI.
Harleian MS. 2278.

preached in the church of St. Genevieve, nine days successively, from five in the morning to ten or eleven o'clock, from a high scaffold, to five or six thousand auditors. In the middle of his sermon above one hundred fires were seen lighted, into which the men threw their gaming-tables, cards, and whatever else he blamed, and the women their head-dresses, horns, tails, and ornaments of pomp. Whether the London fashions changed with the Parisian, we cannot exactly affirm; but nearly forty years later we find, from Monstrelet, that the ladies of France were still rejoicing in the length of their trains, which they only shortened at the command of fashion in 1467, substituting broad borders of fur or velvet, corresponding with the turn-over collars and cuffs of their gowns, which were about the same period open in front to the girdle, and laced over a stomacher, the waist being still worn very short, and confined by a broad band of velvet and a sumptuous buckle. Nearly at

Female Costume in the time of Edward IV.
Cotton MS. Nero, D 9, and Royal MSS. 15 E 2 and 15 E 4.

the same time in France and England arose the steeple head-dress, which, like its predecessors, was preached, written, and painted* against in vain. A variety of it still exists in Normandy, under the title of the cauchoise, or head-dress of the 'Pays de Caux,' and is well known to modern tourists. Some time previous to the close of the reign of Edward IV., however, this high cap disappeared, and the heads of the ladies were covered either with a sort of velvet cowl turned back upon the forehead and hanging in plaits behind upon the neck, or with a caul of gold net, as in Henry IV.'s time, with this exception, that it was now ornamented with two wings of gauze or some other most transparent material, projecting like those of a butterfly, and represented in the illuminations or on monumental brasses in so imperfect a manner as to deprive us of all guess at the way in which they were attached to the caul aforesaid. Sometimes a veil of the same light stuff appears twisted about it in an equally mysterious manner, and we have not as yet been able to meet with any illumination or description that can enlighten us on the subject.

EFFIGY OF LADY PEYTON. Isleham Church, Cambridgeshire.

The armour of the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. is distinguished by the addition of the *salade* or *sallet*, and the *casquette* (a steel cap, generally with oreillets or ear-pieces), to the list of defences for the head. The breast-plate is frequently composed of two pieces, the lower one, called the placard, rising to a point in the centre and fastened over the other with a screw or ornamental buckle. Sometimes these two plates were covered with silk of different colours; sometimes only the upper plate, the placard being left uncovered, giving the appearance of the wearer being only half armed. The jazerant or jazerine jacket is also of this date, composed of small overlapping plates of iron covered with velvet, the gilt heads of the rivets or studs which secured the plates forming the exterior ornament. The placard was sometimes worn with this also. Plates called tuilles, depending from the taces or skirts of the armour over an apron of chain-mail, first appear in the reign of Henry VI. The jupon, with its military belt, is still occasionally met with, but suits of complete steel, elaborately ornamented, are generally represented upon the monumental effigies of this period, and the loose tabard of arms completely superseded the jupon toward the close of the reign of Edward IV. The spurs were screwed into the heels of the sollerets instead of being fastened by straps; the necks were exceedingly long, and the spikes of the rowels of proportionate magnitude. The reign of Richard III. presents

EFFIGY OF RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK. From his Monument in the Lady's Chapel, St. Mary's Church, Warwick.

* In a MS. copy of Froissart, in the Harleian Collection, a pig is painted in the margin, attired in one of these monstrous head-dresses, walking upon stilts, and playing on a harp.

Breaching Tower. Archers behind their Pavisors; Cannon, Crossbowmen, &c.—Grose's Military Antiquities.

Siege of a Town. Harleian MS. 4379.

us with some magnificent specimens of armour.

EFFIGY OF SIR THOMAS PEYTON. Isleham Church, Cambridgeshire

The pauldrons or shoulder-plates are very large, the elbow and knee-pieces of fan-like form, and elaborately wrought; the breast-plate globular, and the salade surrounded by a wreath of the wearer's colours, with a single feather at the side. To the weapons we have enumerated in our previous notices were added, during the latter half of the fifteenth century,—1, the langue-de-bœuf, a species of glaive, so called from its shape. The earliest mention we have met with of this weapon is in the petition of the widow of Tresham, an ex-speaker of the House of Commons, who was slain by a party of the Lord Grey's men, on the 21st of September, 1450, who are described therein as being armed with jakkes, sallettes, long swords, *long-de-beofs*, and bore-spears;"* 2, the voulge, another variety of the glaive or guisarme; 3, the halbert as still known; 4, the genetaire, or janetaire, a kind of Spanish lance; and, 5, a rude engine, which was gradually to be improved till it superseded nearly all the rest,—*viz.*, the hand-gun or hand-cannon. Edward IV., on his landing at Ravensburg in 1471, had amongst his troops 300 Flemings provided with this fire-arm, which, in the manuscript quoted by Grose, is spelt "*hange*-gun." If this be not a mistake for hand-gun, the weapon may have been so called from a hasp of iron generally affixed to it by which it was hung at the girdle. The hacquebut, hagbut, or hagbusshe, for it is spelt in all manner of ways, is first mentioned in the reign of Richard III.* It was an improvement on the hand-gun, and probably received its name from the shape of its wooden stock. The capricious spelling, however, throws additional difficulty in the way of our researches, and until further light be thrown upon the subject we cannot decide whether the term alludes to the *but* of the stock or the *bouche* of the tube.

One important department in the art of war which appears to have been cultivated in this age with great success, especially by the English, and in which, therefore, we may presume that considerable improvements were made upon the methods formerly in use, although we are not enabled to give any detailed specification of what they consisted in, was the attack of fortified places. Henry V. succeeded in taking every one of the French towns which he attacked. With regard to his mode of proceeding, we learn from the accounts of the contemporary chroniclers that it embraced the drawing of lines of contravallation and circumvallation,—the erection of tents for the encampment of the army when the siege was protracted,—the making of approaches by entrenchments,—and even the operation of mining,—as well as the direct assault of the walls by battering-rams, artillery, and machines for the projection of darts and stones. Some drawings of the period, copies of which we subjoin, furnish nearly all the information on the subject we possess in addition to these general statements of the historians. Gunpowder, musketry, and cannons, it will be perceived from these representations, had by no means as yet superseded the more ancient engines. The battering-ram, machines for throwing stones, towers moving on wheels and filled with archers, and in other cases, archers on foot, and armed either with the common bow or the cross-bow, were still the forces usually employed. Instruments and contrivances of a corresponding description were of course used in the defence. In some of the drawings, however, the "red artillery" is shown in association with the archers and the moving towers.

From various causes the spirit of chivalry, which had reached the height of its influence in the reign of Edward III., continued rapidly to decline throughout the present period. The few combats that now occurred were most commonly judicial encounters, intended to decide the truth of charges of treason, or other criminal accusations;

* Parl. Rolls.

* Vide An Order to the Constable of the Tower, in Harleian MS. 433. Phillipe de Comines mentions the *Arquebus* as used at the battle of Morat, fought June 22, 1476; and Fauchet, who wrote in the following century, says that the term was derived from the Italian *Arca-bouza*,—corrupted from *bocca*, and signifying a *bow* with a *mouth*. Grimston, however, in his 'Historie of the Netherlands,' speaks of "Harquebuses, an engyn which footmen used in warre, devised at first by the Almains," and, if so, the German for Harquebus is *Hakenbüsche*, compounded of two words, signifying a hook and a gun, or any other cylindrical vessel, and thus we get back to the Hagbush or hacquebut, which was probably the same weapon.

Moveable Tower of Archers, Cannon, &c. Royal MS. 14 E 4.

Storming a Town. Harleian MS 4379.

the tournaments, which were still occasionally held, generally commenced with the idle splintering of a few headless lances, and ended in a regular number of strokes dealt with blunted swords or axes; and as for the minstrels and heralds, formerly such important persons in the warlike solemnities of the brave and noble, we now find them, so far as the chivalrous part of their function was concerned, abandoned to the same fate with the neglected furniture of the tilt-yard. All this was the inevitable result of the growing changes of society. Gunpowder had now checked the fearless career of bold knights, and made them feel the insecurity of their heavy panoply. Other improvements were also introduced into the art of war which had the effect of preventing battles from being so frequently decided by the headlong charge of a few chosen lances; and a knight, although he might be as stout as Sir Bevis himself, now stood a good chance of having his utmost exertions of strength and valour rendered useless by a skilful manœuvre. The civil wars, again, between the Houses of York and Lancaster, were of too gloomy a character to admit of the intermixture of a game of swords and spear-staves; while, in the indiscriminate massacres of the high-born that generally accompanied every victory, those who might have upheld and perpetuated the spirit of ancient knighthood were ruthlessly swept away. Something, also, is no doubt to be attributed to the growth of new tastes and intellectual habits in the popular mind. We can hardly say that the close of the fifteenth century, notwithstanding its distinction as that of the introduction of the art of printing, was in England a more literary or refined age than the close of the fourteenth, which was adorned by Froissart and Chaucer; but it is probable, nevertheless, that the great body of the people had become more reflecting in the time of the fourth than they were in that of the third Edward. The spirit of religious inquiry that had been awakened must have tended to produce this result; and the greater diffusion of books by the invention of printing, which soon followed, would of course act in the same direction, and powerfully assist in thus, as it were, advancing the national mind from childhood to adolescence. Like the other temporary forms which society has successively assumed, chivalry had fulfilled its purposes in the grand process of civilization, and was now to pass away with the occasion that had called for it, and the peculiar condition of things by which it was maintained.

Although Henry IV. and his gallant sons were as brave knights as ever rode a career, yet they had too many serious affairs on hand to bestow much of their attention upon chivalrous pageants. Edward IV. was equally busy in the beginning of his reign; and although he endeavoured, when the wars through which he fought his way to the throne were ended, to recal the tilts and tourneys of former times, yet his influence and example appear to have had little effect. The particulars of one distinguished combat that has been already mentioned as having taken place in this reign—that in which the Bastard of Burgundy encountered Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales (better known as Earl Rivers), at Smithfield, in 1467,*—show how much the disinterested love of blows had abated. When the combatants at last met, after a twelvemonth spent in settling forms and preliminaries, they ran at each other with sharpened spears; but the first day ended without any advantage being gained by either. On the second day, as they engaged hand to hand, the steel spike on the chaffron of Lord Scales's horse entered the nostrils of the opposite steed, which, being maddened with the pain, reared and plunged, until it fell with its rider. The Bastard protested against this accidental fall being reckoned for a defeat, and craved a third day's trial. The next day, accordingly, the combatants entered the lists on foot, armed with pole-axes; when after long skirmishing, the Lord Scales at last managed to thrust the point of his weapon into the sight-hole of his adversary's helmet, and, following his advantage, drew his weapon so powerfully that the Bastard was pulled down upon his knees. At this moment of danger the encounter was stopped by the command of the king, and the combatants separated. The Burgundian was still desirious to renew the battle, and made suit to that effect; but he did not persist when he found that in that case he must, by the law of arms, be replaced in his former position, with the point of his adversary's pole-axe thrust once more into the crevice of his vizor.† Thus a combat that had excited such high expectation, and which assembled a throng of the noblest of England, Scotland, and the continent, seems, as far as we can learn, to have terminated without wound or bloodshed, unless we except the laceration of the nostrils of the foreigner's war horse.

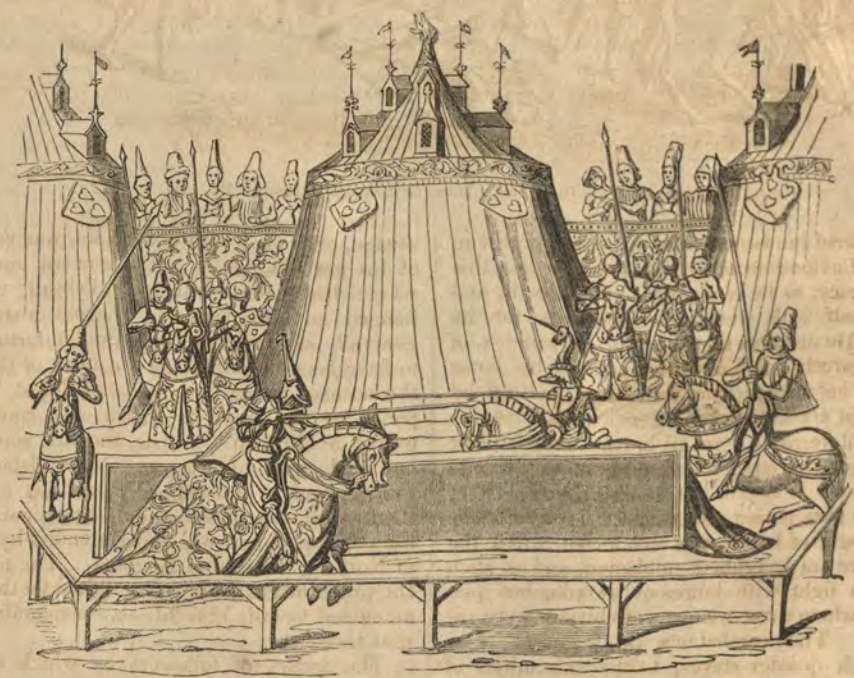
In the reign of Edward IV. a code of laws or regulations was drawn up, probably from former usages, for the regulation of the tournament, by the famous John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester and Constable of England, some of which are curious and worth noticing. He who broke the greatest number of spears in a proper manner was to have the prize; he who struck three times in the sight of the helmet was to have the prize; he who twice met his adversary, coronal to coronal, was to have the prize; he who bore down an antagonist with the stroke of a spear was to have the prize. These several advantages, however, were not of equal distinction. Thus, to bear a knight from the saddle, or to throw horse and man to the ground, was preferred to the feat of meeting twice coronal to coronal; this kind of meeting was of higher honour than striking thrice in the sight of the helmet; and to strike thrice in this fashion was rated before the shivering of the greatest number of spears. The prize was forfeited by striking a horse in combat,—by striking the back of a man when turned or disarmed of his spear,—or

* See ante, p. 103. † Stow.

by hitting the toyle or tilt three times. These last were blundering or unfair strokes, that were to be avoided by every true follower of chivalry. A knight, also, who unhelmed himself twice in battle, unless his horse failed him, was adjudged to lose the prize.* In the greater regard that was now paid to personal safety, we find that a practice was introduced in the joust of separating the encountering knights by double barriers consisting of palisades, or rather boarded partitions, about four or five feet in height, open at both ends, and extending nearly the whole length of the lists; in this way the terrible shock of the war-steeds was avoided, and a combatant could only be unhorsed by the fair stroke of a lance. One of the last passages of arms of which we read in this period was that which it was proposed should take place at the marriage, in January, 1478, of the boy Richard Duke of York, son of Edward IV., with the daughter and heiress of the Duke of Norfolk: on this occasion, in a cartel more like the announcement of a dance than a deed of arms, six knights challenged all comers to the "joust royal, with helm and shield in manner accustomed," and undertook "to run in osting harness along a tilt," and "to strike certain strokes with swords and guise of tourney."* The following cuts, copied from manuscripts of the period, and representing the combatants careering against each other, in the manner that has just been described, on opposite sides of a barrier,—and the sort of conflict which took place when, as sometimes happened, considerable numbers of persons were engaged on each side,—will convey a better idea of the tournaments of the fifteenth century than could be done by any verbal description.

* Harl. MS. 1776.

* Harl. MS. quoted by Strutt.



Tournament. Harleian MS. 4379.

While chivalry was thus sinking into idle parade, and a mere display of horsemanship, it cannot be thought that its degeneracy would be beheld without many an expression of regret. There was something so glorious in its theory, and its displays so greatly transcended whatever the same warlike spirit had produced in the ancient world, in grandeur, in excitement, and even in moral elevation, that many read in its decay the departure of all national virtue. Printing itself, therefore,—the very power destined to aid, perhaps more effectually than any other, in the extinction of romantic heroism,—endeavoured at first to revive the spirit of ancient knighthood; and the earliest and fondest efforts of the press were dedicated to the publication of many goodly romances that had accumulated in manuscript from the darkest ages. But in spite of the example of all the worthies, Jewish, Christian, and Pagan, whose deeds were thus trumpeted so much more loudly than they had ever before been, the onward current of human affairs could not be arrested or thrown back. Even those who perused the weighty black-letter tomes found it enough to spell out the long and devious career of a knight-errant without donning their harness to follow his footsteps; and it was soon discovered to be more pleasant to read, in luxurious ease, of desperate adventures and death-doing blows

TOURNAMENT. The Melée. Thirty on each side.—Harleian MS. 4379.

than to traverse lands and seas in quest of them. Our honest Caxton bewails with amusing pathos this foul degeneracy, as he is pleased to consider it, and vexes himself with devising expedients for its removal. He declares that, among the knights of that age, scarcely one knew his horse, or his horse him; and he wishes that the King of England would again cry a tournament twice or thrice a-year, and allure, as of yore, all brave knights to the lists, by bestowing splendid rewards upon the conquerors.*

We may here notice the manner in which the duel, or wager of battle, was conducted, when the parties were not knights or noblemen, and as such entitled to fight with lances or swords, but plebeians, to whom these weapons of chivalry were interdicted. The combatants in this case were armed with quarter-staves, to the extremities of which sand-bags were fastened. The readers of Shakspeare will remember the combat of Horner the armourer and his man Peter, in the second Part of Henry VI.† This was a real event, which is thus recorded by Grafton. "This year (1524) an armourer's servant of London appealed his master of treason, which offered to be tried by battle. At the day assigned, the friends of the master brought him malmesy and aquavitae to comfort him withal, but it was the cause of his and their discomfort; for he poured in so much, that when he came into the place in Smithfield, where he should fight, both his wit and strength failed him; and so he, being a tall and hardy personage, overladed with hot drinks, was vanquished of his servant, being but a coward and wretch, whose body was drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged and beheaded." The old historians are generally agreed in holding this unfortunate man to have been innocent. In a combat of this nature, the accused, if he survived his defeat, was subjected to the usual execution of a traitor; and even if he died in the lists, the full sentence was executed upon his corpse. Notwithstanding the humble rank of the armourer and his apprentice, their duel took place under the appointment of the privy seal, and was superintended by the Duke of Norfolk, marshal of England. The expense of the preparations made at Smithfield for the occasion amounted to 10*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.*—a considerable sum at that time.*

The arrays of followers by which the nobles were accompanied still continued to be as numerous and unwieldy as before. Unfortunately the civil wars made it the interest of each noble to strengthen the side he espoused, as well as to endeavour to secure his own personal safety, by the maintenance of as great a crowd of retainers as he could afford. Every man, therefore, for whom subsistence could be found, was mustered around a broad banner, or even a paltry penoncelle, while the chief whose bounty was such as to satisfy his adherents was sure to be followed by them without question, let him stand by his party or change it as he pleased. It was this hold on armies of retainers, as we have seen in which lay much of the power of the cele-

* Ames's Typographical Antiquities.
† Act ii. scene 6.

* Nichols's Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Ancient Times.

brated Warwick, "the king-maker." It was calculated that thirty thousand men were daily maintained at his different manors and castles; and we are told that, while he staid in London, six oxen were usually consumed by his attendants at breakfast, while every tavern was full of his meat.* When we pass from these public trains of the nobility to their domestic establishments, we find that the castles were palaces upon no diminutive scale. The noblemen, especially those of the highest class, had their privy-counsellors, treasurers, marshals, constables, stewards, secretaries, heralds, pursuivants, pages, guards, trumpeters,—in short, all the various officers that were to be found in the court of the sovereign. To these were added whole bands of minstrels, mimics, jugglers, tumblers, rope-dancers, and buffoons. And last of all, to throw the grandeur and solemnity of religion over the princely establishment, a chapel was erected within each castle, in which large companies of priests and choristers were maintained, to perform divine service in all the magnificence of cathedral worship.

The two meals a-day, introduced into England at the Norman Conquest, and, ostensibly at least, maintained for so long a period among the aristocracy, had now in general been increased to four. These were breakfast, which was taken at seven o'clock in the morning,—dinner at ten,—supper at four in the afternoon,—and liveries, which consisted of a collation taken in bed, between eight and nine in the evening. The breakfast, although taken so early in the morning, was a meal of the most substantial description; but we must remember that those who partook of it had generally been actively employed for three hours previous. Thus, from the 'Northumberland Family Book,' which, although a document not strictly belonging to the present period, may be safely held in this instance to describe a custom of some standing, we find that the breakfast for an earl and his countess, during four days of a week in Lent, was, "first a loaf of bread in trenchers, two manchetts (that is, small loaves of the finest flour, weighing six ounces apiece), a quart of beer, a quart of wine, two pieces of salt fish, six baconed herrings, four white herrings or a dish of sproits,"—forming, certainly, a liberal commencement of a day of mortification in Lent. On flesh-days the fish at breakfast was commuted for half a chine of mutton or a chine of beef boiled. The liveries, although taken in bed, were of the same abundant and substantial character. The Earl Percy and his countess, at this meal, had two manchetts, a loaf of household bread, a gallon of beer, and a quart of wine,—the latter beverage being warmed and spiced.

While the breakfasts, suppers, and liveries of the higher ranks were probably secluded meals, the dinner was a public and important event, and was held with due solemnity. But, here, we find the plenty and magnificence of the period mixed with its characteristic rudeness and discomfort. The huge oaken table still filled the central length of the castle hall; and at the hour of ten in the forenoon it groaned beneath shapeless masses of fresh and salted beef, followed by a succession of courses of fowl and fish, and curiously compounded dishes. The lord of the feast assumed his place on the *dais*

* Stow.

Dining Room and Kitchen. Harleian MS. 4375.

(or raised part of the floor), at the head of the board; the friends and retainers, or holders in fee, were ranged above or below the salt, according to their respective ranks; and, as the luxury of a fork was still unknown in England, the morsels were conveyed to the mouth with the fingers, while wine, beer, and ale, in goblets of wood or pewter, were handed round by numerous attendants. We may fill up this scanty outline by imagining the hawks of the master and guests standing on perches above their heads, and their hounds lying about on the pavement below. As the dinner generally lasted three hours, occasional pauses must have occurred, and to fill up these the minstrels harped and piped, the jesters joked, the tumblers capered, and the jugglers juggled; or, if a better taste prevailed, some lay of the wars of Palestine, or poetical romance of knight-errantry, resounded over the mingled din, and feasted the mind with something of an intellectual gratification. When we ascend from these every-day exhibitions in the mode of living among the aristocracy to the banquets of the palace, and especially those which were commemorative of important events, we shall find that they were of a similar description, with a greater degree of splendour and bustle. Coarse abundance, whimsical variety, and stately parade still endeavoured to compensate for real discomfort. In these state-banquets, however, we perceive some indications of a commencing taste for intermixing and relieving the mere sensuality of the feast with some amusement for the fancy. At the end of each course was sometimes introduced a dish called a *subtlety*, consisting of curious figures made of jellies and confectionary, to represent men, animals, or allegorical characters, illustrative of the event commemorated, with a label couched in quaint or riddling language, to exercise the thinking faculties of the guests.

Of the cookery of the period we can gather little from the contemporary writers beyond its general detail. From the descriptions, however, given by Fabyan of two coronation-feasts, as well as from incidental notices in other writers, we may conclude that it was still sufficiently coarse, although complex and costly. Almonds, almond-milk, sugar, honey, and spices were plentifully used; and gold-leaf, powder of gold, and bright colours, were in great request for the adornment of dainty dishes.*

While luxurious living, or at least what was considered as such, was thus highly appreciated among princes and nobles, the priesthood were by no means wanting in devotedness to good cheer; the monasteries were noted for excellent dinners, and the cook was a most important personage in the conventual establishment. The secular clergy also pressed even religion itself into the service of gormandising, by the institution of what were called glutton-masses in honour of the Virgin. These were held five times a-year. On the morning of the festival the villagers repaired to the church laden with provisions and liquor. When mass had been hurried over the viands were produced, and priests and laymen addressed themselves to the feast, so that the church was suddenly converted into a tavern, and the scene too frequently terminated in intemperance and riot. Village contended with village in the superabundance contributed to a glutton-mass, and congregation vied with congregation in their capacity of eating and drinking in honour of the Mother of our Lord.*

But of all the festive exhibitions of this voracious period, the installation-feast of George Neville, the brother of the "king-maker," when he was inducted into the archbishopric of York, is especially deserving of commemoration. A hundred and four oxen and six wild bulls, a thousand sheep, three hundred and four calves, as many swine, two thousand pigs, five hundred stags, bucks, and roes, and two hundred and four kids, formed the solid basis of the entertainment. Of fowls, large and small, rare and common, wild and tame, there were twenty-two thousand five hundred and twelve. These were aided by mountains of fish, pasties, tarts, custards, and jellies; and three hundred quarters of wheat formed the vegetable portion of the banquet. The quantity of liquids corresponded to that of the solids, consisting of three hundred tuns of ale, a hundred tuns of wine, and a pipe of hippocras. Although many of the articles were sufficiently rich and luxurious, and must have been procured from far and near with immense labour and cost, yet even at this more than regal banquet there seems to have been not a little grossness and foul feeding, seeing that among the dishes were twelve porpoises and seals.

In the diet of the common people we as yet discover little or no improvement. They still found the staple of subsistence in joints of meat,—brown, coarse bread, in proportions considerably inadequate to the quantity of animal food,—and ale or beer. Towards the conclusion of this period the legal writer Fortescue, in describing the flourishing abundance in which the commons of England lived, mentions, among other circumstances of plenty, that they never vouchsafed to drink water except for penance.† But this statement, we fear, must be taken as in the main little better than a rhetorical or patriotic exaggeration. We know that, during the civil wars, tillage was neglected in England, and famines were common; so that while the price of grain was beyond the means of the poorer classes, many endeavoured to subsist on the dried roots of herbs, which they tried to convert into a coarse kind of bread, while multitudes died from famine or unwholesome food.‡ Æneas Sylvius, so late as the year 1437, while stopping at a populous village in Northumberland, astonished the inhabitants, as he tells us himself, by the sight of wine and wheaten bread,—articles which they had never seen before.§ The laws of

* Coryat's Crudities.—Northumberland Family Book.—Strutt's Hoida Angel-cynnan.—Fabyan, &c.

* Hist. Croyland.—Wilkins, Concilia. † De laudibus Leg. Angl. ‡ Hist. Croyland. § Opera Pii Secund.

Inviting to the Repast. Royal MS. 14 E 3.

Saying Grace. Royal MS. 14 E 3.

Servant, to prevent Treachery, tasting the Wine before serving it at Table. Royal MS 14 E 3.

modern fashion, in regard to the hours of meals, appear in those days to have been completely reversed; for while the nobility, as has been already mentioned, breakfasted at seven, dined at ten, and supped at four, the common people breakfasted at eight, dined at twelve, and supped at six in the evening.

The sports of the nobility and gentry exhibited little alteration during the present period. Besides the military exercises formerly described, young men of rank amused themselves with running, wrestling, pitching the bar, and throwing spears; but a feeling seems to have been beginning to gain ground that these latter practices were better fitted for people of inferior grade. Hawking was still a favourite out-of-door pastime, and was pursued both on horseback and on foot. Hunting, also, was still eagerly followed, not only by nobles and priests, but also by those of the other sex, several of whom, in the drawings of the period, are represented in a hunting costume, and handling bows which, in size and weight, might apparently have rivalled those of the stoutest foresters. From a book of instructions on hunting, composed during the reign of Henry IV. for the use of his son, we find that a change was introduced in the sport, called hunting in enclosures, by which the chief labour of the chase was avoided, at the expense, perhaps, of the greater part of the enjoyment. Temporary sheds were erected, comfortably covered with green boughs, for the accommodation of the noble hunters; and, when they had taken their stand, the beasts of game were driven from the parks or forests in which they were enclosed, so as to be obliged to pass these booths, and thus they were marked out and slaughtered by the arrows of the company at pleasure. This kind of hunting, we find, was often practised by the king, the nobles, and dignified clergy; and lands were sometimes held by the tenure of driving the deer from their enclosures to the stands of the hunters.

The ridiculous amusement of mumming, which has been described in a former chapter, still continued to be relished at court, and the gravest and highest personages did not disdain to take a part in its puerile fooleries. Thus we find that, in the second year of the reign of Henry IV., while he kept Christmas at Eltham, twelve aldermen of London and their sons rode in a mumming for the amusement of the king, for which "they had great thanks."* Under the classical name of *Ludi* these masqueradings were frequently performed at court; and in the inventories of the time we find entries for suits of buckram and vizors, to represent men, women, birds, beasts, and angels, according to the capricious fancies of the wearers. These practices formed a usual portion of the national festivities at Christmas.

With these mummings the splendid pageantries with which the English kings were occasionally received into London may perhaps be fitly classed, as they were nothing but great national mummeries, on a correspondent scale of grandeur and extravagance. When Henry V., on his return from France after the victory of Azincourt, was about to enter the metropolis, he was met by twenty thousand London citizens, who had rode out to Blackheath to welcome him. When he arrived at London Bridge, and had ad-

* Strutt's Horda.

COURT MUMMERS. Harleian MS. 4379

vanced to the drawbridge, he found two turrets that had been erected for the occasion, in front of which was posted that great essential of an English pageant—a huge giant—who welcomed the monarch to London in good set verse. On one of the turrets stood a lion and an antelope, and on the other a troop of angels, who sang, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." Henry then rode forward to the city amidst the acclamations of the multitudes, while the streets were canopied with rich cloths, and the windows of the houses draperied with silk or tapestry; and when he arrived at Cornhill, a tower stood there filled with patriarchs, who chanted, "Sing unto the Lord a new song; praise his name in the holy church;" and after this, they threw down live birds, that flew thick about the king. When he came to Cheapside, the conduits ran wine; and on the great conduit stood the twelve apostles, who sang, "Have mercy on my soul, O, Lord!" and as many kings, who upon their knees presented oblations to the hero and welcomed him home. The cross in Cheapside was also furnished like a castle with towers full of banners, and a host of angels, singing "Noble! noble!" and presenting basons (perhaps bezants*) of gold to the monarch. He proceeded to St. Paul's, where he was met by fourteen bishops in full canonicals, with mitres on their heads and censers in their hands; and when he had reached the high altar, amidst the thunder of bells and welcomes, a joyful Te Deum was performed; after which the king retired to his palace at Westminster.

Similar to this pageant in richness and variety, but still more absurd and profane, was the welcome of the boy-king, Henry VI., into London, when he returned from his French coronation at Paris. When the young monarch reached London Bridge, a tremendous giant who kept ward at this entrance, in thundering stanzas, denounced death and perdition to all the enemies of the king. The drawbridge at which Henry arrived when he had passed the first gate was adorned with a tower hung with silk and cloth of arras; and three ladies richly clad in gold and silk, and with coronets on their heads, stepped from the tower. The first of these, who personated Dame Grace, endowed the royal boy with science and cunning; the second, Dame Nature, gave him strength and beauty; and Dame Fortune, the third, presented him with prosperity and wealth. Immediately after this solemn foolery, fourteen ladies richly and fancifully appareled issued from the tower, the first seven of whom gave him seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, and the other seven as many gifts of grace. All these important donations could not be tendered without abundance of rhyming and singing. Henry now got as far as Cornhill, where stood Dame Sapience surrounded by the seven Sciences, all of whom gave him abundance of excellent advice; and at the conduit of Cornhill he was confronted by the pageant of Lady Mercy, Lady Truth, and Dame Cleanness, who had all their poetical admonitions to rehearse on the occasion. The poor youth now rode forward at a brisker pace; but at the conduit of Cheapside he was obliged to draw bridle, the artists having exhausted the highest resources of their art upon this favoured spot. Here were the well of Mercy, the well of Grace, and the well of Pity, where ladies ministered from the flowing fountains to all who wished to drink; and probably the applicants for their services were not few, as the water was turned into excellent wine. Not only great labour, but considerable ingenuity, must have been expended here; all round and behind the wells was a representation of the garden of Paradise, filled with every kind of fruit-trees, which were so naturally represented, that, according to the narrator of these wonders, "to many they appeared natural trees growing." Here the king was greeted and addressed by Enoch and Elias. The succeeding part of the exhibition was of too profane and revolting a character to be contemplated in the present day with any degree of toleration; and yet it would appear, from the usually theological character of these civic welcomes, that the clergy were their principal contrivers.*

These curious melodrames may serve, in some measure, to indicate the state of taste in England at this period for theatrical exhibitions. The country which had produced Chaucer and James I. could offer, as yet, nothing better in the form of dramatic writing than the wretched miracles and mysteries which had hitherto amused all classes. The secular plays were still little better than the extemporaneous sallies of itinerant buffoons, who acted or rehearsed their stories wherever they could find listeners and pence—in the court-yards of inns, at the corners of streets, or in the kitchens of hostelries, and sometimes in places still more obscure, when, as often happened, they were under the ban of the law, and obliged to pursue their vocation by stealth. The mystery seems to have been the species of drama most in use at the present period, being recommended and generally composed by the clergy, and embodying some portion of sacred writ; and from these plays it frequently happened, in the absence of better instruction, that the laity derived their chief knowledge of religious doctrine and duty. Some of these mysteries, in fact, might be called entire systems of divinity, or biblical history, beginning at the creation of man, and ending with the general judgment. One of this character, which was acted at Skinner's Well, in London, in the year 1409, and which was attended by most of the nobility and gentry, occupied eight days in its exhibition.†

The manner in which these plays were acted, as well as the materials of which they were composed, gave offence to many even in this unscrupulous

* The word used in the old narrative of Fabyan is *besands*, which Strutt supposes to mean basons. But a present of current coin, whether English or foreign, was more in accordance with established custom.

* Fabyan. † Strutt's Horda.

age; and the mystery was sometimes boldly condemned as a source of popular licentiousness and infidelity. The effect could scarcely be otherwise when we consider the nature of the exhibition. The stage consisted of three several platforms, on the highest of which was placed a profane representation of the Creator, surrounded by the holy angels; the second was occupied by saints and glorified men; and the lowest by those who acted the parts of mortals in the present state of existence. On one side of this lowest platform was a huge, dark cavern, that represented the mouth of hell, respounding with yells and shrieks, and sending forth fire and smoke. Here, however, lay the favourite and comic part of the entertainment, as troops of merry devils continually issued from this grim opening, who kept the audience in a roar of laughter by their jests and buffoonery, or even by the severity with which they treated those unfortunate sinners who fell into their hands. In St. Paul's church, where mysteries were frequently acted, the third person of the Trinity was represented by a white pigeon let down through a hole made for the purpose in the roof; after which a censer descended, smoking with rich perfume, and which was swung to and fro over the spacious choir. Happily a better taste, in process of time, removed these profanities; the upper scaffolding and the representations of the Deity disappeared; and at length the mystery was superseded by the more sober and instructive exhibition of moralities, which, in turn, gave way to the regular English Drama.*

While such were the theatrical exhibitions that regaled the nobles and citizens of the metropolis, the inhabitants of the towns and villages were furnished with similar amusements upon a smaller scale, sanctioned by the clergy and the magistrates. These exhibitions formed a sort of annual festival; and a specimen of their character is furnished by a play that used to be acted every year at Witney, in Oxfordshire. The event represented was the resurrection of our Lord; and to illustrate the whole action in a more lively manner, the priests arrayed certain puppets, so as to represent the persons of Christ, the watchmen, the Virgin, and other characters mentioned in the Sacred Narrative. Among these, one was called the "waking watchman," who, on beholding Christ arise, began to make a clacking noise, like the sound caused by the striking of two sticks, on which account the puppet was generally nick-named Jack Snacker of Witney. Secular pageants were also very common in different towns, and in none more than the ancient city of Chester, where there was held one called "setting the watch," which was done on the eve of the festival of St. John the Baptist. This was a gay exhibition, composed of four giants, one unicorn, one dromedary, one luce,* one camel, one ass, one dragon, six hobby-horses, and sixteen naked boys. In an ordinance preserved among the Harleian MSS., dated 1564, in which this pageant is particularised as an ancient custom, we find that religious zeal had for a time suspended it; and the mayor, aldermen, and common council of Chester are commanded to provide yearly for setting the watch, on the eve of the Baptist's festival, according to former usage. It was necessary, therefore, to construct new figures for the pageant; and it appears that such quantities of pasteboard, cloth, and other materials were required for building up the giants to a proper size, that these alone cost five pounds a-head. Another of the items is still more curious: two shillings' worth of arsenic had to be mixed with the paste, to save the giants from being devoured by the rats.

* Strutt's Horda.

* Or flower-de-luce. It is not known what animal was meant by this name.

DANCE OF FOOLS. MS. in the Bodleian Collection.

The subject of these ancient English spectacles is interesting, not only as illustrative of the manners and customs of the times, but in reference to its connexion with the improvements of a succeeding era. In the profusion of such glittering dross upon the surface we find the indications of that rich vein that lurked beneath, and the treasures of which were finally to be wrought into the glorious and imperishable productions of the legitimate English drama.

This love of sight-seeing and fondness for the wonderful, which formed a distinguishing part of the national character, had only a trifling step to take in order to plunge into the regions of the

supernatural; and, accordingly, we find that in addictedness to superstitions of all kinds England was at this time not a whit behind the darkest nations of Europe. The fantastic ceremonial devotion of the times has been noticed in a former Chapter;* and the same spirit that thus perverted religion was equally active in other directions. The marvels of alchymy, sorcery, astrology, and necromancy, were firmly believed in by high and low. Prophecies, attributed to Merlin, or some other distinguished seer, floated on every wind, and were adapted to every event; and such was the importance attached to them that, in the interview between Edward IV. and Louis XI., at the bridge of Picquigny, the Bishop of Ely, in a set harangue, gravely quoted one of these predictions, as foreshowing this august meeting.†

A very humorous sketch of the appearance of London, and the manners of its inhabitants, during the latter portion of this period, is dashed off in a few strong lines in a ballad called the 'London Lickpenny,' by John Lydgate, setting forth the adventures of a poor countryman who came to the metropolis to seek legal redress for certain grievances. The street thieves in those days were much more daring than at present; for, as soon as he entered Westminster, his hood was snatched from his head in the midst of the crowd, and in broad daylight. In the streets of this suburban town he was encountered by Flemish merchants, strolling to and fro like modern pedlars, vending hats and spectacles, and shouting "What will you buy?" At Westminster-gate, at the hungry hour of mid-day, there were bread, ale, wine, ribs of beef, and tables fairly set for such as had wherewith to pay. Our pilgrim proceeded on his way by the Strand (at that time not so much a street as a public road connecting the two cities, though studded on each side with the palaces of the nobles), and, having entered London, he found it resounding with the cries of peascods, strawberries, cherries, and the more costly articles of pepper, saffron, and spices, all hawked indiscriminately about the streets. Having cleared his way through the press, and arrived at Cheapside, he found a crowd much larger than he had yet encountered congregated at this chief part of the city, and shopkeepers plying before their respective shops or booths (like those of Rag-fair or Monmouth-street at present), offering their rich commodities of velvet, silk, lawn, and Paris thread, and seizing him by the hand, that he might turn in and buy. At London-stone were the linendrapers, equally clamorous and urgent; while the medley was heightened by itinerant venders crying hot sheep's feet, mackerel, and other such articles of food. Our Lickpenny now passed through Eastcheap (that street so rich to the lovers of Shakspeare in associations of sack and fat capons), and there he found indications of the fame that afterwards crowned it, in the shape of ribs of beef, pies, and pewter pots, aptly intermingled with harping, piping, taboring, and the old street carols of Julian and Jenkin. At Cornhill, which at this time seems to have been a noted place for receivers of stolen goods, he saw his own hood exposed for sale. After refreshing himself with a pint of wine, for which he paid the taverner a penny, our pilgrim repaired to Billingsgate; there the watermen were in attendance assailing him with their cry of "Hoo! go we hence!" Their fare for pulling across the river amounted to the then considerable sum of twopence. Our bewildered wight, however, undaunted by this heavy charge, hastened over into Kent, delighted to make his escape from the din and confusion of the great metropolis, and resolving to have nothing further to do with London litigation.

To the sedentary sports which have been described in the preceding Book, and which still continued to prevail, we may now add that of card-playing; for, although there is abundant proof that this amusement was practised in Italy, Spain, and Germany, at least from the early part of the fourteenth century, we have no satisfactory evidence of its having been known in England till the present period. The cards used at first in this country were painted or illuminated by the hand, like missals; and as they were rich in gay colours and gilding, while the figures upon them were delineated with all the pictorial skill of the best artists, a pack must have cost a considerable sum,—a circumstance which would restrict the amusement to the noble and wealthy. The process of printing, however, had been applied to the production of cards even before it was thought of for the multiplication of books,—a curious fact, which connects the history of this trivial amusement with that of the most important of social improvements and the highest exertions of the human intellect. After it was discovered that cards could be economically manufactured by stamping the outlines of the figures with wooden blocks, and then filling them up with the usual colours by the hand, card-making became so important a craft that, in the reign of Edward IV., we find those who followed it had interest to obtain a law prohibiting the importation of cards from abroad. The figures upon the cards of this period differed considerably from those of the present day, and were certainly much more graceful. The oldest and most favourite games seem to have been Trump and Primero, the latter of which is supposed to have had considerable resemblance to our modern game of Whist. Perhaps there might even already be detected some indications of the natural effects of the augmented impulse thus given to the gambling spirit which had always been one of the national propensities, in instances of the dispersion of long-hoarded wealth, and the transference of broad hereditary acres, which appear to have now become of more frequent occurrence than formerly, even when not occasioned by the casualties of war and the alternating retaliations of contending factions.

When we turn our attention to the active sports

* See ante, chap. ii.

† Philip de Comines.

of the commonalty, we find that, in addition to those of running, leaping, and throwing heavy weights, bull-baiting, and cock-fighting, which are to be found among all semi-barbarous countries, wrestling, bowling, and games at ball may be particularly mentioned among the popular amusements of the English at this period. Skill in wrestling seems to have been one of the national distinctions; and the men of Cornwall and Devonshire were especially famed as matchless wrestlers. The public competitions in this exercise were often attended by the persons of highest rank in the neighbourhood, and a ram (or sometimes a cock, as appears from an old drawing) was the reward of the conqueror. Bowling, also, has been reckoned a sport peculiarly English. In some of the early drawings the attitudes of the bowlers are given with remarkable spirit and effect. In these

BOWLING-BALL. From a MS. in the Douce Collection.

delineations, however, it may be observed that each player, instead of using three bowls, as in the modern game, is provided with one only. Among the ancient varieties of bowling may be mentioned the game called Closh, which was similar to that of Kayles, being played with pins that were thrown at, and struck down with a bowl, instead of a stick; and the game of Half-bowl, which was played with a hemisphere of wood. When this favourite sport had been completely naturalised in England, covered bowling-alleys were frequently attached to the houses of the wealthy, or to places of public resort in which people could enjoy the amusement independently of the changes of the weather. We find frequent complaints, however, that the habit of resorting to these places of social meeting was found to promote other kinds of dissipation as well as the love of gambling and idleness. But the common order of moralists have been generally too much inclined to throw imputations of this sort upon the amusements of the people.

The games at ball were of various kinds. What has been called the balloon-ball, resembled the Roman Follis, or Italian Pallone. A large ball, made of leather, was filled with air; the player, having his hand and wrist loaded and braced with bandages, struck this elastic balloon with all his might, and the person who played against him returned it in like manner. In some of the illuminations representing this game, the ball is struck with the naked hand. Club-ball was similar to the bat-and-ball now commonly in use. The ball was of large size (probably filled with air),

CLUB-BALL. From a MS. in the Bodleian Collection, and Royal MS. 14 B. 4.

and struck with a straight, heavy stick, or club. Trap-ball, as appears from the illuminations, was also in use so early as the fourteenth century: the trap, however, was of a greater height than that

Trap-Ball.

From a MS. in the Douce Collection.

of the modern game. In those days, a game at ball was a weighty occasion, in which party was engaged against party, and village matched with village; and frequently the mayor and aldermen vouchsafed to attend to do honour to the competition.

We had occasion, in the last Book, to notice the attempts of the legislature to promote the practice of archery among the people, both by making exercise with the bow imperative on a certain number of days in the year in every village, and by proscribing those other games and sports that were supposed to have most tendency to allure the yeomanry from the shooting-green. But although pains were taken to give to the legal sport as much as possible of the excitement of those that were prohibited, the plan does not appear to have proved very successful. The law for the encouragement of archery had been so little regarded that, in the reign of Edward IV., it was found necessary to renew it with additional circumstantiality. The games of quoits, kayles, closh, half-bowl,

Ancient Dice-Box.

In this dice-box, the dice, which were without numbers, were dropped into the box or funnel while the machine was turned round, and were counted according to the space below upon which they fell.

hand-in and hand-out, and quick board, were now condemned as unlawful; and the magistrates were commanded to seize the tables, dice, cards, bowls, closhes, tennis-balls, and other instruments with which these games were played, and destroy them. It was also enacted that every Englishman, and every Irishman dwelling in England, should have a long bow of his own height; and that butts should be erected in every township, at which the inhabitants were to shoot up and down on all feast-days, upon penalty of one halfpenny for every time the exercise was omitted. That no excuse, also, might be made for the lack of proper weapons on the score of poverty, the bowyers of London, as has been mentioned in a preceding Chapter, were commanded to sell the best bow-staves at three shillings and fourpence each. Still, however, in spite both of encouragements and penalties, the science of archery, towards the end of this period, was visibly on the decline. A preference had for some time come to be entertained for the cross-bow, or hand-gun, as it was sometimes called, even for the purposes of amusement and hunting, as a weapon more easily managed, and affording a more steady aim than the common long-bow. But the chief cause of this growing unpopularity of the old English weapon is to be found in the introduction

Archers. From various MSS. of the fourteenth century

of gunpowder, and the multiplication of different kinds of fire-arms. The superiority of the hagbut for war, and the birding-piece for amusement, was soon felt; and they gradually superseded the use of the bow, as they have superseded every kind of missile weapon in all the countries into which they have been introduced.

We shall still, however, have occasion to advert to the subject of archery in the next period; but before taking leave of it for the present, we may briefly observe that there were three kinds of marks used to be shot at for pastime and exercise, by which archers were carefully trained either for a near or a distant aim,—namely, butts, pricks, and rovers. The butt was a level mark in the form of a target or bull's-eye, which, as we have seen, was shot at up and down on either side; and this kind of mark required a strong arrow with a very broad feather. The prick, again, was called "a mark of compass," as it was of a settled distance, for which strong light arrows were necessary, with moderately-sized feathers. The rover was a mark of varying distance, and therefore required arrows differing in weight and feather according to the emergency.* Other marks of a more difficult nature appear to have been sometimes used, when the contention was keen or the shooters of distinguished skill; such as hazel wands, rose garlands, and the popinjay; which last was either a cock or an artificial parrot.

A manly and favourite sport among our ancestors for many centuries, and which even till lately was practised at our country fairs and holiday meetings, was that of quarter-staff,—a weapon which does not seem to have been naturalised in any other country. This truly formidable instrument was a heavy staff about five or six feet in length, which was firmly grasped in the middle by one hand, while the other traversed to either end of the weapon, according to the end that was to be suddenly brought down upon the head or shoulders of the antagonist. The advantage of such an instrument was, that it had a very large compass both in defence and annoyance: with a turn of the wrist it described a wide circle, and guarded the player on every side; and it required a very quick eye, as well as nimble foot, to watch the direction in which it was about to strike, and to escape the blow. These advantages of the quarter-staff were learnedly set forth in the seventeenth century by an English gentleman, who, with that weapon only, encountered and foiled, at Xeres, three Spanish cavaliers, armed with rapiers and daggers, in the presence of a large and noble assembly. This doughty hero, after such a wonderful display of his skill in fence, very naturally took up the pen to record his exploit, which he has done in a small pamphlet entitled 'Three to One.'† It is probable that this favourite exercise of the English gave them additional dexterity in the use of the brown bill, another weapon with which they were wont to do deadly execution.

* Ascham's Toxophilus. † Strutt.

There is every likelihood that the game of tennis was introduced into England during this period, as we do not find any previous allusion to it in English authors, although it had been in high favour for a considerable period on the continent. The taunting present of tennis-balls, which the Dauphin of France sent to Henry V., and the answer it provoked, is the first English historical notice of this amusement.* At first the game in England was played in the open air; but as it soon became a favourite, especially with the nobility, covered tennis-courts were built as well as covered bowling-greens.

We have already quoted the passage from Fitz-Stephen's account of London, in which he describes the peculiar mode of skating practised in his day by the youth of the metropolis. They tied the shank-bones of sheep to their feet, and with the help of a long pole, shod with iron, glided upon the ice with great velocity, sometimes encountering each other, like knights in full career. While the sport was as yet so rude in England, and confined to mere boys, it was a more serious exercise in northern countries, where it was a matter of necessity to traverse frozen rivers and mountains covered with snow; and, accordingly, in one of the Runic songs, a chief enumerates among his qualifications, that he can run upon the snow on wooden skates. In the present period, in England, the sheep-bones had given place to regular skates, shod with iron, which were probably introduced from the Netherlands; and adults now enjoyed in full perfection this spirit-stirring exercise. Skating upon the Thames in winter was succeeded by the recreations of sailing and rowing in spring and summer. Boating, indeed, appears to have been always a favourite pastime with the citizens of London; and many of their military games, as we have already seen, were performed upon the water. During the fifteenth century, however, recreations upon the water received a fresh popularity from the lord-mayor's procession to Westminster being conducted on the river. This innovation was commenced by John Norman, the lord-mayor in 1453, to the great satisfaction of the watermen who plied above London-bridge; and from this period, also, pleasure-boats became very numerous upon the Thames.

Another class of the popular amusements of this age may be considered as a species of the mummings which have been described in a preceding page. In the merriment of the Christmas holidays it was common for people to go from house to house with their faces blackened with soot and bedaubed with paint, so that they could not be recognised; and, thus disfigured, we may be sure they did not always confine themselves to frolics of a perfectly harmless or innocent kind. In the north of England a favourite frolic at this season was for men and women to exchange dresses, when they sallied forth to make mirth among their friends and neighbours, and to partake of their

* See Shakspeare's Henry V., Act i. scene 3.

Christmas cheer. Another Christmas pastime was the Fool's Dance, performed by a number of persons habited like the court-fool, who capered to the sound of bagpipes and other instruments, the musicians being dressed in the same fantastic garb. From this Dance of Fools it is probable that the Morris Dance originated, which was performed with a number of small bells attached to the dresses of the dancers.

Licensed or professional fools were important personages during the middle ages. Unknown to the ancient world, they had probably their origin among the northern tribes, whose duller intellects required a more pungent stimulus than would have been tolerated by the people of Greece and Rome. Professional fools appear to have been common among the Anglo-Saxons; and after the Norman Conquest, by which so much was subverted, their occupation was far from being gone. A royal fool was an established officer of the successive Norman and English sovereigns till so late a period as the reign of Charles II. Of the duties attached to this chief of the jesters, Fuller has quaintly observed, that only he who had wit could perform them well, while only he who wanted it would perform them. His duty was to amuse his master by broad jokes at the expense of the courtiers, or even the royal administration itself; and, under this wide charter, he was frequently enabled to deliver shrewd hints upon the prevailing abuses, which perhaps even the king's regular advisers would not have hazarded. The estimation in which the jesters of the palace were held may be gathered from the considerable largesses frequently given to them, and which were probably often bestowed in those open-hearted moments when a hearty laugh had lightened the royal bosom of a load of political anxieties.

Court Fool and Buffoon. Harl. MS. 4379.

Among the nobility, also, those who could maintain such a luxury had in their retinue, sometimes, a wretched idiot, whose real folly and infirmity were made the butt of the master and household; or, what was more commonly the case, some shrewd madcap, who could use the appearance of folly as a shelter from behind which to discharge his satirical observations. This person was dressed like the court-fool, and possessed similar privileges of speech. He is described by a writer of the sixteenth century as "in person comely, in apparel courtly, but in behaviour a very ape, and no man: his employment, it is asserted, was to coin bitter jests, and to sing profligate songs and ballads; "give him a little wine in his head, he is continually fleering and making of mouths: he laughs intemperately at every little occasion, and dances about the house, leaps over tables, outskips men's heads, trips up his companion's heels, burns sack with a candle, and hath all the feats of a Lord of Misrule in the country."* The quaint author adds darker shades to the picture, by which it would appear that this mercurial office had no tendency to improve the moral character of him who held it. As the office of a jester possessed so many immunities, it was not without its penalties also, and an unseasonable quip very often subjected him to a severe whipping.

The fool's wit, however, was not always confined to his head, and his jokes were often not only of a verbal, but also of a practical and mischievous character. The coarse taste of the times required that even the habiliments of the fool should be pregnant with matter of laughter. In the time of Henry VIII., and probably much earlier, one form of his official costume consisted of a party-coloured coat, sometimes hung with bells at the skirts and elbows; together with breeches and close hose, of which the legs were sometimes of different colours. Another dress was a jacket and petticoat, also of motley, and fringed with yellow. A hood covered the head, in shape like a monk's cowl, decorated with asses' ears, or terminating in the neck and head of a cock, sometimes ridiculously garnished with a single feather. But, above all, the bauble must be particularised, without which the jester was nothing. It was at once his sceptre and his sword. By this, he swore in confirmation of his preposterous stories; with a flourish of this caduceus he gave double force to a joke; and sometimes a blown bladder was attached to its extremity, with which, brandishing it about in mock combat, he would buffet the contemners of his airy dignity. This bauble was a short staff, generally ornamented with the carved head of a zany, or some other fantastic ornament. In earlier times, when the Church, reposing in the consciousness of her power, allowed things sacred to be ridiculed without alarm, the fool's head was occasionally shaven in the fashion of a clerical tonsure; but after the apprehensions excited by the spread of Lollardism such liberties could not be safely taken.

Among the games not yet mentioned, which

* Lodge's Wit's Miserie, 4to. 1599.

were in use at this time, the following may be dismissed with a very brief notice. Bays, base, or bars, or prisoner's-bars—for by all these terms the game seems to have been known—was a sport in which agility was chiefly requisite, and where each party of players endeavoured to overtake and catch as many of their antagonists as they could. Hoodman-blind was the same as our modern blindman's-

HOODMAN BLIND. Bodleian MS.

buff. If we may judge, however, from the illuminations, this game was not a mere juvenile amusement, as women and bearded men are frequently represented joining in the sport. As it was practised by our ancestors, the eyes of the person to be blinded were covered by his hood being reversed over his head; and the others, while they eluded his attempt to catch them, took off their hoods and thumped him on every side. Battledore and shuttlecock was also an amusement of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and probably for a long time previous. This sport

SHUTTLE-COCK.
From a MS. in the Douce Collection.

was in all likelihood confined to children; as was also that of leaping through a hoop. In this last-mentioned game, two boys held a hoop, while a third leaped, or rather dived through it, and alighted on his cloak, which was spread on the ground beyond. The other sports of children were similar to those of the present day; and in ancient illuminated missals, and other MSS., we find boys diverting themselves with windmills, swimming on bladders, playing with whirligigs, and trundling hoops. Sometimes also they are shooting with bows and arrows—a part, no doubt, of their regular education, as well as an incidental amusement. A very beautiful toy, but which was perhaps confined to the children of the wealthy, consisted of two small bronze figures of men in complete tilting armour, and mounted on barbed horses that moved on small wheels. These puppets were run at each other in regular career; and at a successful stroke of the lance the knight, who was secured to the animal by a hinge, fell backward on the crupper. This may have been the plaything of a child born to the inheritance of knighthood, and who thus received his first lessons in the exercises of chivalry.

One feature of English manners of a moral description, and which particularly attracted the notice of foreigners at this time, must not be omitted. This was the practice of profane swearing, which had risen to such a height, that an

LEAPING THROUGH A HOOP. Ancient MS. engraved in Strutt's Sports.

Englishman was called on the continent a "God-damme," from the expression he was most accustomed to use. But although this name was applied by the French to our countrymen at large, it is to be hoped that the culpable practice in which it originated was confined to soldiers and those who wished to be reckoned "tall fellows" and good martialists, and to win to themselves among the ignorant a character of daring bravery, as in the case of ancient Pistol, when he uttered brave words at the bridge. The same practice we find prevailed in Scotland, where it was so especially the characteristic of military persons, that Sir James Douglas, one day hearing the exclamation, "the devil!" pronounced with great emphasis in a cottage, immediately concluded that some gallant knights or good men-at-arms were lurking within.*

The manners and customs of Scotland now become of sufficient interest to claim a share of our attention. The long wars and other public misfortunes of the preceding century must have materially retarded and thrown back the northern kingdom in the career of civilization. The social habits of the people inevitably during these events acquired a rudeness and ferocity corresponding to the circumstances in which they were placed. Hence, during the present period, the manners of the Scots were probably less refined, their pastimes less joyous, and their whole mode of living more barbarous and squalid, than they had been two centuries before.

According to Froissart, who had himself visited Scotland when a young man, soon after the middle of the fourteenth century, some French auxiliaries, who came over in the year 1384, were struck with horror at the penury and barbarism of the country. At this time, he tells us, the city of Edinburgh was not so large as Valenciennes or Tournay. Though it contained about four thousand houses, these were merely wretched wooden hovels, covered with straw, which were with little reluctance set fire to by their owners whenever an enemy appeared—just as used to be done by the old savage Caledonians in the time of Agricola. Even so late as the time of James I., the houses in the towns of Scotland, as we are informed by Æneas Sylvius, when built of stone at all, were without lime; and in the villages they were roofed with turf, while a cow's hide supplied the place of a door. The dwellings of the borderers, and those who inhabited the parts of the country most liable to invasion, were of a still more wretched description, consisting, for the most part, of three or four poles for props, and whatever loose materials were at hand; so that a man could erect a dwelling of this kind in three days. On the approach of the English, the Scots destroyed these extemporaneous fabrics without scruple, and conveyed their cattle and provisions to places of safety; and having thus left their enemy no alternative but retreat or starvation, they gathered in full force, burst through some unguarded part of the English frontier, and returned with booty that repaid them tenfold for the ruin of their towns and villages. Of course, the in-door life and accommodations of such a people must have been wretched in the extreme. Æneas Sylvius, while he tells us that the Scots had flesh and fish in plenty, adds, that bread was regarded as an absolute dainty among them. The French knights who came over, as has just been mentioned, in the reign of Robert II., could obtain no wine in Scotland but at a great price, while the ale was weak and thin, and the bread made of barley or oats.* The state of the Highlanders was still more wretched than that of their neighbours of the lowlands; for we are told that sometimes they were reduced to eat even the bark of trees.† James I., among other improvements, endeavoured to introduce among his subjects a more comfortable mode of living, and partially succeeded; but for this he got little thanks, as the people heavily complained of what they called his English epicurism.‡

The castles of the Scottish nobles were exposed to the destructive visitations of fire and sword, equally with the huts of their vassals; and therefore the same economical principle prevailed in their construction; they were consequently of far inferior character and dimensions to the baronial residences of the English. Indeed, during the earliest and hottest portions of the warfare with England several of the Scottish nobles patriotically destroyed the castles of their ancestors, that they might not be occupied by the enemy as fortresses; and then betook themselves like outlaws to the fields and green-woods, where they carried on a sort of guerilla warfare, amidst all the barbarising circumstances of such a condition. Such a personage, among others, was that heroic adherent of Bruce, Sir James Douglas, who thrice dismantled his own castle after it had been as often repaired by the enemy,§ and acquired such a love of a houseless life, that he "liked better," he said, "to hear the lark sing than the mouse cheep." When an interval of peace succeeded, the border chieftain entertained his retainers in his clumsy castle or *peel*, in the best style his resources permitted; and the cattle that had been driven from the English pastures smoked in shapeless masses upon the board, and were hacked in pieces by the knives and daggers of the feasters. As we have already seen, wine must have been only an occasional visitor at these rude banquets, the supply coming generally from the cellars of Carlisle and Newcastle. When these uncertain resources began to fail, the cry of "Snaffle, spur and spear!" was joyfully shouted; an inroad into the land of plenty was proclaimed, and the larder was either speedily replenished, or its services were no longer required. The highest of the northern nobility, however, endeavoured to add something like magnificence to their rude cheer, and several of the Douglases, who rivalled their sovereigns in splen-

* Barbour's Bruce.

* Froissart.
† Opera Pii, ii.
‡ Pinkerton.
§ See Vol. i. p. 730.

dour, dined amidst the sounding of timbrels and trumpets.

The Burgundian historian De Coucy, who is supposed to have accompanied Mary of Gueldres to Scotland, in 1449, describes the banquet that was held on her marriage to James II.; and from his account, we perceive that even the royal living, at this period, was wofully deficient, not only in refinement, but in common comfort. The first dish was a boar's head painted, and stuck full of coarse bits of flax. This was served up in a huge platter, which was surrounded with thirty-two banners, that bore the arms of the king and the principal nobility; and the flax was set on fire, amidst the loud acclamations of the assembly. After this goodly device, a ship of silver was produced, which was probably a vessel of that form filled with salt and spices, for the accommodation of the guests. Five Scottish dignitaries of the church exhibited the steadiness of their nerves to the admiring strangers, by draining a huge wooden bowl of wine without spilling a drop. The wine and other liquors were handed round in great profusion, and the dinner lasted five hours, there being neither dancing nor supper. All this appeared gross and savage to the knights of Gueldres, and probably to the new queen also—for she wept bitterly on their taking leave to depart to their own home.

In other particulars the domestic life of the Scottish nobility considerably resembled that of the English. Minstrels were common in Scotland as in England; some of them confining themselves to the singing of sacred music; others, who were usually Highlanders or Irishmen, reciting tales and ballads. The fool, with his cap, bells, and bauble, was also a usual appendage to the domestic establishment of a Scottish nobleman; and tumblers and jugglers paid their occasional visits, and performed feats of agility and sleight-of-hand similar to those exhibited in England. To these sources

TUMBLING. From Sloane MS. 264.

of amusement we may add the game of tables (draughts or chess) and *pawme*, or tennis. This last game was a favourite in the court of James I.; and that monarch might perhaps have escaped from his assassins, had he not caused a small private outlet from the vault below his bedchamber to be closed up a few days before his death, because his tennis-balls used to escape through it at play.

The active sports and amusements of the Scottish nobles do not seem to have been pursued with the same keenness as those of the English, in part, perhaps, owing to the continual warfare in which the Scots were engaged with each other, as well as with the common enemy. Men who seldom enjoyed the luxury of doffing their heavy harness had little need, either of the gratuitous excitement or labour of violent exercises; and, therefore, although hunting and hawking were practised among them, we do not read either of such frequent or such splendid meetings for these joyous purposes, as were common in the south. A different kind of amusement in a great measure occupied the wardens of the Scottish marches, viz, the hunting of border thieves—an exercise which the Douglases seemed to regard as their especial vocation; Archibald, the ninth Earl of Angus, declared that he enjoyed more delight in hunting a border thief, than others had in hunting hares.* These doughty Nimrods, however, were often thrown out in the chase; for their game were as fleet as hares, and more cunning than foxes. Among the old laws of Scotland, we find one enacted in 1458, denouncing penalties against those who destroyed the nests and eggs of birds of game, or killed rabbits during the time of snow.

The bands of retainers by whom the Scottish nobles were attended were in the present period still more numerous than it was customary to maintain in England. These trains of the northern nobility also, being more for strength and safety than vain-glorious parade, were of a more exclusively martial character than those of England. The most potent of the Douglases seldom rode with fewer than twelve hundred well-armed horsemen, and the other nobles had followers in proportion. The royal authority, which was commonly kept in abeyance, and frequently made contemptible by these powerful chieftains, repeatedly endeavoured, though at no small hazard, to remedy this evil. In the reign of Robert III. it was enacted, that, to prevent the great and horrible ravages, depredations, fires, and homicides, which were daily committed in every part of the kingdom, no person travelling should be allowed more attendants than those whose maintenance he actually defrayed. By this it would appear that a great portion of these armed followers often did not really belong to the household or vassalage of the chief to whom they attached themselves, but only assumed for the time his livery, for the protection it conferred, or the opportunities it afforded of revenge or plunder. The same law was repeated and enforced with energy by James I.; but after his death the evil reverted to its former state.† Another law of James I., and which was repeated in the following

* Godscroft's Hist. of the House of Douglas.
† Pinkerton.

reign, exhibits a curious feature in the manners of Scotland at this period. It would appear that a class of sturdy beggars, called *sorners*, either possessing, or pretending to gentle birth, followed their calling, not in humility and rags, but with horses, hounds, and attendants, thrusting themselves upon the hospitality of those who were not strong enough to deny them, and living at free quarters among the farmers and clergy. When these lordly "gaberlunyies" were caught, they were shorn of their false gentility, by being deprived of their hounds and horses. The voluntary hospitality of the period also was so great, and was found so incompatible with the improvement of the people, that hostelries were ordered to be erected throughout the country, in which those who travelled were required to lodge or refresh themselves, instead of repairing to private houses. But in a disconnected and uncivilised land, a guest is such a welcome importer of tidings, and such an excellent substitute for books and newspapers, that this law was little regarded.

In the article of chivalry, we find that the Scots were eminent among the bravest of Europe, and the highest testimony was borne to their valour both by friends and enemies. As might be expected, the oaths of knightly investiture were the same among them as in other countries; and it is probable that the preparatory exercises of the young candidates for knighthood were also the same. In battle, the northern knights exhibited great daring and devotedness; and the dying Douglas, at Otterbourne, only spoke the sentiments of his brethren at large, when he thanked God that he had fallen like his race, with whom it was not the fashion to die in their beds.* The courtesies practised between the Scottish and English knights, during the fiercest periods of their national warfare, form one of the most engaging chapters in the history of chivalry. When not too busily engaged in actual war, we find that tilts and tournaments were held in Scotland by the kings and nobles, although they were not adorned by such crowds of foreigners and displays of pomp, as those that graced the warlike solemnities of their more wealthy neighbours. The Scottish knights also, during the intervals of peace or truce, repaired with alacrity to the tournaments of England, sometimes as spectators, sometimes as combatants, where they added largely to the military reputation of their country.†

Ordeal-combats, or the appeal to Heaven by arms, were also of frequent occurrence among the Scots. As it often happened, too, that the borderers of both countries invaded or plundered each other during periods of truce, when detection was difficult, and a regular trial not to be expected, ordeal-combats were sometimes appointed for the discovery of the person in fault. Either Englishman or Scot, who considered himself aggrieved by one of the opposite nation, made his charge, and summoned the accused to battle, on which a fair field was appointed for the combatants. Sometimes the person so appealed saw reason to refuse the summons; and in this case, a different mode of purgation was appointed. If charged, for instance, with stealing cattle (the common ground of offence), he was required to bring the animals claimed by the appellant to that part of the Tweed, or the Esk, where these rivers formed the frontier line, and drive them into the stream. If the cattle made for the other side, and escaped alive to the opposite kingdom, they were adjudged to the claimant; and if they were drowned before they reached the middle of the river, he was entitled to their full value from the defendant. It is remarkable, too, that the border priests were subjected to this law of arms equally with the wildest moss-troopers; and on the accusation of any person of the opposite kingdom, the reverend clerk, who was prohibited by the canon from answering the challenge in person, was obliged to hire a champion and send him to the lists in his stead. If this substitute chanced to be vanquished, the odium of the crime rested upon the principal, and he was held to be declared guilty by the righteous judgment of Heaven, to the great disparagement of his character and clerical office—a grievance and a scandal of which these reverend victims of chivalry very heavily and justly complained.*

The Scots, in their mode of warfare, were so much addicted to hand-blows and close fighting, that the bow could never be naturalised among them, even though they experienced its effects so fatally in the hands of the English; and the few archers to be found in the Scottish ranks were chiefly Highlanders and Isles-men—people held in very light estimation by the knights and warlike burghers of the Lowlands. These Scottish bowmen, too, were very inefficient, in consequence of their drawing the bow-string only to the breast, while the English archer drew his to the right ear, by which the arrow was sent through plate and mail. The author of the poem of 'Christ's Kirk on the Green'—whether James I. or James V.—ridicules this unskilfulness of his countrymen in a strain of grave irony worthy of Cervantes himself. He describes several persons in the midst of an affray, endeavouring to do deadly execution with the arrow; but though their antagonists are close at hand, every shot is unsuccessful. One man is a whole acre's breadth wide of the mark; a second draws his string with such fury that the bow breaks in shivers; while a third, who discharges his arrow he knows not where, is persuaded that it has slaughtered a priest 'a mile beyond a mire,' upon which this able archer, in a panic, throws down his artillery, and forthwith flies the country. For the purpose of encouraging archery, a law of James I. prohibited the popular sports most in vogue, and decreed that all persons above twelve years old should be taught the use of the bow. It was also required that butts should be erected at

* Froissart. † Winton.—Bower.—Caxton.

* Sir Walter Scott's Border Antiquities.

every parish church, at which every man was to shoot at least six shots every holiday, while a fine of twopence was to be levied upon those who failed to attend, for drink to the shooters. But though this law was repeated by James II., it seems to have produced little or no effect; and in spite of parish butts and holiday shots, the people still grasped as before their long spears and heavy battle-axes, at the report of danger or invasion.

The sports of the common people of Scotland were chiefly those of a martial and still barbarous country—contentions of strength and bodily dexterity, such as running, throwing bars and weights, leaping, fencing, and wrestling. It also appears, from the prohibitions of James I. and II., that the game of golf was already in great favour among the Scots, as it continues to be to the present day.

GOLF OR BANDY-BALL.
From a MS. in the Dou. Collect.

MONKS AT A FUNERAL, IN THE INTERIOR OF A CONVENT. From an Ancient Drawing.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

N its social character and circumstances, as well as historically, the present period may be regarded as the close of the long interval, dividing ancient from modern civilization, which is commonly called the Middle Ages. As the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III. belong to the ancient, and that of Henry VII. to the modern history of England, and indeed of Europe, so, in the state of the country and of the people generally, under the former we contemplate an order of things altogether, at least in its characteristic spirit and lineaments, passed away and extinct,—under the latter the beginning of the same social system that still subsists. At the point which divides the two we turn a corner, as it were, in following the progress of the country, and, losing sight of the scene with which we have hitherto been familiar, open our eyes upon a new prospect. Besides, however, the opportunity which the occasion affords us of casting a last look upon the Norman feudalism, and the character which it impressed upon society while it still continued to exert a predominating influence, the present period presents also some features of its own, of a new and peculiar kind, which demand our notice. It happens, moreover, that in some respects the materials we possess for its illustration are more abundant, and throw more light upon the interior of social life, than those that have been available in any preceding era.

The common estimate of the population of England at the time of the Norman Conquest makes it to have amounted to about two millions of souls.* Three centuries after that date its amount appears to have been not much greater. A curious account has been preserved† of the produce of a capitation-tax levied in 1377 (the last year of Edward III.) upon all lay persons of either sex above fourteen years of age, beggars only excepted; and also upon all ecclesiastics, except the members of the four mendicant orders. Cheshire and Durham, however, being Palatine counties, and having collectors of their own, are not included in the roll. Making the requisite allowances for these several omissions, the amount of the entire population of the kingdom as deduced from this document will stand thus:—

Entire number of lay persons taxed, according to the enumeration in the roll	1,376,442*
Add a half for the children under fourteen, who would form nearly a third of the population	688,221
For Cheshire, taken as equal to Cornwall.....	51,411
For Durham, taken as equal to Northumberland	25,213
Ecclesiastical persons paying the tax.....	29,161
Mendicants, lay and ecclesiastical, about.....	120,000
Total population of England..	2,290,448

As however many persons, no doubt, altogether escaped the notice of the electors, and many others liable to the tax would be falsely represented as being under age, we shall probably not err in assuming the population of England at this time to have fallen little short of 2,400,000. For Wales we may add 100,000 more, making the entire population of the kingdom about two millions and a half.

It is to be remembered, however, that not long before this time the numbers of the people had been immensely reduced by the great plague which visited most of the countries of Europe in 1349. According to Dr. Mead, this pestilence, the most destructive that has ravaged the world in modern times, swept away more than half the inhabitants of every region of the earth which it invaded.† We have noticed in the preceding Book the effects of this visitation in thinning the numbers of the people of England, as attested not only by the contemporary historians but by the declarations of the legislature. It occasioned, the reader may remember, so great a scarcity of curates that the church interfered to regulate the rates at which they should be hired,‡ while the parliament made several attempts to reduce in like manner what were deemed the excessive wages demanded by common labourers and mechanics, also, of course, seeking to reap the natural benefit of their diminished numbers.§ It is probable that Dr. Mead's traditional account of the ravages of the pestilence is a considerable over-statement, and, in the space of nearly thirty years that had

* See Vol. i. p. 350. This is the calculation, not only of Turner and Mackintosh, as there stated, but also of Chief Justice Hale, of Gregory King, of the late George Chalmers, and others.

† Printed in the Archæologia, vii. 340.

* This is the total given in the document. As usual, the summation does not quite agree with the items; but in this instance the difference is only about 10,000.

† Discourse concerning Pestilential Contagion.

‡ See vol. i. p. 802.

§ Ibid. p. 829.

elapsed between it and the present enumeration, it may be supposed that much of its waste would be repaired; still, if instead of half the people it only destroyed one-third of their number, and if half of that third had been recovered before the date of the enumeration that has just been quoted, it will follow that the population of England and Wales before the middle of the fourteenth century had reached the amount of three millions of souls,—in other words, had increased by nearly fifty per cent. in the course of the three centuries that had elapsed from the Norman Conquest. All circumstances considered, this will appear to be not an improbable result.

The fact, however, with which we are immediately concerned is, that, about twenty years before the commencement of the period we are now reviewing, the population of the kingdom was apparently about two millions and a half. As there were no wars in the intermediate reign of Richard II., or other causes to occasion any great waste of human life (a few thousands of persons being probably all that perished in the disturbances in the early part of the reign), and as there was still a wide gap to be filled up, we may assume that, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, the numbers of the people of England and Wales had increased to 2,700,000 at the least.

A still farther insight into the state of the country, in so far as regards the fundamental point of the numbers of the people, is afforded by the capitation-tax roll of 1377, in the notices which it contains of the population of all the prin-[illegible]pal towns. Adding to the numbers set down [illegible]-half for children under fourteen and for omis-[illegible] we obtain from these notices a population at [illegible]ne for London (including most probably [illegible]stminster and Southwark) of about 35,000 pe[illegible]s, for York of nearly 11,000, for Bristol of 9500, for Plymouth and Coventry of about 7300 each, for Norwich of 6000, for Lincoln and Salisbury of about 5000 each, for Lynn of about 4700, for Colchester of 4400, for Beverley and Newcastle-upon-Tyne 4000 each, for Canterbury 3900, for Bury St. Edmund's 3700, for Oxford 3600, for Gloucester 3400, for Leicester, Shrewsbury, and Yarmouth, about 3000 each; for Hereford 2800, for Ely and Cambridge 2500 each, for Exeter, Worcester, and Hull, 2300 each; for Ipswich, Northampton, Nottingham, and Winchester, between 2300 and 2100 each; for Stamford, Newark, Wells, Ludlow, Southampton, Derby, Lichfield, Chichester, Boston, and Carlisle, between 2000 and 1000 each; for Rochester, Bath, and Dartmouth, between 900 and 700 each. Not a single town is enumerated in the counties of Cornwall, Dorset, Berks, Buckingham, Hertford, Bedford, Huntingdon, Rutland, Lancaster, and Westmoreland; and no other except London in those of Middlesex and Surrey. Thus, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, the map of England scarcely exhibited thirty towns containing above 2000 inhabitants each; and, of these, two only, besides the capital, contained a population of 10,000 each. The entire town population at this time may be set down at about 170,000 persons, or little more than a fifteenth of the general population of the kingdom

The circumstances of the early part of the fifteenth century, and especially the consumption of human life occasioned by the French wars of Henry V., and the much larger draughts of men afterwards wasted in the vain attempt to preserve what he had won, are well attested not only to have prevented any increase, but to have effected a sensible reduction in the numbers of the English people. In addition to the statements of the chroniclers as to the difficulties that came at length to be felt in raising even a moderate military force, we have the evidence of various acts of the legislature either expressly declaratory of the fact of such diminution, or implying it by the contrivance of expedients intended to remedy the inconveniences it was found to have produced. Thus, in a statute passed in 1421 (the 9 Hen. V. st. 1, c. 5), repealing a previous statute of 1340, respecting the length of time during which sheriffs should hold office, the reason alleged for the extension of the period from one year to four is, that, whereas formerly there were "divers valiant and sufficient persons" in every county to serve the office, "as well by divers pestilences within the realm of England as by the wars without the realm, there is not now such sufficiency." This may not indeed have been the true reason of the change that was made, which may have been a politic arrangement, the real motive of which it would not have been expedient to avow; but still the statement would scarcely have been advanced even as a pretext, if it had not coincided with the common observation, or at least with the common opinion, of men at the time. But perhaps a stronger proof of the decrease of the population is afforded by the successive efforts that continued to be made to regulate, in other words to reduce, by legislative enactment, the market price of labour, and by the rise of that price, notwithstanding such attempts to keep it down. The old statutes regulating wages were re-enacted, with some amendments, in 1427 and 1429 (by the 6 Hen. VI. c. 3, and the 8 Hen. VI. c. 8); and in 1444 the wages of all the common descriptions of labourers were expressly fixed by statute,* in the same manner as those of servants in husbandry had been fifty-six years before.† On comparing the two acts, however, we find a very considerable rise in the rates fixed by that of later date, in all those cases to which they both refer. Thus, the annual wages of a bailiff are raised from 13*s.* 4*d.* to 23*s.* 4*d.*; of a master-hind, carter, or chief shepherd, from 10*s.* to 20*s.*; of a common servant in husbandry, from 7*s.* to 15*s.*; and of a female labourer, from 6*s.* to 10*s.* The act of 1444 also expressly allows clothes of a certain value to each farming-servant, as well as meat and drink; but it is probable that diet at least, if

* 23 Hen. VI. c. 12. † 12 Rich. II. c. 4.

not clothing, was also intended to be allowed by the former act, although not distinctly specified.

It is possible, indeed, that other causes besides the contraction of the supply of labour may have contributed to bring about this augmentation of its market value. The depreciation of the coinage would account for a small part of the effect. Part of it might be the consequence of the growth of trade, which would absorb a portion of the population that had been heretofore occupied in agriculture. The general emancipation of the villains, also, which had apparently been nearly completed before the commencement of the fifteenth century,* would of course create an augmented demand for the services of free labourers in the cultivation of the earth. But as this social revolution would create as much labour of one kind as it abstracted or destroyed of another, we cannot lay much of the rise of wages which now took place to its account.

There can be no doubt, however, that not only the social importance, but the social position generally, of the labouring classes, would be eventually elevated by the extinction of villenage, and, it may be added, by those efforts on their own part to which, notwithstanding much in them that was blameable and attended with calamitous consequences at the moment, it must be admitted that their release from bondage was in all probability mainly owing. The insurrection of Wat Tyler and his followers, in the beginning of the reign of Richard II., besides giving a blow to villenage from which it appears never to have recovered, could not fail to impress upon the rest of the community an abiding conviction of the popular strength, and a salutary dread of provoking any new explosion of it. Seventy years afterwards the commons rose again, in what is called the rebellion of Jack Cade, and were again put down as before; but this demonstration also, unsuccessful as it was in regard to its immediate objects, no doubt helped to carry forward the body of the people another step in their course towards their due position in the state. The difference between the demands and avowed designs of the insurgents, on these two occasions, is very remarkable, and throws a strong light upon the progress the labouring classes had actually achieved in the intervening period. In 1380 their principal demand was the abolition of the system of villenage or slavery: to any positive political rights, any power of interfering in the making of the laws or in the regulation of public affairs, they made no claim. In 1450 not a word was said on the subject of villenage; that question was already settled: villenage was already almost, if not altogether, swept away. What the commons now insisted upon was, if not the concession of political power, at least the redress of various public grievances, such as the profuse waste by the king of the revenues of the crown, the illegal seizure by the crown of the property of the subject, the exclusion from the government of the persons of highest rank and greatest natural influence in the kingdom in favour of foreigners or low-born minions, the extortions of the sheriffs and collectors of taxes, the delays and other abuses in the administration of justice. One of their complaints, indeed, amounted to a distinct assertion of popular rights,—they remonstrated against the illegal interference of the nobility in elections of knights of the shire, and required that the free choice of their representatives in parliament should be left, where the law had placed it, in the hands of the people. Successful or not for the present, the proclamation of such pretensions, by men with arms in their hands, was sounding the trumpet to a battle which could only end with the conquest, by the popular force, of all that was now claimed.

On the first view it might seem that the course of events in the latter part of the present period,—the confusion and devastation of the wars of the Roses,—must have proved unfavourable to the advancement of the great body of the English people, either in the career of political enfranchisement or in any other line of social progress. But the storm of a civil war, though the most calamitous of all public visitations to the persons of property and station in a country, and even to the middle classes, when there is any section of the community entitled to be so designated, may pass with much less destructive effect over the heads of the lowest order of the people. While it throws down whatever is of height enough to come in the way of its fury, there is comparative security for that which is already on the ground and cannot be thrown down. The labouring population, indeed, may be subjected to many temporary inconveniences by the crisis; they cannot but suffer from the downfall of those upon whom they have hitherto been dependent for the purchase of their labour. In this way they may be said to be exposed to the danger of being partially and for a season smothered beneath the tumbling ruins of their superiors. But, as a body at least, whatever may be the fate of individuals of their number, they are certain very soon to rise again from under the pressure of this incumbrance. They have lost nothing which they may not, and will not, speedily regain. On the other hand, in certain circumstances, a convulsion which shakes the ancient social edifice to its basis, and lays its proud pinnacles in the dust, may do for the elevation of the great body of the people in a few years what they might else have waited centuries for in vain. In England, at the middle of the fifteenth century, notwithstanding the decay of villenage, and some first feeble breathings of the spirit of popular freedom, the nightmare of the old feudalism still held the nation prostrate and comparatively powerless under its weight. The grasp of the incubus was for the first time effectually loosened by the fierce war of factions which now arose, and dislocated and shook down so much that was ancient, and high, and strong. The mere slaughter of the barons, and the extirpation of many noble houses,

* See vol. i. p. 887.

would, as it were, let in the requisite light and air for the growth of the liberties of the commons, which they had overshadowed. The circumstances of the case, also, and the course of events, operated directly to raise the people to an importance which they had never before enjoyed. It was alike the interest of each of the contending factions both to court the favour of the people, and as much as possible to spare rather than to destroy them. It was not, as in a war between two different nations, where each naturally strives to weaken the strength of the other by the widest devastation it can accomplish of the ranks of its adversary: here, besides the consideration that the people were the very prize that was contended for, and their preservation, therefore, equally the object of both parties, they were, even while the contest was proceeding, the common source from which both drew their supplies of strength; and the very men that fought for the House of York to-day might be arrayed in support of that of Lancaster to-morrow. For this appears to have been really nearly altogether a war of the barons, and scarcely at all a war of the people; the latter seem never to have had their hearts in it, — never to have had their passions or convictions strongly engaged on one side or the other,—but, although compelled to take a part in the struggle, to have really cared very little what might be its issue. We might almost suppose that they were contented to allow it to take its course, in the feeling that, go whichsoever way it might, it was, in the mean time, serving their purpose. The barons, on the other hand, had individually an interest in the success of the one side or the other, and, though they sometimes changed sides, still every one of them was always necessarily involved with the fortunes of the party with which he was acting at the time. They were, therefore, as it were, the players in the game; the people were merely the balls or counters with which it was played. It is remarkable, accordingly, that while in the old wars with the French the chief destruction of life was always among the common soldiery, and the nobles and knights were usually spared, the practice in these wars of the Roses was precisely the reverse; —now, we are told, the commonalty were spared, and the persons of rank were slaughtered. In some instances it is expressly stated that orders were given to that effect when the battle was joined. Even the industry of the people, and the progress of the useful arts, were probably much less seriously interrupted by this civil contest than might at first be imagined. This has been strongly put by a modern writer. "It is commonly supposed," he observes, "and generally remarked, by historians and writers on ethics, that, of all wars, civil conflicts are the least defensible, as being the most ruinous to the wealth and population of a country. In no point of view is it meant here to palliate the evils either of domestic or foreign wars; but, viewing them in their calamitous effects only, I much doubt whether the ravages occasioned by civil contest are not the soonest repaired. In a war between two nations, the object of hostilities is, generally, on both parts, by violence and force, to reduce the enemy to submission. The peaceful labours of that class, from which the resources of a nation are principally derived, are seldom much respected by an invader; whereas, in a civil contest, the destruction of a party is usually the only object in view: opinion, too, must necessarily be much courted in a country which is unhappily plunged in domestic warfare. The contending parties are anxious to conciliate the affections of the people, on whom the issue of the contest must ultimately much depend; and, however merciless they may be to each other, they have seldom any interest to lay waste their common country. Accordingly, it does not appear from history that civil wars, however much to be deplored in other respects, have always greatly impeded the progress of nations to prosperity. The fury of Marius and Sylla, and the bloody contest of the Triumvirs, it might have been supposed would have retarded the advancement of the Roman state; yet it appears that, whilst the blood of her citizens was profligately lavished by ambition, she was making a rapid progress in all the arts and refinements of civilised life. So neither did the violence of the League and the Huguenots in France, nor the fatal divisions between King Charles and his parliament in this country, however destructive to the individuals concerned in them, destroy the spirit of national improvement. The truth is, that wars are chiefly destructive in proportion as they destroy the means and sources of subsistence: could we possibly suppose that a civil contest would be limited to the slaughter of human beings, the nation (if her other resources continued unexhausted) would, no doubt, in a few years regain her lost population. The multiplication of every species of animals, and of every commodity, is regulated on the same principle, and will be either retrograde, stationary, or progressive, as the demand for labour (which is created by the capital stock of a country) diminishes or increases. If, therefore, any circumstance takes place which, without affecting the wealth, should reduce the population of a country, the market would be so much understocked with labour; and, the demand of labour continuing the same, all the encouragements to promote marriage, and the multiplication of labourers, would operate in full force, and gradually repair the ravages of any depopulating cause."*

In this way, it may be supposed, would the general body of the labouring population in England, in addition to the political advantages that have just been adverted to, benefit from the diminution of their numbers by the wars and pestilences of the fifteenth century. We have already seen that a considerable rise of wages took place in the course of the first half of the period. In the case of labourers in husbandry, the advance between

* Eden's State of the Poor, i. 67.

1388 and 1444 seems to have been from fifty to a hundred per cent, and there is no reason to suppose that it was not as great in the case of labourers of other descriptions, although in regard to them the statutes on the subject do not afford us the same materials for making the comparison. The improvement that continued to take place in the condition of the working classes to the end of the present period may be inferred from the statutes respecting apparel which were passed in the reign of Edward IV. as compared with the enactments of the same kind at an earlier date. In 1444 the entire annual allowance for clothing to an agricultural servant was fixed at 3*s.* 4*d.** In 1463 a statute, passed with the declared purpose of checking the progress of luxury and expense in clothing, on the ground, as it is alleged, that "the commons, as well men as women, have worn and daily do wear excessive and inordinate array and apparel, to the great displeasure of God and impoverishing of this realm of England, and to the enriching of other strange realms and countries, to the final destruction of the husbandry (that is, the general economical welfare) of this said realm," ordained, among many other things, that the clothing of servants in husbandry, of common labourers and servants, and of artificers dwelling out of a city or borough, and also of their wives, should be of cloth not passing the price of 2*s.* the broad yard.† It is evident that this allowance must have raised the cost of a labourer's clothing very considerably above the former statutory amount of 3*s.* 4*d.* a-year; and yet even this was a curtailment of the still more expensive kind of clothing which in many instances had come into use among that class of the people. Another clause of the statute even implies the prevalence, among the same class, of a degree of luxury in apparel going beyond that of high-priced broad-cloth: it is enacted that no labourer or labourer's wife shall in future wear any girdle garnished with silver. The girdles here spoken of were probably of metal. It is also ordered that no servant or labourer shall wear any "close hosen," which seems to have been a garment combining the modern breeches and stockings,‡ "whereof the pair shall pass in price fourteen pence." In a subsequent statute passed in 1482,§ the price of a labourer's hose is permitted to be so high as eighteen pence, which may be taken as an evidence that the condition of that class of the people continued to maintain its ascending direction, and that they went on clothing themselves better and better notwithstanding all these sumptuary laws.

These statutes for the regulation of apparel, and in some cases also of other items of expense, afford some curious information respecting the condition and mode of living of other orders of the community as well as the labouring classes. We will arrange, in the order of time, a few of the most remarkable enactments of those of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The first we shall notice are the succession of acts passed in 1363,* for the correction "of the outrageous and excessive apparel of divers people, against their estate and degree." This collection of sumptuary regulations begins with an ordinance touching the diet of domestic servants; grooms and servants, it is declared, whether of lords or of tradesmen and artificers,† "shall be served to eat and drink once a-day of flesh or of fish, and the remnant (that is, the rest of their food) of other victuals, as of milk, butter, and cheese, and other such victuals." The object of the law seems to have been to limit their right to be fed with flesh or fish to one meal a-day. Such a provision certainly implies anything rather than the general prevalence of a meagre or penurious style of living at this time. It is further ordered that the said servants shall have "clothes for their vesture or hosing, whereof the whole cloth shall not exceed two marks, and that they wear no cloth of higher price, of their buying nor otherwise, nor nothing of gold nor of silver embroidered, aimeled, nor of silk." Their wives and daughters are forbidden to wear veils of a higher price than twelve pence each. Handicraftsmen and yeomen, again, are allowed to wear cloth of the price of forty shillings the whole cloth; but no cloth of gold nor of silver, nor girdle, knife, button, ring, garter, owche, ribband, chain, or any other ornament of gold or of silver, nor any apparel embroidered, or of silk: their wives and daughters are ordered to wear "no veil of silk, but only of yarn made within the realm, nor no manner of fur, nor of budge, but only lamb, coney, cat, and fox." Nearly the same regulations are laid down for the attire of esquires and all under the degree of a knight who have not lands or rents to the value of 100*l.* a-year, only that the cloth of which their dress is made is permitted to be of the value of four marks and a half, or sixty shillings. Esquires having lands or rents to the annual value of 200 marks (133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) are allowed to "take and wear cloths of the price of five marks (3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) the whole cloth, and cloth of silk and of silver, ribband, girdle, and other apparel reasonably garnished of silver;" and their wives and daughters, "fur turned up of minever, without ermine or letuse, or any manner of stone, but for their heads." "Merchants, citizens, and burgesses, artificers, and people of handicraft, as well within the city of London as elsewhere," having goods and chattels of the clear value of 500*l.*, are allowed to dress like esquires and gentlemen of 100*l.* a-year; and those possessing property to the amount of 1000*l.*, like landed proprietors of 200*l.* a-year. Other regulations follow respecting the apparel of knights and of clergymen which it is unnecessary for our present purpose to quote. The last enactment is, that "Carters, ploughmen, drivers of the plough, oxherds, cowherds, shepherds, swineherds, deys, and all other keepers of

* 23 Henry VI. c. 12. † 3 Edward IV. c. 5.
‡ "Chausez" is the original French term.
§ 22 Edward IV. c. 1.

* 37 Edward III. chaps. 8—14.
† Servantz as seigneurs come de meistere et des artificers.

beasts, threshers of corn, and all manner of people of the estate of a groom, attending to husbandry, and all other people that have not forty shillings of goods nor of chattels, shall not take nor wear no manner of cloth but blanket and russet wool of twelve pence, and shall wear their girdles of linen according to their estate; and that in eating and drinking they live in the manner as pertaineth to them, and not excessively." It does not destroy the historical value of this "ordinance of living and of apparel," as evidence of the relative and actual conditions of the several ranks of the community at the time when it was passed, that it was totally repealed the following year.* The subject, however, as already mentioned, again drew the attention of the legislature, and gave occasion to a new law in 1463. This will in some degree show us the progress of wealth and luxury during the century that had elapsed. The statute begins by interdicting to knights, esquires, and gentlemen, and to their wives and daughters, according to their respective ranks, a great variety of descriptions of rich or ornamental attire, such as cloth of gold, corses wrought with gold, fur of sables, cloth of velvet upon velvet, cloth of silk being of the colour of purple, velvet, satin branched, counterfeit cloth of silk in imitation of that kind of satin, corses wrought like to velvet or to satin branched, or fur of ermine. The lord mayor of London, it may be observed, and his wife, are allowed to wear the array of knights bachelors and their wives; the aldermen and recorder of London, and the mayors of other cities and towns, that of esquires and gentlemen having property to the yearly value of forty pounds. It is next ordained that no man having less than forty pounds a-year, or his wife or daughter, shall wear any fur of martrons (martins?), letuse, pure grey, or pure minever, or any girdle garnished with gold or silver, or any corse of silk made out of the realm, or any kerchiefs (apparently the same thing called veils in the former act) whereof the price of a plight† shall exceed the sum of 3*s.* 4*d.* He, again, whose property does not amount to the yearly value of forty shillings, is forbidden "to wear in array for his body" any fustian bustian, or fustian of Naples, any scarlet cloth in grain, or any fur except black or white lamb. In regard to yeomen and all persons under that degree, it is ordained that they use no bolsters, nor stuffing of wool, cotton, or caddis, nor any other stuffing, in their doublets, but only a proper lining. The stuffing was a fashionable superfluity, which it seems even persons of this rank had now begun to adopt. A singular clause follows, prohibiting all persons not of noble rank from wearing garments of indecent brevity (the rule is laid down in terms of the most explicit *naïveté*), and therefore, as it would appear, making it one of the privileges of the nobility to indulge in that sort of offensive exposure. Lords only, and no others, it is also ordained, may wear shoes or boots having pikes more than two inches long. Finally, as already noticed, servants in husbandry, and also artificers living in the country, and their wives, are restricted by this statute to clothing of which the material shall not be of higher price than two shillings the yard, and are prohibited from wearing either hose costing more than fourteen pence a pair, or girdles garnished with silver. The price, also, of the kerchiefs (or coverings for the head) to be worn by the wives of this class of the community is limited to twelve pence the plight. On the subject of kerchiefs, or "coverchiefs," in general, it is enacted that, inasmuch as those imported from abroad had hitherto put the realm to great charge and cost, no person should in future "sell, in any part within this realm, any lawn, niefles, umple, or any other manner of coverchiefs whereof the plight shall exceed ten shillings." The next statute on this subject—that of 1482—is remarkable for the general exemption from its provisions of all women except the wives of servants and labourers. This was an important concession to the growing spirit of expense and display which augmented and more widely diffused wealth had generated. With regard to persons of the other sex, however, it was still ordered that the use of cloth of gold and silk of purple should be confined to the king and the royal family,—that no one under the degree of a duke should presume to wear cloth of gold of tissue,—none under the degree of a lord plain cloth of gold,—none under the degree of a knight any velvet in their doublets or gowns, or any damask or satin in their gowns,—and none under the degree of an esquire or gentleman either doublets of damask or satin, or gowns of chamlet. It was further forbidden to all who were not of noble rank to wear either foreign woollen or fur of sables; and the strange regulation touching garments of undue brevity, declaring that these also might be worn by none but lords, was repeated in the terms of the former act. Besides women and lords, however, several persons are exempted by name from all the provisions of the act, save only the prohibition against the wearing of purple and cloth of gold, one being "Master John Gunthorp, dean of the King's Chapel," one of the last functionaries in whom we should have expected to find a female passion for splendid attire. Besides the restriction already mentioned of servants in husbandry and labourers to broad-cloth not passing the price of two shillings the yard, and to hose not costing more than eighteen pence, this act directs that they shall not suffer their wives to wear "any veil* called a kerchief" whose price exceedeth twenty pence the plight. This liberal relaxation of the old rule in regard to what appears to have been the most ornamental or ostentatious article of female attire, was only fair to the wives of the

* By the 38th Edward III. c. 2.

† "A plight was a yard and a quarter in length."—Eden, State of the Poor, i. 63.

* The word is printed "Reile" in the English translation, but the original French term is "voile;" in other copies "veile," as in the preceding statutes.

labouring class, when their countrywomen of higher degree were emancipated altogether from the restraints of this impertinent kind of legislation.

To the period immediately preceding the present belongs the origin of English pauperism, as well as of legislation on the subject of the poor. So long as the system of villenage was maintained in its integrity, there could be no paupers in the land, that is to say, no persons left destitute of all means of subsistence except beggary or public alms. The principle of that institution was, that every individual who had nothing else, had, at least, a legal right to food and shelter from the landed proprietor or other master whose bondsman he was. The master was not more entitled to the services of his villain than the villain was to the maintenance of himself and his family at the expense of his master. It cannot be doubted that even when the villain, whether from sickness or old age, became unfit for work, his master was still as much bound to support him as when he was in the vigour of his days, and his services were at their highest value. This has, of absolute necessity, been the law in every age and country in which slavery has existed. Although human beings may, by a sufficiently unnatural and infamous abuse of the powers of society, be converted into property, and treated as a species of cattle, they cannot be shot through the head like worn-out horses, or thrown out and left to perish, when all the service they are capable of yielding has been got out of them. But as soon as the original slavery of the English labouring population began to be exchanged for freedom, and villenage gradually and at last generally passed away in the manner stated in the last Book,* the working man, now his own master, was of course left in all circumstances to his own resources; and, when either want of employment, or sickness, or the helplessness of old age, came upon him, if he had not saved something from his former earnings, and had no one to take care of him from motives of affection or compassion, his condition was as unprovided for as that of the fowls of heaven. But men will not starve while they can either beg or steal; hence the first appearance that the destitute poor, as a class of the community, make in our annals is in the characters of thieves and mendicants, sometimes enforcing their demands by threats or violence. The earliest notice of this state of things that we find on the Statute Book is in one of the chapters of the Ordinance of Labourers, enacted in 1349, in which it is commanded that, "because many valiant beggars, as long as they may live of begging, do refuse to labour, giving themselves to idleness and vice, and sometimes to theft and other abominations, none, upon pain of imprisonment, shall, under the colour of pity or alms, give anything to such which may labour, or presume to favour them in their sloth, so that thereby they may be compelled to labour for their necessary living."† The nuisance, however, was not put down; and in 1376 the Rolls of Parliament record a strong complaint on the subject by the Commons. It is alleged that, notwithstanding the great wages which masters were obliged to give their servants and labourers to prevent their running away, such encouragement was given to them in their evil practices, that they were wont to quit on the slightest cause; that they then led an idle life in towns, or wandered as vagabonds over the country, many of them, though sufficiently able to labour, turning beggars, others becoming "staff-strikers" (or cudgell-players), and wandering from village to village in parties of two, three, and four; but the greater number turning out "sturdy rogues," and taking to open robbery in all parts of the kingdom. To remedy these evils, the Commons proposed that a law should be passed, prohibiting the giving of any relief in the way of charity to persons who were able to work, making vagrant beggars and staff-strikers liable to be imprisoned till they consented to return home to work, and imposing a penalty of 10*l.* upon any person detected in harbouring a runaway servant. No legislative measure, however, appears to have been actually adopted in consequence of this representation. It was not till 1383 that (by the 7th Rich. II. c. 5) it was ordained and assented, "to refrain the malice of divers people, feitors and wandering from place to place, running in the country more abundantly than they were wont in times past," that the justices of assize, the justices of peace, and the sheriffs, should have power to apprehend and examine diligently all such vagabonds, and to compel them to find surety for their good behaviour, or in default to commit them to the nearest gaol, "there to abide till the coming of the justices assigned for the deliverance of the gaols, who, in such case, shall have power to do upon such feitors and vagabonds so imprisoned, that that thereof to them best shall seem by the law." The indecision of this last vague phrase forcibly indicates the novelty of the evil to be corrected, and the want of any provision for it in the established law of the land, as well as the hesitation and perplexity which were now felt in devising a proper way of meeting it. The present statute was soon found to have provided no effectual remedy. The subject accordingly was again brought before the legislature in 1388, when it gave rise to a series of more elaborate enactments. First, it was ordered that no servant or labourer, whether man or woman, should depart out of the hundred, rape, or wapentake in which he had been dwelling, on pretence either of going to serve or dwell elsewhere, or of going on a pilgrimage, without carrying with him a letter patent, containing the cause of his going, and the time of his return—if he ought to return—under the king's seal, which for this purpose was to be entrusted to the keeping of some "good man" in every hundred, rape, wapentake, city, and borough: if any one was found wandering about without such letter, he was to be immediately apprehended and put in the stocks, and kept

* See vol. i. pp. 886, 887.

† This has escaped the research of Sir Frederick Eden, who places the first legislative notice of the prevalence of mendicity in 1376.—See State of the Poor, i. 43 and 61.

till he found surety to return to his service, or obtained a letter authorising him to depart for a reasonable cause.* Next it was enacted, that every person found begging, and able to serve or labour, should be treated in the same manner as a servant who had left his proper district without the requisite testimonial. And now, for the first time, we find notice taken of that class of the destitute poor, whose case forms the most difficult problem which legislation has to solve in connexion with this subject—those who are willing to work, but either cannot find employment, or, from bodily weakness, are incapable of labour. That persons coming under this description must have existed in great numbers, ever since the breaking up of the system of villenage had thrown the greater part of the labouring population loose from the ancient connexion on which they had been wont to depend for support, cannot be doubted; but the legislature had shut its eyes to the perplexing evil as long as it could. Even now it only half opened them. "Beggars impotent to serve," it was ordained, "shall abide in the cities and towns where they be dwelling at the time of the proclamation of this statute; and if the people of the said cities or towns will not or may not suffice to maintain them, then the said beggars shall draw them to other towns within the hundred, rape, or wapentake, or to the towns where they were born, within forty days after the said proclamation made, and there shall continually abide during their lives."† It may, perhaps, be inferred from these words, that a right to be supported at the expense of the inhabitants of the place in which they had been born was intended to be conferred by the statute upon the destitute poor; and if so, this is the earliest English law of settlement, and the proper commencement of our legislation on the subject of pauperism; but it will be observed, that the obligation upon the rape or hundred to support its own paupers, is enacted, if at all, only by implication. The legislature, as if even already in some degree apprehensive of what this beginning might lead to, seems to have shrunk from any express declaration of the novel principle. From the immediately succeeding chapter of the statute, which professes to direct how the several foregoing ordinances shall be executed, it might even be conjectured that it was really intended the paupers should be treated as a species of criminals. It is ordered that "the sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and keepers of the gaols, shall be holden and charged to receive the said servants, labourers, beggars, and vagabonds (there is no exception made with regard to the impotent), and to keep them in prison, without letting to mainprise or in bail, and without fee or any other thing taking of themselves or by any other, as long as they may be so imprisoned, or at their entry, or at their going forth." Perhaps it was felt inexpedient to avow this scheme of general incarceration for all descriptions of mendicants in plainer terms. The plan probably was not found to answer very well; and, by a subsequent statute passed in 1391 (the 15th Rich. II. c. 6), we find it ordered, that in every future appropriation of any parish church the diocesan shall direct a convenient proportion of the fruits and profits of the benefice to be distributed yearly to the poor parishioners in aid of their subsistence and living for ever. This statute was confirmed in 1402 (by the 4th Hen. IV. c. 12). From that date we find no more mention of the poor in the Statute Book till after the close of the present period.

It is not to be supposed, however, notwithstanding the circumstances in the course of events in England during the fifteenth century that were favourable to both the political and economical advancement of the great body of the people, that a period marked by such revolutions and scenes of violence, in the confused rush of which all government was repeatedly for a time overthrown, could fail to generate its abundant harvest both of poverty and of crime. The inattention of the legislature to the continued growth of these and other kindred evils must be attributed to the public distractions of the time. An unusually near view into the interior of English society at this period is afforded us by one of the most curious reliques of former times, the collection of papers known by the name of 'The Paston Letters,' published in the latter part of the last century.* The 'Paston Letters' consist principally of the correspondence, from about 1440 to 1505, between the members and connexions of the respectable Norfolk family of that name—afterwards Earls of Yarmouth—of which the head, till his death in 1444, was Sir William Paston, Knight, one of the justices of the Common Pleas, and popularly called the "Good Judge;" and afterwards, in succession, his eldest son, John Paston, Esq., who died in 1466; and the eldest and next eldest sons of the latter, Sir John Paston, Knight, a distinguished soldier, who died in 1479; and John Paston, Esq., also a military man, and eventually made a knight banneret by Henry VII. at the battle of Stoke, in 1487, who survived till 1503. A few public documents are intermixed among the private letters; even the latter, however, written as they are by persons who, from their station, were involved in all the leading political movements of their day, often throw much light on the public transactions of this obscure period. We have repeatedly, in the preceding pages, had occasion to refer to their testimony in regard to events imperfectly related, or not noticed at all, by the professed annalists of the time, and they will still afford us some further assistance in a small portion of the next section of our narrative. But the chief mass of their contents consists of details of the affairs of private life, the principal interest of

* 12 Rich. II. c. 3. † 12 Rich. II. c. 7.

* Original Letters, written during the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III., digested, with notes, by John Fenn, Esq., 2nd edit. 2 vols. 4to., 1787; vols. iii. and iv. by Sir John Fenn, Knight, 1789; and vol. 5 (including Letters during the reign of Henry VII.), by the late Sir John Fenn, Knight, 1823.

which lies in the illustration they afford of the general state of society and manners in England in that remote age. We will select a few specimens of the matter of this description to be found in the correspondence.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of this period is the manner in which the law itself—naturally and properly the great protective and tranquillising power of society—was turned into an engine of oppression and violence. Ostensibly the authority of the law was as much respected then as it is now; it was the regular resort in all disputes: and every act of the parties was scrupulously affected to be done in its name and under its sanction. The age, in fact, was pre-eminently one of legal forms. But the manner in which the forms of the law were applied, and the purposes to which its powers were attempted to be turned, evinced that the spirit of the age was still a spirit of force and barbarism. The law was as yet only a new instrument which the half-savage had got hold of, and by which his cunning endeavoured to assist his strength. The Paston Letters are crowded with instances in confirmation of this. A common practice, for example, by which a debtor avoided the payment of what he owed, was to get an outlawry issued against his creditor. "Furthermore," writes a correspondent to the first of the three John Pastons we have mentioned, in 1440, "ye be remembered, that an esquire of Suffolk, called John Lyston, recovered, in assize of novel disseisin, 700 marks (466*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) in damages against Sir Robert Wingfield. In avoiding of the payment of the said 700 marks, the said Sir Robert Wingfield subtlely hath outlawed the said John Lyston in Nottinghamshire; by the virtue of which outlawry all manner of chattel to the said John Lyston appertaining are accrued unto the king. And anon, as soon as the said outlawry was certified, my Lord Treasurer granted the said 700 marks to my Lord of Norfolk for the arrears of his pay whilst he was in Scotland. And according to this assignment aforesaid, tallies were delivered. And my Lord of Norfolk hath released the same 700 marks to Sir Robert Wingfield." * This arrangement, so convenient both for Wingfield and the Duke of Norfolk, may be presumed to have been managed through the influence of the latter, assisted perhaps by the Lord Treasurer, who may also have been admitted to a share of the benefit. In like manner legal proceedings, it seems, were sometimes taken clandestinely, which materially affected the property of individuals, even perhaps to the extent of obtaining a decree depriving them of their title to the property, before they had ever been made aware that it was called in question. Something of this kind appears to be intimated in the following passage of a letter addressed, in 1462, to the same John Paston by a person who was probably his law agent in London:—"Please it your worshipful mastership to weet, that it is informed me this day secretly that there is directed out a commission to Master Yelverton and Master Jenney (two lawyers) which shall to-morrow sit by virtue of the same at St. Olave's (in Suffolk), and the substance of gentlemen and yeomen of Lothingland be assigned to be afore the said commissioners; and it is supposed it is for my master's lands; for, as the said person informed me, the said commissioners have been at Cotton, and there entered and holden a court. I cannot inform your mastership that it is thus in certain, but thus it was told me, and desired me to keep it secret; but because I conceive it is against your mastership, it is my part to give you relation thereof."* But the most extraordinary of the legal proceedings which the correspondence records are those that took place in a long contest between the Pastons and the Duke of Norfolk for the possession of the estate of Caister, which the celebrated warrior Sir John Fastolf, on his death in 1459, had left by will to the former, to whom he was related, but which the duke asserted he had already given to him in his lifetime. This business occupies a considerable portion of more than one volume of the publication, and we cannot, therefore, here attempt any detail of it in its whole extent. The first intimation we have of the duke's claim is in a letter to John Paston from his mother, written apparently a short time before the death of Fastolf. "It is said in this country," she writes from Norwich, "that my Lord of Norfolk saith Sir John Fastolf hath given him Caister, and he will have it plainly."† On the death of Sir John, however, Paston appears to have entered upon the possession of the estate.‡ The Duke of Norfolk died in 1461, but his son, by whom he was succeeded (the last of the Mowbrays), maintained the claim that had been made by his father, and seems also to have some years afterwards endeavoured to strengthen his right by concluding a bargain for the purchase of the estate with one of Fastolf's executors.§ He then, in 1468, proceeded to lay regular siege to the manor-house. On the 9th of November, that year, Sir John Paston, who had by this time succeeded his father, writes from London to his younger brother John, at Caister, informing him that he has procured "four well-assured and true men to do all manner of thing that they be desired to do in safeguard or strengthening of the said place;" "and moreover," it is added, "they be proved men, and cunning in the war and in feats of arms; and they can well shoot both guns and cross-bows, and amend and string them, and devise bulwarks, or any things that should be a strength to the place; and they will, as need is, keep watch and ward: they be sad (serious) and well-advised men, saving one of them which is bald, and called William Penny, which is as good a man as goeth on the earth, saving a little,—he will, as I understand, be a little copshotten (high-crested), but yet he is no brawler, but full

* Paston Letters, i. 9. We quote from the version given by Sir John Fenn in modern spelling. It may be proper, however, to notice that this version does not always express the full amount of the original.

* Paston Letters, i. 261.
† Id. iii. 167.
‡ Id. iii. 405.
§ Id. iv. 299.

of courtesy," &c. He goes on to say that they must have a couple of beds, which he prays his mother to provide for them. "Ye shall find them," he concludes, "gentlemanly, comfortable fellows, and that they will and dare abide by their taking: and if ye understand that any assault should be towards, I send you these men, because that men of the country there about you should be frightened for fear of loss of their goods; wherefore, if there were any such thing towards, I would ye took of men of the country but few, and that they were well-assured men, for else they might discourage all the remanent."* These are exactly such preparations as might be made in case of a dispute between two parties not living under the dominion of any common law or government at all. Yet, if the law did not expressly sanction the present proceedings, it appears to have looked on without ever attempting to interrupt them. A letter to Sir John Paston from his mother, dated 12th September, 1469, informs us of the state of matters at that time, apparently some months, or at least weeks, after the attack had commenced. "I greet you well," she writes, "letting you weet that your brother and his fellowship stand in great jeopardy at Caister, and lack victuals; and Daubeney and Berney (two friends who had joined him in the defence) be dead, and divers other greatly hurt; and they fail gunpowder and arrows, and the place is sore broken with guns of the other party, so that, unless they have hasty help, they be like to lose both their lives and the place, to the greatest rebuke to you that ever came to any gentleman, for every man in this country marveleth greatly that ye suffer them to be so long in so great jeopardy without help or other remedy." She goes on to state that the duke had sent for all his tenants to present themselves at Caister on the following Thursday, so that, she says, "there is there like to be the greatest multitude of people that came there yet, and they purpose then to make a great assault; for they have sent for guns to Lynn and other places, by the sea's side, that with their great multitude of guns, with other shot and ordinance, there shall no man dare appear in the place; . . . . . therefore, as ye will have my blessing, I charge you and require you that you see your brother be holpen in haste." She urges him to get either the Duke of Clarence or the Archbishop of York to apply to the Duke of Norfolk, proposing terms of accommodation; or if he thinks, as she supposes he will, that the duke will not agree to this, because he had made an offer to that effect before, which had not been accepted, she beseeches that an application may be made by Clarence or the Archbishop to the Earl of Oxford to come to the rescue of the besieged, "though the said earl," she adds, "should have the place during his life for his labour; spare not this to be done in haste if ye will have their lives, and be set by (esteemed) in Norfolk, though ye should lose the best manor of all for the rescue; . . . do your devoir now, and let me send you no more messengers for this matter, but send me by the bearer hereof more certain comfort than ye have done by all other that ye sent before."* Sir John's answer to this pressing letter is very interesting, but is greatly too long to be quoted entire: a few passages, however, are too curiously illustrative of the times to be omitted. He begins by assuring his mother that, on Saturday last, both Daubeney and Berney were alive and merry, and that she is undoubtedly in error in the account she gives of their having been killed. In fact, Berney is known to have lived till some years after this time. It had also been agreed, he tells her, that there should be a truce till Monday, and he was in good hopes it would be still further prolonged. As for his not helping his brother and those with him, "they shall be rescued," he says, "if all the lands that I have in England, and friends, may do it . . . . if God be friendly, and that as shortly as it may goodly and well be brought about." The greatest default earthly, he declares, is money, and some friends and neighbours to help; wherefore he beseeches his mother to send him comfort with what money she could find the means to procure or borrow on interest on any species of security he has it in his power to give. The constant and extreme scarcity of money, even among people of condition and extensive landed property, is one of the circumstances of the times which most frequently meet us in these Letters. Sir John, after vindicating himself calmly but earnestly from his mother's implied charge that he had not done his duty by his brother, assuring her that those within the house at Caister had had no worse rest nor more jeopardy there than he himself had had in London, and protesting that he would rather lose the estate altogether than the simplest man's life engaged in defending it, again beseeches her to send him without delay what money she can raise: "for by my troth," he says, "I have but ten shillings, and wot not where to have more; and moreover I have been ten times in like case or worse within this ten weeks."† Yet he was living at this very time in habits of intimate intercourse with the chief men in the land, was a frequenter of the court, and seems to have enjoyed the friendly regard of the king himself. With our modern notions of the indispensableness of some command of pecuniary resources for almost any kind of independent existence, it is difficult to enter into the conception of such a state of things; but money was not in those days nearly so much the universal mark of wealth as it is now. A person, for instance, with little money, might still be in no want of food, or of any of the other ordinary necessaries of life, and might therefore manage very well both to maintain a numerous array of domestics, and even to spread a plentiful table for all comers. The poverty that prevailed was merely a scarcity of the circulating medium of exchange. The inconvenience of this, however, was severely felt, as we have seen, on the

* Paston Letters, iv. 305.

* Paston Letters, iv. 387. † Id. iv 393.

occurrence of any unusual emergency. From his mother's answer to Sir John's letter, it appears that Daubeney was really dead. She writes to her son with much good sense and right feeling, exhorting him to take what has befallen him patiently, and to thank God for the visitation. "If anything," she says, "have been amiss, any otherwise than it ought to have been before this, either in pride, or in lavish expenses, or in any other thing that have offended God, amend it, and pray him of his grace and help, and intend well to God and to your neighbours, and though your power hereafter be to acquit (to make return upon) them of their malice, yet be merciful to them, and God shall send you the more grace to have your intent in other things." Of money she had only been able to obtain ten pounds upon pledges, and "that," she says, "is spent for your matters here, for paying of your men that were at Caister, and other things, and I wot not where to get more, neither for surety nor for pledges; and as for mine own livelihood I am so simply paid thereof, that I fear me I shall be fain to borrow for myself, or else to break up household, or both."* She proceeds with much prudent advice to her son for the regulation of his affairs, which we must omit. Very soon after this, as we learn from a letter of John Paston's, Caister was yielded up to the duke.† Want of money, and consequent failure of victuals and gunpowder, had compelled the brave garrison to surrender. It is a remarkable trait of the times that the contest has been no sooner in this manner brought to a close, than John Paston talks of engaging in the duke's service, against whom he had just been bearing arms. It may be observed, also, that scarcely any expression of bitterness or irritated feeling escapes from any of the writers in reference to the adverse party, even during the height of the murderous controversy. Much more exasperation than all this violence and bloodshed appears to have occasioned would usually be generated by the cold and calm hostilities, that break no bones, of a modern law-suit. The affair, after all its destructive results, seems to have been regarded as nothing more than a sort of game, or trial of skill or strength, much indeed as we still regard a war between one people and another, which, as soon as it is terminated by a peace, generally leaves no feelings of enmity or soreness in either. In that age, besides, in the dance of revolutions and counter-revolutions, men had been so much accustomed to shifting of sides, and it was so common for the hands to be locked in union to-day that had been lifted against each other yesterday, that the habit of any long retention of enmity must have been of difficult acquisition. There is no state of things which has not some peculiar advantages, and the induration of many sensibilities that in a more refined condition of society are often both sharp tormentors and active mischief-makers, is one of the compensations which temper to those whose lot is cast in a comparatively barbarous age, or in times of blood and violence, the inclemencies of their stormy existence. In England, at the period with which we are at present occupied, human life was evidently rated at a very low value; the constant risks to which it was exposed reduced its real worth; and the mere habit of seeing it constantly perilled, and so often suddenly lost, helped still further to make its extinction, by violence or otherwise, be regarded with a deficiency of concern, of which in the present day we have no conception. The nearest relations were little lamented and soon forgotten. When a man died, the feelings of his friends and connexions expended themselves in giving him a handsome funeral, and procuring some masses to be said for his soul, partly to secure his comfort in the other world, partly for the sake of their own credit in this;—for the rest, the dead only made more room for the living, in the universal scramble to which the scene of life was reduced. After the resignation of Caister, the Pastons suffered some little annoyance from a prosecution with which they were threatened at the instance of the widow of one of the Duke of Norfolk's men who had been killed at the siege. It was understood that the woman had been instigated by the duke, but, if she really had ever seriously entertained the intention of coming forward in the matter, she was soon induced to desist from her purpose. According to a letter written to John Paston on the 22nd of October, 1470, by a person who had gone to her and conversed with her on the subject, she had already found a second husband, and had no inclination to give herself any further trouble about the one she had lost. She told this correspondent that she had never sued the appeal, but that she was, by subtle craft, brought to the New Inn at Norwich, where an attempt was made by an agent of the duke's to induce her to come forward; "but she said that she had lever (rather) lose that she had done, than to lose that and more, and therefore she said plainly that she would no more of that matter, and so she took her an husband, which is the said Thomas Slyward; and she saith that it was full sore against her will that ever the matter went so far forth, for she had never none avail thereof, but it was sued to her great labour and loss, for she had never of my lord's counsel, but barely her costs to London."* At the worst, this, the only interference on the part of the law with which their violent proceedings were ever menaced, appears to have been regarded by all parties as a matter of very little consequence. Caister, it may be added, was eventually recovered by the Pastons after the death of the Duke of Norfolk, in 1475. The final arrangement of the affair seems to have been effected partly by process before the king's council, partly by negotiation with the Duchess of Norfolk, who had always been well disposed towards the family, and had exerted herself, even in her husband's lifetime, to accommodate matters between them and him.

* Paston Letters, iv. 461. † Id. 411.

* Paston Letters, iv. 443.

Throughout these letters the features of the times which present themselves most prominently are those indicative of the unsettled, insecure, and half-disorganised state to which society had been brought by the public distractions, and the double curse of a government at once weak and oppressive—powerless for good, and strong only for evil. The writers repeatedly advert in guarded, but not on that account the less expressive language, to what they call sometimes the "quavering," sometimes the "queasy" condition of the world, as if they felt all things to be giddy and reeling around them. A general sense of instability, and expectation of continued change, infested every man's mind. In the popular imagination this feeling, as might be expected, took a superstitious shape, disposing men to listen with gaping mouth to warnings and predictions, and to see the shadows of coming events in the clouds. "Here," writes a correspondent from London to the first John Paston, in October, 1455, a few months after the commencement of the civil war at the fight of St. Alban's, "be many marvellous tales of things that shall fall this next month, as it is said; for it is talked that one Dr. Grene, a priest, hath calculated and reporteth, that before St. Andrew's day next coming shall be the greatest battle that was since the battle of Shrewsbury, and it shall fall between the Bishop's Inn of Salisbury and Westminster Bars; and there shall die seven lords, whereof three shall be bishops. All this and much more is talked and reported: I trust to God it shall not fall so!"* To the last hour of the long contest nobody felt any assurance or strong conviction as to how it would terminate. Sir John Paston fought on the side of the Lancastrians at the battle of Barnet, so disastrous for that party, in April, 1471. Four days after his escape from that field, and within sixteen days of Edward's crowning victory at Tewkesbury, he writes to his mother,—"God hath showed himself marvellously like him that made all, and can undo all when him list; and I can think that by all likelihood shall show himself as marvellous again, and that in short time; and, as I suppose, oftener than once in cases like."† It could not happen otherwise in such chaotic and bewildering times, than that men should learn and practise caution, concealment, duplicity, and all the other arts by which the sudden jolts and revulsions of fortune were to be best sustained, including even that of dexterously shifting their position, and openly stepping over from one side to the other, at the proper moment. The letters before us are deeply marked by the traces of this prudential policy. "There is much ado in the north, as men say," writes Sir John Paston to his brother, after the apparently complete re-establishment of Edward: "I pray you beware of your guiding, and in chief of your language, so that from henceforth by your language no man perceive that ye favour any person contrary to the King's pleasure."* And, in fact, as we have had occasion to notice above, Sir John is found soon after this figuring at court, and in the enjoyment of the marked favour of the Yorkist king. It would be affectation, in the circumstances, to censure this conduct very sternly; besides the rudeness of the age, which excuses any imperfection in the manner in which it may have been usually varnished over, it is to be observed that this contention of the Roses was really a mere personal affair after all: it was no struggle of principles, like the great civil war of the seventeenth century; no point either in the theory, or even in the practice of government, was involved in it; the whole matter of the dispute was merely whether the reigning king should be called by the name of Henry or Edward. We believe, as we have already said, that the mass of the people were generally very indifferent as to how this question might be decided; and, in truth, except in so far as the interests and partialities of individuals were concerned, it was not a very momentous one. It was right, no doubt, that even on such a question as this, men should be faithful to the side they had espoused, so long as the two parties were actually in the field, and the issue of the strife undetermined; the abandonment of his cause by any one while it could be hurt by his desertion, would have been here, as in other cases, base and criminal; but this was certainly not a case in which an enlightened patriotism would have prompted a man to disturb the peace of his country indefinitely for the chance of having the matter in dispute settled at last according to his own views. He might be excused for feeling quite contented if it were settled at all.

* Paston Letters, i. 115. † Id. ii. 67.

* Paston Letters, i. 75.

BOOK VI.

THE PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VII. TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

A.D. 1485—1603.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

ENGLAND.

1485 Henry VII.
1509 Henry VIII.
1547 Edward VI.
1553 Mary
1558 Elizabeth

SCOTLAND.

1488 James IV.
1513 James V.
1542 Mary
1567 James VI.

SPAIN.

1517 Joanna and Charles I.
1555 Philip II.
1599 Philip III.

FRANCE.

1498 Louis XII.
1515 Francis I.
1547 Henry II.
1559 Francis II.
1560 Charles IX.
1574 Henry III.
1589 Henry IV.

GERMANY.

1493 Maximilian I.
1519 Charles V.
1557 Ferdinand I.
1564 Maximilian II.
1576 Rodolph II.

POPES.

1492 Alexander VI.
1503 Pius III.
1503 Julius II.
1513 Leo X.
1522 Adrian VI.
1523 Clement VII.
1534 Paul III.
1550 Julius III.
1555 Marcellus II.
1555 Paul IV.
1559 Pius IV.
1566 Pius V.
1572 Gregory XIII.
1585 Sixtus V.
1590 Urban VII.
1590 Gregory XIV.
1591 Innocent IX.
1592 Clement VIII.

[From a Breviary written for Henry VII., Royal MS. 2 D. 40, in the British Museum.]

CHAPTER I.

NARRATIVE OF CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

HENRY VII.—A.D. 1485.

GREAT SEAL OF HENRY VII.

FTER the death of Richard, the person that gave most uneasiness to the conqueror of Bosworth Field was Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, son and heir to the late Duke of Clarence, who for some time had been kept a prisoner in the manor-house of Sheriff-Hutton, in Yorkshire, by the jealous fears of his uncle Richard. This unfortunate boy was indisputably the next heir of the House of York after the Princess Elizabeth; he had even at one time been treated by his uncle Richard III. as heir apparent; and as he was already in his fifteenth year, he was not likely to be overlooked by Henry, who had "the ingenious forecast of the subtle serpent." Before leaving Leicester, he sent Sir Robert Willoughby to remove the captive from Sheriff-Hutton to London, where the young prince, "born to perpetual calamity, was incontinent in the Tower of London put under safe and sure custody."* His heart must have sunk as he saw the prison chosen for him by the new king, the walls of which had so recently heard (as was generally believed) the dying moans of his two cousins. At Sheriff-Hutton Edward Plantagenet had for a short time a fellow prisoner, if not a companion, in the Princess Elizabeth, who had been sent thither by her uncle Richard soon after the failure of his scheme for marrying her.* This lady, not long after Edward Plantagenet's removal to the Tower, was brought up to London "with a numerous attendance as well of noblemen as honourable matrons," and was there lodged with her mother, the queen dowager, Elizabeth Woodville, who was quite ready to take another turn, and adapt herself to any circumstances, if they held out a prospect of gratifying her ambition.

From Leicester Henry travelled by easy journeys towards the capital. The "rustical people" on every side of the way assembled in vast numbers, and with great joy clapped their hands and shouted, "King Henry! king Henry!" and when he approached the city on the 27th of August, five days after the battle of Bosworth Field, the mayor, aldermen, and companies, all clad in violet, met him at Hornsey Wood, and, with great pomp, conveyed him through the city to St. Paul's church,

* Hall.

* See ante, p. 128.

where he offered his three standards on the high altar,—one, an image of St. George; the second, a red dragon; the third, a dun-cow; and after prayers said and *Te Deum* sung, he departed to the bishop's palace, and there sojourned a season; during which time plays, pastimes, and pleasures were showed in every part of the city.* These profane amusements were interspersed with religious pageants: immense processions were ordered to express the hearty and humble thanks of *the people*, who, it was said (rather prematurely), had been restored to liberty and freedom. The concourse of people in the capital and their constant meeting in great crowds appears to have spread a disease which had been for some time raging with less violence in the provinces.† The "sweating sickness," as it was called from one of its symptoms, is not easy of description; but it was an epidemic that committed great ravages, and which, like the plague, generally proved fatal within a very short time. It began in London about the 21st of September and continued till the end of October. According to one old writer, it was a new kind of sickness coming suddenly through the whole realm, and one very fatal to lord mayors and aldermen, probably, we should say, because these functionaries were much exposed during the celebrations we have mentioned: "so that of all them that sickened there was not one amongst an hundred that escaped, insomuch that, beside the great number which deceased within the city of London, two mayors successively died of the same disease within eight days, and six aldermen also."* We are not told that this visitation, so inauspicious at the beginning of a new reign and dynasty, was held to be a judgment, though it may have been so considered by some of the losing party, who had no historians. When the malady abated, Henry prepared for his coronation. On the eve of St. Simon and Jude he rode from Kennington unto Lambeth, and there dined with Thomas Bourchier, Cardinal-Archbishop of Canterbury; and after dinner, with a goodly company of lords, both spiritual and temporal, he went by land towards London, his nobles riding, "after the guise of France, upon small hackneys, two and two upon a horse;" and, at London-bridge end, he was met and welcomed by John Warde, the new mayor, with his brethren and the crafts. The king took up his lodging in the Tower. There, on the following day, the 28th of October, he made a number of promotions. His uncle Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, was made Duke of Bedford; the Lord Stanley, who had put the crown upon his head on Bosworth Field, was made Earl of Derby; and Sir Edward Courtenay was raised to the rank of Earl of Devonshire. Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir John Cheney, Sir Humphrey Stanley, with nine others, were created knights bannerets. On the 30th of October Henry was, with all ceremonies accustomed, anointed and crowned king, by Bourchier, the cardinal-archbishop who, little more than two years before, had performed the same ceremonies for Richard. It was declared now, as

* Hall.—Stow. Henry entered London in a clumsy, *close* carriage, carefully shut up so as to conceal his person. The Londoners, who had always been accustomed to see their kings ride on horseback, thought this a very bad sign.

† It will be remembered that Stanley excused his non-attendance on King Richard by saying that he was laid up with the sweating sickness. -See ante, p. 129.

* Hall.

Henry VII. From the Tomb in his Chapel at Westminster.

then, that the estates of the kingdom unanimously concurred, and that the sacred ceremonial would render *sacred* the person of the sovereign. But Henry's first care was to provide himself with another and less spiritual kind of protection: he ordained a number of chosen archers, being strong and hardy fellows, to give daily attendance on his person, and these he named Yeomen of the Guards. This body-guard was considered at first as a startling innovation, and excited some jealousy and disgust among the people.*

On the 7th of November he met his parliament at Westminster for the proper establishing of all things. It seems quite certain that Henry, from the battle of Bosworth Field to the last days of his life, considered himself indebted for the throne to his sword, and he always fixed that battle as the epoch of his accession.† Now, when the commons waited upon him to present their speaker, he told them that he had come to the throne "by just title of inheritance, and by the sure judgment of God, who had given him the victory over his enemy in the field." The hereditary right thus asserted was at once a lie and an absurdity, but there was little fear of its being challenged; the second clause scarcely contained more truth, for Henry had prevailed and Richard had fallen, not by the sword, but by treachery and disaffection, and the claim was of far too dangerous a nature to be put forth in its nakedness; seeing that the right of conquest, if allowed, would vest in Henry the honours and estates of all men, since they had held them of the prince conquered. This clause, which was made secondary, was therefore accompanied by an assurance that every man should continue "to enjoy his rights and hereditaments, with the exception of such persons as in the present parliament should be punished for their offences against his royal majesty." It was found immediately that a great many of the members of the new House of Commons were persons attainted and outlawed by Richard or his brother Edward, for their adherence to the House of Lancaster, or for other causes; and it was also remarked that Henry himself, who had called this parliament, had been attainted. The commons therefore questioned whether their house were lawfully constituted, and the king, to his great displeasure, was obliged to refer the case to all the judges, who assembled in the Exchequer Chamber. The opinion delivered was prudent, and of a just temperament between law and expediency.‡ The judges determined that such members of the House of Commons as were attainted by course of law must forbear taking their seats till an act should be passed for the reversal of their attainder: as for what regarded the king himself, they asserted it as a maxim, that the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood; and that, from the time the king took upon himself royal authority, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruptions of blood discharged.* Common sense and sincerity might have dictated a shorter answer, but it was deemed expedient to observe the technicalities and forms of law even in breaking the laws. The elections had been made before the blood was well dried upon Bosworth Field; the spirit of the aristocracy (and the people were as yet too weak to oppose the royal power without it) was broken and degraded,—evaporated with the noble blood shed in the score of battles fought during the Wars of the Roses, or upon the scaffold; and men of all classes had acquired, by long practice, a wonderful facility in discovering and siding with the strongest party. No Yorkist opposition of a serious nature was therefore to be expected in the house which not many months before had rung with the unanimous praise of King Richard, and, by a single act, all the attainted members were restored to their rights and then took their seats. Separate bills were afterwards passed in favour of the Dowager Countess of Richmond, the king's mother, the Dukes of Bedford, Buckingham, and Somerset, the Marquis of Dorset, the Earl of Oxford, the Lords Beaumont, Wells, Clifford, Hungerford, de Roos, and several others.†

Henry in reason ought to have been satisfied with the declaration which effaced all former blemishes and deficiencies and made him a good and lawful king from the time he assumed the crown,—which was on the field of battle;—but he resolved to be a king even before that time, in order to punish men for treason which had never been committed, unless he could antedate his royal existence. This antedating involved some very curious points: if he claimed the crown by right of his descent from the House of Lancaster, he might have been expected to date from his boyhood or from the murder of Henry VI.; if people looked to the rights he would derive from his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth of the House of York, though they could not help knowing that this marriage had not even yet been celebrated, they might have allowed him the latitude of dating from the murder of Elizabeth's brothers in the Tower; but Henry took a very different course, and with characteristic nicety, as if so small a theft from time were no theft at all, he only antedated by a single day, making his reign begin on the 21st of August, the eve of the battle of Bosworth, when the crown was on the head of Richard, and he, Henry, was nothing but Earl of Richmond. In this manner the marches and counter-marches and all the long preparations of the friends of Richard to meet the invader were overlooked, and they were accused of nothing treasonable before that day. In the preamble of the bill which he caused to be introduced in parliament, after a recital of the unnatural, mischievous, and great perjuries, treasons, homicides and murders *in shedding of infants' blood*, with many other wrongs, odious offences and abominations against

* Hall.—Stow. † Sir Harris Nicolas, Chron. of Hist.
‡ Hume, Hist. Eng.

* Bacon, Life of Henry VII.—Rot. Parl.
† Rot. Parl.—Bacon.—Marsolier, Histoire de Henri VII., surnommé Le Sage, et le Salomon d'Angleterre.

God and man, committed by Ricnard late Duke of Gloucester, it was shown how John late Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Earl of Surrey, Francis Viscount Lovel, John Lord Zouch, Robert Middleton, Robert Brakenbury, Ratcliffe, Catesby, and others had, "on the 21st day of August, the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord, assembled to them at Leicester, in the county of Leicester, a great host, traitorously intending, imagining, and conspiring the destruction of the king's royal person, our sovereign liege lord. And they, with the same host, with banners spread, mightily armed and defenced with all manner arms, as guns, bows, arrows, spears, gleves, axes, and all other manner articles apt or needful to give and cause mighty battle against our said sovereign lord, kept together from the said 22nd day of the said month then next following, and them conducted to a field within the said shire of Leicester, there, by great and continued deliberation, traitorously levied war against our said sovereign lord and his true subjects, there being in his service and assistance under a banner of our said sovereign lord, to the subversion of this realm and common weal of the same."*

The absurdity of this antedating by a day was too manifest to escape observation, and the whole tendency of the bill was dangerous and startling. It was asked how Richard, and Norfolk, and Surrey, and the other adherents of the late king, could have committed treason against Henry, then only Earl of Richmond, and at a time when he had never publicly laid claim to the crown. All constitutional and legal objections were, however, overruled, and, in spite of a faint opposition within doors and a louder outcry without, the subservient parliament passed the bill as required, and attainted the late king, the Duke of Norfolk, his son the Earl of Surrey, Lord Lovel, Lord Ferrers, and twenty-five other noblemen and gentlemen. Henry thus obtained what he much wanted,—an immediate supply of money: some of the confiscated estates, the largest and finest in the kingdom, he kept to himself, and others he distributed among his needy followers. Of the thirty persons thus attainted, some had fallen with Richard and the Duke of Norfolk at Bosworth; some, like Lord Lovel, had taken sanctuary, and some had fled beyond sea. The new king was only fond of executions on great state occasions, and the only blood which was shed at this revolution was that of Richard's confidential adviser Catesby, and of two persons named Brecher, who were put to death immediately after the battle. Stillington, bishop of Bath, who had made himself very useful to Richard by his pen, was thrown into prison, and at first treated very harshly, but he made his peace with King Henry, who probably thought that the services of such an unscrupulous penman might be of use to him.

But the most important operation pursued during this session of parliament, and that in which Henry most forcibly displayed his wary, hesitating, and equivocating character, was the settlement of the crown by vote and enactment. The act was dictated by the king himself: all mention of the Princess Elizabeth, and of every branch of her family, was carefully avoided; no stress was laid on his descent from an excluded and illegitimate branch of the House of Lancaster; he satisfied himself with repealing in his own favour all such acts as treated Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., and Edward of Lancaster Prince of Wales, as usurpers and traitors; and in favour of Elizabeth, he merely revoked the bastardy act which had been passed against her and all the children of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville at the accession of Richard III. He ordered that every record of parliament which contained any mention of his own attainder should be taken off the file, that the original of the bastardy act should be burned, and that all persons who kept copies of it, after a certain day, should be fined and imprisoned. Dropping the high tone of hereditary right and heavenly judgment "shown in issue of battle," he caused it merely to be written in the act of settlement that "the inheritance of the crown should be, rest, remain, and abide, in the most royal person of the sovereign lord King Henry VII. and the heirs of his body lawfully coming, perpetually with the grace of God so to endure, and in none other." But this excess of caution excited suspicions and discontents which might have proved fatal had Henry not been ready to fulfil a contract of a more private nature, through which only—gloze it as he would—he could pretend to any right to the crown. He was well aware of all the manœuvres of the Queen Dowager and the Princess Elizabeth; he knew that the first had fallen in with the views of the late king, and that Elizabeth had consented to marry Richard and convey her rights to him. These circumstances were not likely to conciliate Henry; but affection and respect had no part in this political match; his great object in delaying the union was to avoid making the rights of the House of York too prominent,—to disguise the fact that, in law at least, he owed the crown to a woman. Perhaps a mean nature like his was the more susceptible of a pride of this kind; and even at last he made it appear that he yielded to the prayer of parliament. The friends of the House of York,—the parties who had contracted for the marriage in France a year before,—were irritated at seeing no allusion made to the Princess Elizabeth; and the nation at large felt that if this new revolution were to have any value, it would only be inasmuch as it put an end to civil war by uniting the White and Red Roses. When the commons presented to the king the grant of tonnage and poundage *for life* (now a usual grant), they saddled it with a plain and direct request that he would "take to wife and consort the Princess Elizabeth," which marriage, they hoped, "God would bless with a progeny of the *race* of *kings*." When this petition was read,

* Rot. Parl.

the lords, both spiritual and temporal, rose from their seats and joined in it, by bowing with proper solemnity to the throne, and then Henry graciously replied that he was ready and willing to satisfy them on this point.*

In the same parliament all grants made by the crown since the thirty-fourth year of Henry VI. were resumed; and thus Henry acquired the power to take from the partisans of the House of York, or to confirm to them the possession of whatever property they had obtained in this way. There was also passed a general amnesty in favour of all such adherents of Richard as would submit to the king's mercy and take the new oath of allegiance. But here, again, Henry showed his character: he would not allow the houses of parliament to have anything to do with this act of grace, which was published and proclaimed as originating in his own royal breast, and emanating solely from his own royal mercy. All these things were sufficient indications of the spirit of absolutism—a spirit which would not have been tolerated by the proud and bold aristocracy of former times, but which there was now little to oppose. Many that now came out of sanctuary, or from places of concealment, were received to grace; but others, placing no confidence in the act, remained abroad or in sanctuary at home. In addition to Bishop Stillington, several of Richard's adroit agents were presently employed about the court, and among these were Sir John Tyrrel, the reputed murderer of the sons of Edward IV. in the Tower.*

* Rot. Parl.

* Rot. Parl.—Bacon, Life of Henry VII.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF HENRY VII. From the Tomb in his Chapel at Westminster.

A.D. 1486.—On the 18th of January Henry married the Princess Elizabeth; and thus, at last, after so many intrigues of various natures, this heiress of the House of York became Queen of England, and the long-desired blending of the rival roses was accomplished. But her jealous husband allowed her the smallest possible share of authority or influence: her coronation was indefinitely postponed; and, until policy obliged her husband to adopt a different course, she was little more than a queen in name. Nor did her mother, Elizabeth Woodville, reap any great benefit from the revolution; for though the opprobrious act of Richard III. was reversed, and she was restored to her civil rights, with faculty to plead and be impleaded, and to receive and grant lands and chattels, she did not recover her dower, but lived, it should seem, on an allowance made by Henry, who was too fond of money to be liberal.

The Bishop of Imola, papal legate, had given the dispensation considered necessary for the marriage, as Henry and Elizabeth were related; but the king was determined to make more of this opportunity. The tendency of the times, at least in all the sovereign courts of Europe, was certainly not to revive the power of the popes in cases of disputed successions; but Henry, who had little to fear from any hostile interference or dangerous intermeddling on the part of the church, thought that he might gain some-

thing, over scrupulous minds, by obtaining the express sanction of the pope to his elevation to the throne; and for this he determined to apply in his usual indirect manner. Pretending scruples, or apprehensions as to the lawfulness of the marriage he had contracted, he applied for a second dispensation, to be given by the pope himself. As we cannot fancy for a moment that Innocent III. could be ignorant of the real facts of the case, we must accuse his Holiness of some wilful, deliberate, and impudent falsehoods. In his document every clause was inserted that Henry required, and contradictory rights were heaped one upon another. It was recited that the crown of England belonged to the gracious Henry by right of conquest,—by notorious and indisputable right of succession,—by right of election made by all the prelates, lords, and commons of the realm,—and by right of the act of settlement passed by the three estates in parliament assembled; but that, nevertheless, to put an end to the bloody wars which had risen out of the claims of the House of York, and at the urgent request of parliament, King Henry had consented to marry Elizabeth, the eldest daughter and true heir of Edward IV., of "immortal memory." The pope, therefore, at the prayer of the king, and to preserve peace in the kingdom, confirmed the dispensation. So far the dispensation did not very much exceed its proper office: but the pontiff proceeded to confirm the act of settlement passed by the parliament, and to define and fix irrevocably the meaning of that act. According to his interpretation that act meant that, if Queen Elizabeth should die without issue before the king her husband, or if her issue should not outlive their father, then, and in that case, the crown should devolve to Henry's children by any subsequent marriage. Sentence of excommunication was pronounced against all who should call in question this interpretation, or who should hereafter attempt to disturb Henry in the present possession, or the heirs of his body in the future succession;—and so ended this extraordinary bull.*

During this first parliament Edward Stafford, eldest son of the Duke of Buckingham, whose death had been caused by plotting with Henry, was restored to the estates as well as to the honours of the family; Chandos of Brittany was created Earl of Bath, Sir Giles Daubeny Lord Daubeny, and Sir Robert Willoughby Lord Broke. After the dissolution the king remembered his friends whom he had left as hostages beyond the seas (that is to say, the Marquis of Dorset and Sir John Bourchier), whom, with all convenient speed, he redeemed: he also sent for Morton, the astute Bishop of Ely, who, on the failure of Buckingham's ill-concerted insurrection, had fled into Flanders. Morton instantly got back his see of Ely, from which, soon after, he was raised to the see of Canterbury. Richard Fox, another divine who had been a companion of Henry in his exile and misfortunes, was made privy seal, and successively bishop of Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester. Morton and Fox became, in fact, Henry's favourite ministers and chief advisers. According to the old historians, Henry loved churchmen on account of their calling, and "delighted to choose a convenient number of rig grave and wise priests to be of his council." The great Bacon hints at another motive,—observing that he loved to employ prelates, *because*, having rich bishoprics to bestow, it was easy for him to reward their services: and it was his maxim to raise them by slow steps, and make them first pass through the inferior grades or sees. The practice of translation, by which bishops are tempted to be obsequious to the power in whose hand is promotion, was certainly no novelty, any more than the employing of churchmen in the offices of government; but Henry seems to have systematised it, and to have made more of it than his predecessors.* He generally employed priests both as avowed ministers or ambassadors, and as secret agents; and if he employed lawyers more frequently than priests for his tax-gatherers and revenue-officers, it was because the canons of the church stood in his way. On many occasions we have seen the church stand foremost for the defence of the national liberties; but now the bishops, like the lay barons, were all on the road to become mere courtiers.

When parliament was dissolved, and Henry had "set and appointed all his affairs in good order and sure state, as he himself conjectured," he prepared to make a royal progress through the kingdom, with the more express object of staying some time in the north, in order to gain the good-will of the people in those parts. "In the prime time of the year he began his journey towards York, and, because the feast of Easter approached, he turned aside to the city of Lincoln, where he tarried during the solemnity of that high feast." Here he was informed that Lord Lovel, with Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, "had fled from the sanctuary of Colchester, and had gone, with dangerous intentions, no man knew whither." On the 6th of April Henry left Lincoln for Nottingham, well attended; by the 17th he was at Pontefract, where he was stopped for awhile by the intelligence that Lord Lovel, with a considerable body of insurgents, had thrown himself between Middleham and York. To retreat might have proved more dangerous than to advance, even in face of an equal force; but the insurgents were greatly inferior, and, on seeing that the enterprise was hopeless, Lord Lovel disbanded them, and fled into Lancashire. After lying concealed there for a short time in the house of his friend Sir Thomas Broughton, he passed over to Flanders. A few of the men who had taken up arms with him were seized and executed. This failure wholly disconcerted the project of the Staffords, who had prepared an insurrection in Worcestershire. The two brothers fled for sanctuary to the church of Colnham, near Abingdon; but this time their

* Rymer.

* Bacon.—Hall.

sanctuary was not respected: they were dragged by force from the church, and had sentence passed upon them as traitors. Humphrey, the elder, was executed at Tyburn, but Thomas, the younger brother, was pardoned.*

On the 26th of April Henry entered York, in which city the memory of King Richard, his mortal enemy, was yet "recent and lively, and not all forgotten of his friends." But the visitor, on necessary occasions, could relax his avarice: he reduced the town-rent to the crown from 160*l.* yearly to 18*l.* 5*s.*; he dispensed favours and honours; held feasts; exhibited pageants and miracles; fed some poets who recited some bad verses in his honour; and distributed money among the people, who cried, lustily, "King Henry! King Henry! Our Lord preserve that sweet and well-favoured face!" Having spent nearly a month at York, he turned to the south-west, and visited Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, and Bristol. In the course of his slow and stately progress he was very attentive to the public observance of religious worship; but he chose his *own* subject for the sermons that were preached. On every Sunday or saint's day one of the bishops read and expounded from the pulpit the bull which he had obtained on his marriage from Pope Innocent, and which, as we have seen, declared him to be king by all manner of rights, and threatened his enemies with eternal perdition. On his return to London, in the month of June, he received an embassy from the King of Scotland, who joyfully consented to a treaty of truce and amity, to be followed in due season by a matrimonial alliance between their families. This treaty was important to both sovereigns, who had need of peace and tranquillity, and who each dreaded that the states of the other might be made a place of refuge and rallying to his domestic enemies.†

During Henry's royal progress the people had everywhere been disappointed at not seeing his queen with him. Still jealous of his own wife, in a political sense, he had sent her to keep court with her mother and sisters and his own mother, the Countess of Richmond, at Winchester; and here she remained, little noticed by him, till she was advanced in her pregnancy, when he went to hunt in the New Forest, which brought him to her neighbourhood. On the 20th of September, eight months and two days after her marriage, Elizabeth was delivered of a son, who was christened Arthur, after the hero of ancient romance, with whom Henry claimed relationship on the father's side through the Tudors and Cadwalladers. So good an opportunity for panegyric was not lost by the writers of the day: the birth of the infant was celebrated in prose and verse, in Latin and English; and the Hermit of Guy's Cliff confidently predicted that this Arthur would surpass the fame of him of the Round Table.‡

* Year Book.
† Herald's Journal, MS. Lel. Collect.—Hall.—Bacon.—Rym.
‡ Rouse.

We left the young Earl of Warwick, the son of the Duke of Clarence, safely lodged in the Tower. In the month of November a young priest of Oxford, and a beautiful boy, landed at Dublin. The priest gave out that the boy was Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, who had escaped in a marvellous manner from the Tower of London; and among a people of lively imagination and warm feelings a ready belief was accorded to the story, and a generous sympathy spread from heart to heart for the young hero of it. What was credulity in the common people was design and craft in some, possibly in most, of the Anglo-Irish nobles, who were averse to Henry, who had scarcely submitted to his government, and who were ready to adopt all such measures as chance might offer, provided they held out a prospect of overthrowing the new order of things in England. Thomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, and lord-lieutenant or deputy of Ireland, received the priest and his pupil with open arms, and presented the latter "to all his friends and lovers, and such other as were of bond or affinity, declaring the coming of the child, and afterwards affirming that the crown and sceptre of the realm of right belonged to this young prince, as sole heir male left of the line of Richard Duke of York." Ever since the time that this Duke of York, the father of Edward IV., had governed Ireland, the country had been greatly attached to that house; his son Clarence had also been lieutenant, and his grandson, the real Earl of Warwick, had been born in Ireland, and was therefore, in addition to other claims, endeared to the people as their countryman. The boy now presented to them was not only beautiful and graceful in person, but witty and ingenious: he told his touching story with great consistency, and, when questioned, he could give minute particulars relating to the royal family. He had been well taught; and the Irish gentry and burghers, who had probably not lived much about the English court, and who were at the same time carried away by their enthusiasm, were not very critical judges. The citizens of Dublin declared unanimously in his favour; and his fame was "shortly bruited throughout all Ireland, and every man was willing to take his part, and submit to him, calling him, on all hands, king." At the same time certain privy messengers were sent into England and others into Flanders. When news of these doings reached King Henry, "he was sore vexed and moved; but still, like a circumspect, ingenious, and prudent prince, well considering and politically foreseeing, he adopted such means as he hoped would reduce this insurrection without any battle or strokes stricken." He summoned a great council to meet in the Charter House, near his royal manor of Richmond. His bad faith had made many men desperate; and, in the homely saying of the chronicler, "had set all things at sixes and sevens." The pardon which he had granted in the first parliament was not only hampered with exceptions and restrictions, but the parts that were

free from such qualifications had not been observed: several persons who had submitted and claimed the benefit of the amnesty had been thrown into prison and cruelly treated; and in this number was the Earl of Surrey,* who was now a close prisoner in the Tower. Henry, trembling at the effect of all this, now resolved to proclaim another general pardon, free from all exceptions, "or conceived in so ample and liberal a manner as no high treason (no, not against the king's own person) should be excepted; which (continues Bacon), though it might seem strange, yet was it not so to a wise king, that knew his greatest dangers were not from the least treasons, but from the greatest." The next resolution adopted in council was to arrest Elizabeth Woodville, the mother of the queen; and the third was to produce the real Earl of Warwick, and show him in the most public manner. The council was held with great secrecy. It would be a rich treat, and something in all probability tending to defeat the many speculations and hypotheses of historians, if we could discover the real motives which directed the most remarkable of their measures—the order for the seizure of the queen-dowager; but this is hopeless. The resolutions, however, were immediately carried into execution; and, first, the queen-dowager was arrested, deprived of all her property, and placed as a close prisoner in the monastery of Bermondsey, "whereat there was much wondering that a weak woman, for the yielding to the menaces and promises of a tyrant, after such a distance of time, wherein the king had showed no displeasure or alteration, but much more after so happy a marriage between the king and her daughter, blest with issue male, should, upon a sudden mutability or disclosure of the king's mind, be so severely handled." The motive set forth by Henry was certainly not the true one; it seemed altogether incredible to the historians of the following age, and it was not credited by Henry's contemporaries. It was, that Elizabeth Woodville was punished for her intrigues with King Richard, and for delivering her daughter into the hands of the usurper, contrary to her pact and agreement with those that had arranged with her concerning the marriage of her said daughter Elizabeth with Henry himself, then an exile in France. Bacon, and Hall, whom he follows, plainly assign another reason. After observing that the priest of Oxford, who had never seen the real Earl of Warwick, must have had a prompter in a person conversant with the history of the court and family of York, Bacon says, "so it cannot be, but that some *great* person, that knew particularly and familiarly Edward Plantagenet, had a hand in the business, from whom the priest might take his aim. That which is most probable out of the precedent and subsequent acts is, that it was the queen-dowager from whom this action had the principal source and motion. For, certain it is, she was a busy, negotiating woman, and in her withdrawing-chamber had the fortunate conspiracy for the king against King Richard III. been hatched, which the king knew, and *remembered, perhaps, but too well;* and was at this time extremely discontent with the king, thinking her daughter (as the king handled the matter) not advanced, but depressed: and none could hold the book so well to prompt and instruct this stage-play as she could."*

Soon after, the Marquess of Dorset, Elizabeth's son by her first marriage, was arrested and thrown into the Tower. The amnesty was of course published immediately; but, not relying wholly on this measure, Henry sent trusty agents to the seaports to prevent fugitives, malcontents, and suspected persons from passing over to Ireland or to Flanders: on a Sunday he brought young Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, out of the Tower, and conducted him in the most public manner through all the principal streets of London, that he might be seen and recognised by the citizens, many of whom had known the boy up to his tenth year. "And having passed the view of the streets, the young earl was conducted to St. Paul's Church in solemn procession, where great store of people were assembled. And it was provided also, in good fashion, that divers of the nobility and others of quality (especially of those the king most suspected, and that knew the person of Plantagenet best) had communication with the young gentleman by the way, and entertained him with speech and discourse." This well-studied and most open exhibition had its effect in England. "Nevertheless, in Ireland, where it was too late to go back, it wrought none; but contrariwise, there they turned the imposture upon the king, and gave out that *he*, to defeat the true inheritor, and to mock the world, and blind the eyes of simple men, had tricked up a boy in the likeness of Edward Plantagenet, and showed him to the people, not sparing to profane the ceremony of a solemn procession, the more to countenance the fable."†

But, for a time, the plot thickened even in England. John Earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, second sister of Edward IV. and Richard III., had, like the Earl of Warwick, fallen into the power of Henry after the battle of Bosworth. It was known that his uncle, the late king, had at one time appointed this young Earl to be his successor on the throne, and that many persons looked up to him as the most promising member of the House of York. "Neither was this unknown to the king, who had secretly an eye upon him; but the king, having tasted of the envy of the people for his imprisonment of Edward Plantagenet, was doubtful to heap up any more distastes of that kind by the imprisonment of de la Pole also; the rather thinking it policy to conserve him as a corival unto the other." The young earl is described as a person of great wit, courage, and enterprise,

* Surrey had fought bravely for King Richard at the battle of Bosworth-field, where his father, the Duke of Norfolk, was slain.

* Bacon, Life.—Hall.

† Bacon.

"with thoughts highly raised by hopes and expectations;" yet, if he had been of a different temper, it seems probable that, at a moment when Henry's suspicions and jealousies were so much excited, self-preservation might have induced him to fly, if not to embark in some desperate project. Immediately after the private sitting of the council at Richmond, Lincoln disappeared, and it was not known for some time whither he had betaken himself. We have seen that the Irish lords had sent emissaries into Flanders. The high personage to whom they addressed themselves was the dowager-duchess of Burgundy, the widow of Charles the Rash, and sister to Edward IV. and Richard, who lived in good state in the Netherlands, having sovereign authority in the district which her husband had left as her dower. The duchess, besides, had acquired great love and authority among the people of the Low Countries generally, by her virtues and popular manners, and by the tenderness she showed to Philip and Margaret, the children of Mary of Burgundy, the daughter of her husband, Duke Charles, by a former marriage. Good and amiable as she was in other respects, this princess hated King Henry and all his race with a most enduring and implacable hatred; and she persevered in a most extraordinary manner in impeding his path with difficulties and dangers. Bacon says, rather ungallantly, that she had "the spirit of a man, and the malice of a woman;" and, that, "abounding in treasure by the greatness of her dower and her provident government, and being childless and without any nearer care, she made it her design and enterprise to see the majesty royal of England once again replaced in her house, and had set up King Henry as a mark at whose overthrow all her actions should aim and shoot." It was to her that Lovel had fled on the failure of the insurrection in Yorkshire, and it was to her that her nephew, the Earl of Lincoln, now repaired. The duchess presently got together a body of two thousand Germans, being choice and veteran bands, under the command of Martin Swart, a valiant and experienced captain. With these foreign mercenaries, the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Lovel, and some other English exiles embarked for Ireland. In the month of May, a few days after their landing, the Earl of Warwick, of that side of the water, was crowned in the cathedral church of Dublin in the most solemn fashion, the Bishop of Meath performing the ceremony. As there was no royal crown at hand, they took a golden diadem from a statue of the Virgin Mary, which answered the purpose very well; and when the boy was well crowned and anointed, he was carried, after the manner of the Irish, from the church to the castle, on the shoulders of a very tall chieftain named Darcy. All this was done without any show of opposition, there being not a single sword drawn for King Henry, and, indeed, no displeasure testified in Ireland, except in the city of Waterford and among the people of the Butlers, who were old Lancastrians and hereditary enemies of the Earl of Kildare, the lord keeper.* Edward VI., as the new king was styled, issued writs, convoked a parliament, and caused penalties to be enacted against the Butlers and the citizens of Waterford. It appears that some of the principal actors in this astonishing drama thought it would be best to establish themselves first in Ireland, to make that country the seat of the war, and to draw thither King Henry in person, whose absence it was calculated (not without a knowledge of causes) would excite great alterations and commotions in England; but that this plan was defeated by the poverty of the country, by want of the means of paying the German mercenaries, and by the eagerness of the soldiery and the poorer Irish to make their fortunes in the invasion of England. It was, therefore, concluded that with all possible speed Edward VI. and his faithful army should cross St. George's Channel.

Henry, meanwhile, levied troops in different parts of the kingdom, put on a smiling, yet at the same time a devout, face, and, with great policy, resorted to the best means for disconcerting the plots hatching in England, and for securing the good will of the people. Shortly after the sudden flight of Lincoln, he travelled leisurely through Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, in which counties the young earl's influence was high. He was courteous to all the gentry, many of whom held themselves ready to do him service.† From Bury St. Edmund's he went to Norwich, and, to captivate the populace, he went from Norwich "in manner of a pilgrimage" to Walsingham, where he visited our Lady's Church, famous for miracles, and made his prayers and vows for help and deliverance. He then proceeded by way of Northampton and Coventry, to Kenilworth Castle, within the strong walls of which he had placed his mother, his wife, and his infant son, Prince Arthur. While he lay at Kenilworth, the king, from Ireland, landed at the pile of Foudray, in the southern extremity of Furness. Immediately on their landing, the Earl of Lincoln and the Lord Lovel were joined by their sworn friend Sir Thomas Broughton, whose estates lay in Lancashire, and whose tenants were ready armed. From the coast they advanced boldly towards York, expecting to be joined on

* Three or four of the bishops, however, kept aloof.

† We learn, from one of the Paston letters, dated in the month of May, that the king and his lieutenant, the Earl of Oxford, were right well content at the conduct of the Norfolk gentry. "Howbeit," says the Earl of Oxford, the writer of the letter, "his highness will not as yet put you to any further labour or charge for so much as his rebels and enemies be into Ireland; nevertheless his grace will that the country be ready at all times to do his highness service upon reasonable warning, for so much as the king's grace intendeth to make provision to send an army into Ireland in haste, not knowing as yet whether that ye, and other about you, shall be desired to bear any charge thereto or no." We also learn, from the same invaluable collection, that Lord Lovel's wife had remained in England, and that the court was jealous of such as held communications with her. The Pastons were not more steady in their politics than the majority of their cotemporaries: they had changed sides more than once already, and now Sir John seems to have been suspected of favouring the Lord Lovel. Sir Edmund Bedingfield, who was in high favour at court, writes thus to his loving cousin John, on the 16th of May, "Furthermore, cousin, it is said, that after my lord (*Oxford*) departing to the king ye were at Barkway, which is construed that ye had been with the Lady Lovel, but wrath said never well; and inasmuch as we understand my lord's pleasure, it is well done *we* deal wisely hereafter."

the road by many malcontents. "But their snowball did not gather as it went; for the people came not in to them, neither did any rise or declare themselves in other parts of the kingdom for them, which was caused partly by the good taste that the king had given his people of his government, joined with the reputation of his felicity (good luck), and partly for that it was an odious thing to the people of England to have a king brought in to them upon the shoulders of Irish and Dutch, of which their army was in substance compounded. Neither was it a thing done with any great judgment on the part of the rebels, for them to take their way towards York; considering that, howsoever those parts had formerly been a nursery of their friends, yet it was there where the Lord Lovel had so lately disbanded, and where the king's presence had a little before qualified discontents."* Though cruelly disappointed in his expectations, the young Earl of Lincoln, who was the soul of the party, boldly turned southward to meet Henry, who was advancing upon York by way of Coventry, Leicester, and Nottingham, at the head of a well-appointed and numerous army. On the 16th of June the Earl of Oxford, who led Henry's van, was brought into action at Stoke, then a little village upon the brow of a hill not far from Newark. Henry *prudently* remained with the rear-guard, which never came into action. The battle was fierce and obstinate for about three hours; but the invaders had little or no cavalry, and the mass of them were ill provided with arms. "Martin Swart, with his Germans, performed bravely, and so did those few English that were on that side; neither did the Irish fail in courage or fierceness, but, being almost naked men, only armed with darts and skeins, it was rather an execution than a fight upon them; insomuch as the furious slaughter of them was a great discouragement and appalment to the rest." The veteran Germans died in their ranks almost to a man; nor was the victory decided till one half of the whole invading force and many hundreds of the Earl of Oxford's men had perished. His majesty Edward VI., now plain Lambert Simnel, the son of a baker, and the priest of Oxford, whose proper name was Simons, were taken prisoners; the Earl of Lincoln, the Lords Thomas and Maurice Fitzgerald, Sir Thomas Broughton, and Martin Swart, died fighting like brave men. The Lord Lovel was seen to escape from the field: his name was not included in the mournful list of the dead, made as usual by a herald, but, as he was never more seen, it was believed that he had been drowned in attempting to swim his horse across the river Trent. Long after, when the race of the Tudors had gone to their account, and when the dynasty of the Stuarts had been driven out of the kingdom,—nearly two hundred years from the time of this forgotten battle of Stoke,—some workmen accidentally discovered a subterranean chamber at Minster Lovel, in Oxfordshire, the ancient seat of the adventurous lord. Within this chamber was a skeleton of a man seated in a chair with his head resting upon a table; and these sad relics were supposed, with some reason, to tell a tale of horror.

Henry's conduct after the victory of Stoke was very characteristic. "For Lambert (Simnel)" says Bacon, "the king would not take his life, both out of magnanimity—taking him but as an image of wax, that others had tempered and moulded—and likewise out of wisdom, thinking that if he suffered death, he would be forgotten too soon, but being kept alive he would be a continual spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the like enchantments of people in time to come. For which cause he was taken into service in his court, to a base office in his kitchen; so that he turned a broach† that had worn a crown. . . . . And afterwards he was preferred to be one of the king's falconers. As to the priest, he was committed close prisoner, and heard of no more—the king loving to seal up his own dangers." In many respects Henry took great pains to surround the whole business with mystery and silence. This, perhaps, proceeded in part from his peculiar disposition, which seems to have delighted in making mysteries even where none existed. The priest Simon was never brought to trial; but though he was probably put to the rack *in secret*, Henry pretended that there were things connected with the plot of which Simon was ignorant; and the king said to some of his council that he was sorry for the death of the Earl of Lincoln, who might have revealed to him the bottom of his danger, or the full extent of the conspiracy.‡

One of the king's first cares after the battle of Stoke was to return a solemn thanksgiving, and to offer up his banner at the shrine of our Lady of Walsingham. He then travelled northward to punish such persons as had assisted or favoured the rebels. His proceedings were wholly independent of the ordinary courts of justice; but, as on many other occasions, his revenge was subservient to his avarice. "For all along as he went, with much severity and strict inquisition, partly by martial law, and partly by commission, were punished the adherents and aiders of the late rebels; not all by death, for the field had drawn much blood, but by fines and ransoms, which spared life and raised treasure. Amongst other crimes of this nature, there was diligent inquiry made of such as had raised a bruit and rumour, a little before the field fought, that the rebels had the day, and that the king's army was overthrown, and the king fled."§ But the pleasure Henry derived from a harvest of this kind, and from seeing that all immediate opposition had vanished, did not blind him to the facts, that his behaviour to his queen had created him many enemies, and that his jealousy of the whole House of York, instead of strengthening him, had weakened him, by alienating the

* Bacon.

* Bacon.—Hall.—Rot. Parl.—Carte. Hist. Eng.
† A spit; French "*broche*."
‡ Bacon. § Id.

affections of the people. Elizabeth, the rightful heir, was kept in obscurity; she had been his wife a year and a half, and had borne him a son, and still she was not crowned. Now, however, he was "willing to give some contentment of that kind, at least in ceremony." From Warwick he sent instructions to prepare for a splendid coronation; and when all things were ready, and the parliament was sitting, Elizabeth was crowned at Westminster on the 20th of November,—Henry witnessing the whole ceremony, and the feast which followed, from behind a screen or lattice that concealed his person.* Bacon compares the ceremony to "an old christening that had staid long for godfathers." He adds, that owing to the strange and unusual delay, all men saw that the king had merely complied out of necessity and reason of state. He liberated the Marquess of Dorset from the Tower, but it appears that he still left Elizabeth Woodville, that nobleman's mother, and the mother of his queen, in the hands of the monks of Bermondsey. The chief

* A curious account of the coronation is given by Ives.—See 'Select Papers,' &c.

REMAINS OF THE MONASTERY OF BERMONDSEY, IN WHICH QUEEN ELIZABETH WOODVILLE WAS CONFINED. From a Drawing made immediately before its recent demolition.

business of the parliament when it met was to vote supplies and a bill of attainder, which, on slight evidence, included a great number of persons said to have been concerned in the late insurrection. It appears that no names were inserted except of persons who had property to forfeit.

During this summer Henry sent Fox, now Bishop of Durham, on an embassy into Scotland, being still prudently anxious to preserve peace with that country. The expert churchman conducted the mission with great success. James was already well disposed to continue to live in peace with his neighbours. He turned aside from the flattering picture of conquest or spoil, presented to him by some of his warlike nobles, who thought it folly to miss the opportunity offered by the factious state of England; and he listened to proposals for a new and enlarged treaty of marriage. "But the King of Scotland, labouring under the same disease that King Henry did—that is, discontented subjects apt to rise"—could do little more than prolong the truce; and in the course of the following year a tragical death broke all his treaties and plans.

Ever since his accession Henry had been occupied exclusively in settling his affairs at home; but now, complicated intrigues and great political movements forced him to look abroad. The aspect of affairs in France, even before these demonstrations, was sufficiently alarming: the dissevered parts of that country were gradually uniting into a consistent whole, and forming a great and compact kingdom, while the much narrower extent of Britain was still divided into two rival kingdoms frequently at war with one another. The rapid growth of the French power threatened to cast a dangerous shadow over all the neighbouring countries; and, both according to the principles of common policy, which seeks to check the too rapid aggrandisement of a rival, and to the juster and nobler policy which opposes itself to the conquest of small and weak states by strong ones, Henry seemed bound to take an active part in the affairs of the continent, where the losing party constantly addressed themselves to the warlike spirit and power and magnanimity of the English nation But Henry was no warrior, and his avidity for money, his juggling and double-dealing, prevented

him from taking up the honourable position of an arbiter and peace-maker; for, with the means he had in his hands, he might have curbed the ambition of France without any war. At the time of the death of Louis XI., which happened on the 30th of August, 1483, about two months after the accession of Richard III., by craft and policy, by fortunate marriages, and by the sword, the French monarchy had swallowed up all the independent principalities, except Brittany, which still preserved its duke and its comparatively free institutions. Charles VIII., the son of Louis, was only fourteen years of age when he ascended the throne of France; and, according to arrangements made by his father, he was placed for a fixed time under the tutelage of Madame Anne, his elder sister, who had married Peter of Bourbon, Lord of Beaujeu. What followed was according to precedent:—the Duke of Orleans (afterwards Louis XII.), who hated Bourbon and his wife, flew to arms; but Orleans was unsuccessful and driven to seek refuge in Brittany.* Duke Francis II. had always been a weak prince, and he was now growing old and infirm. His guest, notwithstanding he was already married to one of the daughters of Louis XI., conceived the idea of obtaining possession of the duchy by marrying Anne of Brittany, the elder daughter and heiress of Francis; and a party among the turbulent Breton nobles entered into his views. At the same time there was another faction that favoured the French court, and another that inclined to an alliance with England. The country was ravaged by a civil war, the most painful event of which, to the Duke Francis, was his being obliged, by a temporary union of two of the parties, and by the clamour of the people, to deliver up his minister and favourite Landois (the old acquaintance of King Henry), who, being accused of a variety of crimes, among which sorcery was not forgotten, was tortured into a confession of crimes which he had really committed, was sentenced by six commissaries, who tried him under the eyes of the Duke of Orange, his mortal enemy, to be hanged as a traitor, and was hanged accordingly in spite of the solemn promises of the confederates to the duke that his life should be safe. Encouraged by the prevailing disorders, the French regency precociously betrayed their design of seizing the duchy upon the ground of some inexplicable right. Duke Francis thereupon summoned the three estates of the duchy, who took a most solemn oath of allegiance to the Princess Anne, and, in case of her dying without issue, to her younger sister Madame Isabeau. This act fixed the eyes of several princes upon the heiress of Brittany, and, besides the Duke of Orleans, who had many formidable difficulties to overcome, the Sire d'Albret, whose dominions lay in Gascony and at the foot of the Pyrenees, and Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederick IV., aspired to her hand. The poor duke, who had engaged to consult the three estates on the choice of his son-in-law, neglected so to do, and encouraged the hopes of these three suitors, and even treated with others at one and the same time. He thought that he was cunning and politic, but he was only undecided and insincere. The Duke of Orleans made his peace with the French court and returned to Paris, but he was soon detected in a fresh conspiracy, and was again obliged to fly to Nantes. He soon found that his party was losing ground in Brittany, where the nobles were disgusted at seeing that he did what he chose with their imbecile prince, and filled all the offices with French adventurers, his own adherents. The course they pursued to correct this evil was absurd enough: a great many of the Breton nobles opened a correspondence with the French court, and implored its aid. At this moment a French army was on their frontiers; for the regent Anne, who had a good deal of the craft of her father, had made up her mind to take advantage of the condition of affairs. The Bretons formed a confederacy at Chateau-Briant, and stipulated that the king should not send more than four hundred men-at-arms and four thousand foot into their country,—that this force should act in concert with the Marshal de Rieux and a small army of natives, — that the liberties of the duchy and private property should be respected —and that, as soon as the Duke of Orleans should be expelled, the French should recross the frontier. Charles poured sixteen thousand men into the country, and, of course, broke all his engagements as soon as he was able. In the month of May, 1487, while Henry was expecting Lambert Simnel from Ireland, the French army advanced in three divisions; the first took Ploërmel, the second Vannes, and the third laid siege to Nantes, within the walls of which Duke Francis took refuge with his daughters. Maximilian, now titular king of the Romans, sent a body of fifteen hundred German and Flemish soldiers to the assistance of Francis; and these, being joined by some Bretons, under the command of the Count of Dunois, cut their way through the French lines, and relieved Nantes in the beginning of August. Another of Madame Anne's suitors was less fortunate. As the Sire d'Albret was marching through the Limousin with three or four thousand Gascons to succour Duke Francis and the ladies, he was attacked by a superior force of French, to which he capitulated. Though foiled before Nantes, La Tremoille, Charles's general, took Aurai, Vitré, and St. Aubin-du-Cormier: at the same time fresh troops poured across the French frontier, while Maximilian could send no further reinforcements, for he was rather poor, and skilful agents from the court of France had found him full occupation in Flanders, by encouraging the citizens of

* Our old friend Comines was deeply concerned in this plot with the Duke of Orleans. His letters were intercepted by the Regent Anne, and he was thrown into prison and harshly treated. It was on this occasion that the historian was shut up in one of those iron cages at Loches (the invention of Louis XI.), which he describes with such unction. "Many men," says he, "have cursed those cages, and I among the rest, having tasted of them in mine own person." He was closely caged for eight months.

Ghent and Bruges who had revolted from him. In short, the entire subjugation of Brittany seemed imminent. At the approach of the storm Duke Francis and a majority of the nobility applied to England for assistance. At that moment, as we have seen, Henry was absorbed by his own troubles; but when those difficulties were over he was in no haste to accede to the prayer of the Bretons. We believe the fact to be, that he had already accepted of a *retainer* from the French court. If this were not the case, he must forfeit his reputation for cunning and quick-sightedness, and stand in this particular in the light of a dupe. "King Charles," says Bacon, "knew well he could not receive any opposition so potent as if King Henry should, either from policy of state, in preventing the growing greatness of France, or upon gratitude unto the Duke of Brittany* for his former favours in the time of his distress, espouse that quarrel, and declare himself in aid of the duke. Therefore he no sooner heard that King Henry was settled by his victory (at Stoke), than he sent ambassadors unto him, to pray his assistance, or at the least that he would stand neutral: which ambassadors found the king at Leicester, and delivered their ambassage to this effect: they first imparted unto the king the success that their master had had a little before against Maximilian, in recovery of certain towns from him; which was done in a kind of privacy and inwardness towards the king; as if the French king did not esteem him for an outward or formal confederate, but as one that had part in his affections and fortunes, and with whom he took pleasure to communicate his business. After this compliment, and some gratulation for the king's victory, they fell to their errand—declaring to the king that their master was enforced to enter into a just and necessary war with the Duke of Brittany, for that he had received and succoured those that were traitors and declared enemies unto his person and state. That they were no mean, distressed, and calamitous persons that fled to him for refuge, but of so great quality, as it was apparent that they came not thither to protect their own fortune, but to infest and invade his—the head of them being the Duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, and the second person of France. That, therefore, rightly to understand it, it was rather on their master's part a defensive war than an offensive, as that could not be omitted or forborne, if he tendered the conservation of his own estate; and that it was not the first blow that made the war invasive (for that no wise prince would stay for), but the first provocation, or at least the first preparation." After saying a good deal more touching the danger of giving encouragement to aspiring princes of the blood and rebellious subjects (a point upon which Henry was very susceptible), the Frenchmen represented to him, that if he had been beholden to the Duke of Brittany in his adversity, so also the king, their master, had aided him when the said Duke of Brittany or his mercenary ministers failed him, and would have betrayed him to the tyrant Richard. They praised his wonderful virtues—among which they mentioned his great love of peace: being so newly settled and recovered from intestine seditions, their master could not reasonably press him to aid him in this war, but he would be well satisfied if he would look on and stand neutral. "But touching the mystery of re-annexing of the Duchy of Brittany to the crown of France, either by war or by marriage with the daughter of Brittany, the ambassadors bare aloof from it, as from a rock, knowing that it made most against them. And, therefore, by all means declined any mention thereof, but contrariwise interlaced in their conference with the king the assured purpose of their master to match with the daughter of Maximilian; and entertained the king also with some wandering discourses of their king's purpose to recover by arms his right to the kingdom of Naples, by an expedition in person; all to remove the king from all jealousy of any design in these hither parts upon Brittany."*

Henry, to acquit himself, as he said, of his gratitude to both the King of France and the Duke of Brittany, for whom he "was ready even to go a pilgrimage," and to "satisfy all obligations both to God and man," offered himself as mediator. Upon this the ambassadors departed well pleased, for they knew that his mediation would not stop the progress of their army. Charles's generals, indeed, proceeded with more vigour than ever; and, while they were fighting, Henry despatched Christopher Urswick, his chaplain—"a person by him much trusted and employed"—to talk to the French court. From Paris Urswick went to Rennes, the capital of the Duke of Brittany. When Francis saw the priest, he told him that, having been a benefactor and a kind of foster-father to Henry for many years, he looked, at this time, from the "renowned King of England" rather for succour in a brave army, than a vain treaty of peace. The chaplain then returned to Paris, and the court there sent him back to London, to tell his master of the obstinacy and disrespect of Duke Francis. And still the French troops continued their operations, and whenever they gained a battle or took a town they emphatically repeated that they had no wish to make conquests, but were most anxious for the success of Henry's mediation. How little did our ancestors leave us to learn in these matters! Another embassy was sent over to England, and Henry could not do less than return the compliment. Urswick was despatched again to the French court, and with him were associated the Abbot of Abingdon and Sir Richard Tunstal, a layman. But by

* "Britain" is the form of the name used by Bacon; to prevent confusion, we have substituted the more usual form in this and other places.

* Bacon. In all the earlier stages of these transactions, and down to the year 1491, when Charles VIII. freed himself from the guardianship of his sister, the manager for France was the Princess Anne, the wife of Bourbon. The *name* of Charles appeared, as a matter of course.

this time the people of England were beginning to lament that the French king should be allowed to aggrandise himself at the expense of an ancient ally of their country; and some gallant knights, in whom the spirit of chivalry and the recollections of Crecy and Azincourt were not yet extinct, were all on fire to hasten to the rescue of an unfortunate prince, and measure swords with the French. Sir Edward Woodville, one of the queen's uncles, collected a brave band of four hundred men, and set sail from the Isle of Wight for St. Malo, on the coast of Brittany. When the news of this expedition reached the French court, the poor chaplain Urswick and his brother ambassadors there had a narrow escape from the fury of "divers young bloods." But "presently came an agent from King Henry to purge himself touching Lord Woodville's going over, using for a principal argument, to demonstrate that it was without his privity, for that the troops were so small, as neither had the face of a succour by authority, nor could much advance the Brittany affairs. To which message, although the French king gave no full credit, yet he made fair weather with the king, and seemed satisfied."*

This was, indeed, a business where everybody was seeking to deceive everybody. Henry, however, forbade other English adventurers to join Duke Francis; and, as the zeal of the nation blazed the more from repression, he determined to turn it to his advantage financially. "Wherein first he thought to make his vantage upon his parliament—knowing that they, being affectionate unto the quarrel of Brittany, would give treasure largely. Which treasure, as a noise of war might draw forth, so a peace succeeding might coffer up. And because he knew his people were hot upon the business, he chose rather to seem to be deceived, and lulled asleep by the French, than to be backward in himself; considering his subjects were not so fully capable of the reasons of state which made him hold back. Wherefore to all these purposes he saw no other expedient than to set and keep on foot a continual treaty of peace, laying it down and taking it up again as the occurrence required. Besides, he had in consideration the point of honour in bearing the blessed person of a pacificator."† The wily Morton, now Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor, was instructed so to address parliament as to affect them towards the business, but without engaging the king in any express declaration of war; and the ambiguous speech of the right reverend minister fully answered these ends. Parliament eagerly caught at the bait, and recommended strong measures, "as well in respect of the emulation between the nations, and the envy at the late growth of the French monarchy, as in regard of the danger to suffer the French to make their approaches upon England, by obtaining so goodly a maritime province, full of sea-towns and havens that might do mischief to the English either by invasion or by interruption of traffic." They were also indignant at the injustice and oppression used in Brittany—for no one could be well deceived by the manifestoes of the French court; and they advised the king to embrace the cause of the Bretons openly and manfully, and then they with "much alacrity and forwardness" voted an unusually large subsidy. When Henry got the money he sent his chaplain to *warn* the French court, and to explain that, with all his friendly feelings, it would be *impossible* for him to resist the motion of his people. At the same time the priest was to hint that the English succour to be sent to Duke Francis would be limited, and that the troops would be instructed not to wage war against the French beyond the limits of Brittany. The French did what might be expected: they reinforced La Tremoille, who carried the towns of Chateau-Briant, Ancenis, and Fougères. By this time the Breton nobles were fully aware of the folly they had committed in inviting them into the country: the factions united for common defence; and an army of the unfortunate duke, strengthened by the few English under Woodville, by the fifteen hundred Germans sent by Maximilian, and by a few companies of Gascons and of Basques, sent by the family of d'Albret, took the field under the supreme command of the Duke of Orleans, who was quite ready to fight against his own countrymen, but who had not the entire confidence of the Bretons. After some minor operations, the two armies engaged in a general battle on the 20th of July, 1488, between Andouillé and St. Aubin-du-Cormier. La Tremoille, by his superiority in numbers and in field artillery, gained a complete and sanguinary victory. Sir Edward Woodville was slain; and of his four hundred men, and seventeen hundred Bretons who had assumed the white coats and red crosses of the English to deceive the enemy, but very few escaped. The Duke of Orleans, who had fought bravely on foot, was taken prisoner, and Brittany lay helpless at the foot of the conqueror. That night Orleans supped with La Tremoille: towards the end of the repast two father confessors stole into the room: he turned pale, for he thought that his last hour was come; but the conqueror told him that the monks were only come to shrive certain French gentlemen, who had been taken prisoners with him, and that it was for the king alone to dispose of a prince of the blood. The gentlemen were confessed and executed immediately: the Duke of Orleans was sent to the Tower of Bourges, where he remained a close prisoner for nearly three years.*

When the news of this disastrous battle and of the slaughter of their countrymen reached England, the people raised so loud an outcry that Henry was startled from his pleasant dream. Still, however, he was disposed to wait events, hoping that Maximilian would succour Brittany, and that he

* Bacon.—Daru, Hist. de la Bretagne.—Lobineau. † Bacon.

* Daru, Hist. de la Bretagne.—Actes de Bretagne.—Mezeral.—Bacon.—Hall.

should be allowed to keep the money which parliament had voted for the war. But the course of events could not improve. La Tremoille took Dinant and St. Malo, and threatened to besiege the unfortunate Duke Francis in Rennes, his capital. Finding that no assistance arrived from England or from any other quarter, Francis at last accepted the hard terms offered by the French court; and in the middle of August (1488) he signed the treaty of Verger. Hereby, the claims of the French crown to the duchy were submitted to the consideration of certain commissioners: the French were to retain the conquests they had made, and the duke was bound never more to call in troops from England or any other country, and not to marry either of his daughters without the full approbation of his suzeraine lord the King of France. The Bretons complained that, since the object put forth in the former manifesto had been obtained by the capture of the Duke of Orleans, these were very harsh conditions, and proved that the French court had acted all along with great falsehood and treachery, aiming at nothing less than the destruction of their liberties and the seizure of the whole country. And, not confining themselves to the useless language of complaint and reproach, many of them prepared for a fresh struggle; but their poor duke, who seemed heart-broken, sickened, and died on the 7th of September, about three weeks after he had signed the treaty.*

The Princess Anne was even now only in her twelfth year, and her little court was distracted by the intrigues of the rivals for her hand. D'Albret, one of her suitors, who had found his way into Brittany in a beggared state, but who had a powerful party in his favour, attempted to carry her off and marry her by force; for Anne felt a very natural aversion to a man who was old, exceedingly ugly, and of a ferocious temper. The Count of Dunois rescued her, and carried her off, seated behind him on his war-horse; and she was subsequently protected by the people of Rennes. While men were disputing within Brittany who should be her husband, the French court claimed the right of being her guardian. This, of course, was only a delicate way of demanding the whole government of the duchy; and before the bishops and barons could get ready a proper answer a French army took the field, and carried by assault Pontrieu, Guingamp, Concarneau, Brest, and other places of less importance. This most unequal war now excited fresh cries of indignation in England; and Henry was urged, as the sovereign of a generous people, as a father, to save the helpless orphan. The king conceived the notion of forming an extensive alliance; but it was rather the natural course of things, than any inspiration of Henry's, that led to the first formation of those coalitions which afterwards became so common. He despatched ambassadors to Maximilian, King of the Romans, to his son the Archduke Philip, to the King of Spain, and to the King of Portugal, calling upon them to act in concert with him, in order to check the lawless ambition of the French court. He then summoned another parliament, and asked for more money, *to carry on the war*.

A.D. 1489.—Parliament, which could not be ignorant of the use made of the sums already voted for the defence of Brittany, reduced Henry's demand from 100,000*l.* to 75,000*l.** But the levying even of this diminished amount, in the temper in which the nation was, occasioned alarming commotions in some parts of the kingdom. These we shall presently notice: meanwhile Henry offered to the Breton government the services of six thousand archers, but he limited the time of their service to six months; and would not send them at all until two of the best seaport towns of Brittany were put into his hands as security for the repayment of the entire expense of the armament, and until the young duchess had taken an oath never to marry without his consent. By the treaty of Verger she was bound not to marry without the consent of the King of France: it was not likely that Henry and Charles would ever agree on this delicate point. In the spring the Lord Willoughby de Broke landed in Brittany with his small army: at the same time a Spanish force advanced through Roncesvalles, to make a diversion in the south of France; and Maximilian hoped, after subduing the insurrection of his Flemish subjects, to attack the French on their northern frontier. By this plan of operation the French were prevented from concentrating in full force in Brittany; and Lord Willoughby de Broke, with his small army, was enabled not only to keep them completely in check, but also, with the help of some Breton troops, to gain several advantages over them. Though nearly half a century had passed since the last *real* battle fought by the English on the continent, the French had not forgotten the old campaigns; and they paid such a respect to the valour of the islanders, and their conduct in the open field, that they cautiously avoided anything like a pitched battle. They kept themselves in fortified towns and entrenched camps. "But, meanwhile, to harass and weary the English, they did, upon all advantages, set upon them with their light-horse; wherein, nevertheless, they received commonly loss, especially by means of the English archers." The Lord de Broke, instead of being encouraged to risk his little army frankly, was constantly checked by the unwarlike and most cautious king, who, moreover, recalled him and his troops in *less* than six months, finding that the Bretons were too poor even to find the men in provisions, and that there was a good prospect of settling the business by treaty, without his spending any more of his money. The French had been obliged to detach a great army towards Fuente-Rabia to oppose the Spaniards; and Maximilian, aided by a small force of English, chiefly drawn from Calais, had gained some important

* Original MSS. and Actes de Bretagne, quoted by Daru

* Rot. Parl

advantages in the north, and taken the town of St. Omer. Not more for these reasons than for others of a less apparent nature, resulting from a change of plan which was not made visible until a year and a half later, the French court offered to treat for peace, and soon after signed a treaty at Frankfort with Maximilian. The chief clauses were, that the French troops should retire from Brittany; that the Duchess Anne should dismiss all her foreign auxiliaries; that the fortresses of St. Malo, Fougères, Dinant, and St. Aubin, should be put into the hands of the Duke of Bourbon and the Prince of Orange, to be by them held till all the differences between France and Brittany should be amicably settled; and, finally, that a congress should be held at Tournay for that settlement. Maximilian took good care to conceal from the French court his *now* fixed project for marrying the young duchess: in regard to her, he pretended to act merely as a friendly mediator, and the French had their eyes too constantly fixed on their own intrigues and deceptions to perceive his. *

Thus finished the war of 1489. The English had expected great glory, and they got none.† The harshness used in levying the subsidy had driven the northern counties into insurrection, and had cost the life of the king's lieutenant, the Earl of Northumberland, who was murdered by the people. At one moment this insurrection threatened to shake the throne, but it was put down by an army commanded by the Earl of Surrey, whom Henry had released from the Tower and taken into favour. John à Chambre, "a very *boute-feu* (firebrand), who bore much sway amongst the vulgar and popular," was taken alive; and Sir John Egremont, who had joined the insurgents for higher objects, "fled into Flanders to the Duchess of Burgundy, whose palace was the sanctuary and receptacle of all traitors against the king."‡ "John à Chambre," continues the learned historian, "was executed at York in great state; for he was hanged upon a gibbet raised a stage higher in the midst of a square gallows, as a traitor paramount, and a number of his men that were his chief complices were hanged upon the lower story, round about him; and the rest were generally pardoned." The obnoxious tax, instead of producing 75,000*l.*, stopped short at 25,000*l.*

A.D. 1490.—In the beginning of this year parliament made up the deficiency by passing a new grant of a tenth and fifteenth, in order that the war with France might be carried on with vigour; for Henry's interests were not taken into account by the treaty of Frankfort, and it was already evident that that treaty would not preserve the independence of Brittany. The English people again expected to be gratified by an active war, but Henry put their money into his coffers, and sent some priests to the continent to negotiate with the various courts. A new coalition was now formed, the principal members being Henry, Ferdinand of Spain (a sovereign who was his match in craft and selfishness), and Maximilian, King of the Romans. This league, which was contracted with great solemnity, with protestations that it was meant merely for the curbing of French ambition, and for the general good of Europe, without any hope or view on the part of the allies of making any private advantage, was in effect as base, selfish, and hollow as the mass of coalitions have been from that day to this. The King of England wanted to exact from the fears of France a large sum of money and other advantages, for which he would have broken the alliance: the King of Spain expected to recover the province of Rousillon: the King of the Romans hoped to get back a large strip of territory in the north of France, which had formerly belonged to his family.*

Maximilian, who had a claim to the gratitude of the Bretons for his prompt assistance, and whose suit had formerly been approved by Duke Francis, in spite of the treaty of Frankfort, and without consulting his new allies, whose treaty, as yet, remained a secret, proposed an immediate marriage with the young duchess, and Anne was induced to give her consent. But at the moment Maximilian, "whose property was to leave things then, when they were almost come to perfection, and to end them by imagination, like ill archers that draw not their arrows up to the head," feared to make the journey into Brittany either by land or water, and sent the Prince of Orange in his stead. A marriage, by proxy, was performed at Rennes with so much mystery that the servants of Anne were not aware of it until some time after, and the date of the ceremony has never been precisely ascertained. Precautions of an extraordinary nature † were taken to make the marriage binding, but, as Bacon observes, Maximilian would have done much better had he gone to his young bride in person. As soon as that disappointed suitor, the fierce D'Albret, ascertained the object of the Prince of Orange's mission, he gave information to the French court, and betrayed the important city of

* Daru.—Bacon.

† There was, however, one brilliant episode in the war. We have seen that there was a small English force acting as auxiliaries with Maximilian. This force, which consisted of about two thousand archers, commanded by "that gentle young knight the Lord Morley" and by Lord Daubeny, in conjunction with some German troops, marched to the relief of Dixmude, which was besieged by Maximilian's revolted Flemish subjects and a French force under the famous Des Cordes. The besiegers had made their entrenchments, and thrown up a strong battery. The brave bowmen of Old England ran up to this formidable position, sent a flight of arrows across the trenches, fell on their faces till the enemy fired off their great guns, then, rising to their feet, sent a second volley point-blank, and then rushed over ditches and embankments, and carried the entrenched camp sword in hand. The victory was disgraced with cruelty. In their revenge for the loss of their idol, "the gentle Morley," the English refused quarter; and, *it is said*, that between them and the Germans nearly eight thousand Flemish and French were butchered.

‡ Bacon.

* Rymer.—Rot. Parl.—Bacon.—Daru.

† Bacon tells an amusing story, which Daru repeats, while mentioning, however, that he has found any confirmation of it in the Breton or in the old French writers. "The marriage," says Bacon, "was consummated by proxy, with a *ceremony*, at that time, in these parts new; for she was not only contracted, but married, as a bride, and solemnly bedded; and after she was laid, there came to Maximilian's ambassador, with letters of procuration, and in the presence of sundry noble personages, men and women, put his leg, stript naked to the knee, between the espousal sheets; to the end that this ceremony might be thought to amount to a consummation," &c.

Nantes, which he had surprised, to a French army. As the treaty of Frankfort had been but indifferently observed by the French, and as they had kept possession of many of the fortresses in the heart of Brittany, they renewed the war with many advantages. The young duchess applied to her husband for aid; but he was again distressed by the revolt of his Flemish subjects, and could give her nothing but the empty title of "Queen of the Romans," which she now publicly assumed; and King Henry, in reply to her demands for English troops, increased her distresses by asking her for money at a time when her coffers were quite empty, and when the only money current in Brittany was stamped leather cut into pieces of different sizes.

About the same time an important revolution had taken place in the French court. King Charles, who was now in his twenty-first year, freed himself from the authority and guardianship of his sister, released the Duke of Orleans from his dungeon at Bourges, changed most of the ministers and officers, and took upon himself the business of government. This Charles was an extraordinary character: he was romantic, fond of war and military glory, dissipated, and at the same time cool and crafty, as if mindful of the lesson (said to be the only maxim ever taught him by that tender parent) instilled into him in his childhood by Louis XI.—that the prince who could not dissemble was utterly unfit to reign over a civilized people.* This well-instructed king, who, however, was excessively ignorant in other respects, saw that to obtain possession of Brittany by force of arms would, after all, be a work of great danger and difficulty, and he resolved to obtain his end in a very different manner. For more than seven years he had been solemnly affianced to Margot,—the "gente demoiselle,"—the daughter of the fair Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian,—a match which, it will be remembered, was considered as the last great political achievement of Louis XI., and which was supposed to have hastened the death of our Edward IV.† Margot had been "nourished and brought up" at the French court, and, as she was now in her eleventh year, it was expected that the marriage would be consummated in two or three years. But Charles, who had now firm possession of the rich provinces of France which had been constituted her dower, and who saw but a distant and uncertain prospect of deriving any further advantage from the contract, determined to break it, and marry the Duchess Anne, in spite of that princess's marriage by proxy to Maximilian, the *father* of Margot; for thus he confidently hoped to obtain quiet possession of Brittany. This sudden move took all parties by surprise. For, "the better to amuse the world," he had retained in his court the daughter of Maximilian, "who formerly had been sent unto him to be bred and educated in France; not dismissing or renvoying her, but, contrariwise, professing and giving out strongly that he meant to proceed with that match: and that for the Duchess of Brittany he desired only to preserve his right of seigniory, and to give her in marriage to some such ally as might depend upon him."* At the same time he bribed most of the ladies in the court of Brittany, and cajoled or terrified the ministers of that weak and distracted government. The Countess of Laval, the Countess of Dunois, the Marshal de Rieux, and Montauban, chancellor of the duchy, engaged to obtain Anne's assent; and the Duke of Orleans, who had formerly aspired to her hand, now pleaded and intrigued in favour of his sovereign.† But they had a greater difficulty than they expected. The young duchess, or "Queen of the Romans," considered her marriage contract with Maximilian as binding, both by divine and human law; and she was well aware of the contract which existed between the King of France and Margot of Burgundy. She was now in her fifteenth year, and her natural talents had been developed by an unusually careful education, and by an early experience in the affairs and troubles of the world. She saw that this new husband they wished to force upon her was the oppressor of her country,—the despoiler of her family: it was sword in hand that he wooed her, and he was not a generous conqueror. She was proud and high-minded, and was revolted at the idea of surrendering herself and her country in servitude to the French king. She would have preferred being independent mistress of Brittany to the possession of the higher dignity of Queen of France. In point of age the French match seemed more suitable than any that had been proposed for her; but, if Charles was young, his merely personal advantages ended there: he was short, ill-made, and had a deformed head. Anne, besides being eminently handsome, was accomplished, and even learned; for she knew Latin, and had some Greek. Charles, on the contrary, was wholly uncultivated, and scarcely knew how to read when he ascended the throne of France. Though constantly assailed by her ladies and her ministers, her repugnance did not yield until a French army advanced and threatened to besiege her in her capital. Then, seeing that she must be either the wife or the captive of Charles, she consented to a treaty, the principal articles of which were,—that she should marry the French king, and convey to him her rights over Brittany; that Charles, if he survived her, should retain possession of the duchy, as an integral part of France; and that, if she survived Charles, and remained single, she should bequeath her dominions to the reigning sovereign, or, if she married, she should marry no one but the actual possessor or the presumptive heir of the crown of France. In this

* Varillas, Hist. Louis XI.

† See ante, p. 116.

* Bacon.

† The romantic story of the *early* loves of Anne and the Duke of Orleans, who were afterwards man and wife, and king and queen of France, is, as M. Daru has shown, a complete romance, notwithstanding its being inserted in nearly all old French histories.

manner the possession of Brittany was in all cases secured to France; and the duchess ceased to exercise her sovereignty in Brittany, and was prevented from making any stipulations for the maintenance of the liberties and usages of her native country. Charles paid her a short visit in Rennes, and then retired into Touraine. His court maintained a specious farce to the last: they treated his affianced bride Margot as Queen of France, giving her splendid fêtes at the very moment that Charles was enforcing another marriage; and still farther to lull and delude Maximilian, they drew up and published an extraordinary passport or safe conduct, permitting the Duchess Anne to travel through France to join her husband, the King of the Romans, in Flanders. But now the scene changed: instead of his bride, it was his rejected daughter that Charles sent to Maximilian; and the fair bride, the heiress of Brittany, was conducted to the Castle of Langeais, in Touraine, and there married to Charles on the 6th of December, 1491.*

A.D. 1492.—The history of princes scarcely offers a parallel to the curious case of Maximilian, who had lost for himself a wife and a great territory, for his daughter a husband and one of the first thrones in Europe. He made every court in Europe resound with his complaints and imprecations; and he threatened France with an invasion from the co-operating armies of the House of Austria, of Spain, and of England. Henry, seeing that there was business to be done in the way of money-making, pretended to be greatly shocked (irritation was a state of mind he never felt or affected) at the double-dealing and over-topping ambition of his cousin of France: he addressed himself to the gathering up of the loosened threads of the European coalition, and he summoned a parliament to vote him fresh supplies,—almost the sole duty which parliament had to perform in his reign. During the preceding summer he had levied a few troops, and as recently as the month of October he had obtained a grant of two tenths and two fifteenths.† He now, in the month of January, pressed for an accelerated rate of payment, and got a parliamentary sanction to measures by which the English gentry might ruin themselves in bearing personally the expenses of a campaign, and so save his purse. An act was passed to allow the warlike spirits, who were eager for glory, to alienate their estates without payment of the ordinary fees or fines, and to enfeoff lands, to the end that their executors might have funds to fulfil their bequests.‡ Many persons of the best quality, knights and noblemen, thus encouraged, proceeded at once to sell their estates, or to raise money upon them. They hoped to indemnify themselves by conquests and possessions in France; but, in the event, they found that they had impoverished—in many instances utterly ruined—themselves and their families to no purpose. Henry had declared in parliament, with his own mouth, that Charles was a disturber of the Christian world, and that he was now determined to conquer the French crown, his rightful inheritance, for himself. The levies of troops proceeded with rapidity; and from one end of England to the other nothing was heard but the magical words of Crecy and Poictiers, Azincourt and Verneuil. "But, for all this," says Bacon, "and though the king showed great forwardness for a war, not only to his parliament and court, but to his privy council likewise (except the two bishops* and a few more); yet, nevertheless, in his secret intentions, he had no purpose to go through with any war upon France. But the truth was, that he did but traffic with that war to make his return in money." Some suspicion was excited by seeing that he let the spring, and the summer too, go by without taking the field, and that his excuses for delay were not always of a very convincing nature. At last, in the month of October, a season in which commanders usually thought of retiring into winter quarters, and not of opening a campaign, he embarked, and sailed for Calais, where he safely landed with a magnificent army of twenty-five thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse. Some of his captains ventured to hint that, after all, this would prove a mere demonstration, and that the king would not have taken the field at such a time of the year if he were not sure of concluding a peace presently. The fact was, Henry had arranged a treaty three months before this, and peace was, in substance, concluded with Charles before the army left England: but this he was anxious to conceal; and he silenced the captains by asserting that, as he had come over to make an entire conquest of France, which was not the work of one summer, it was of no consequence at what season he began the invasion, especially as he had Calais ready for winter quarters. To have an air of doing something, he marched from Calais to Boulogne, and sate down before that place as if he meant to besiege it. So completely was this campaign settled beforehand, upon paper, that the French did not employ the useless and expensive ceremony of setting an army on foot to resist the invaders. There were scarcely any troops between the coast and the capital. This reliance upon a secret bargain might have proved dangerous, but King Charles had a secret security in his hands, as we shall see presently. "During the siege of Boulogne, which continued nearly a month," says Bacon, "there passed no memorable action nor accident of war; only Sir John Savage, a valiant captain, was slain, riding about the walls of the town to take a view." Of course it was never

* Daru.—Bacon.—"Archives de Nantes and Actes de Bretagne." quoted by Daru.

† He had also issued a commission to extort money in the different counties and cities under the illegal name of "Benevolence." The citizens of London were forced to pay ten thousand pounds. Archbishop Morton, now chancellor, put men between the horns of a cruel dilemma: if they lived frugally and without show, they were told that they must be rich from their parsimony, and therefore could well afford to pay,—if they lived hospitably and splendidly, their rate of expenditure proved that they must be opulent, and therefore they could well afford to pay.

‡ Rot. Parl.

* Morton and Fox.

intended to take the town.* Instead of pressing the siege, Henry caused letters from his ambassadors to be published in the camp, showing that no co-operation was to be expected from Ferdinand and Maximilian, and that no reliance was to be placed on either of those allies. On the 27th of October, eight days after his arrival before Boulogne, he summoned twenty-four of the principal officers of the English army to a solemn council, and submitted to their consideration the preliminaries of a treaty of peace with France. Those great captains did what they were required to do, and what they had been paid to do (for all Henry's favourites touched some French gold): they put their names to a report, and strenuously advised him to sign the treaty. All this was merely wanted for a cover, but impudence could scarcely go farther than in some of the reasons alleged: the officers, for example, said that the season was too far advanced for military operations, and that the army was sickly. Early in November two treaties were duly signed,—one public, the other private. By the first† Henry and Charles were to live in peace and alliance all the days of their lives; and the peace between the two countries was to last for one year after the death of the survivor of the two kings. By the second, Charles was to pay Henry, by instalments, the sum of 149,000*l.* sterling; 124,000*l.* to go in discharge of all claims upon Anne of Brittany, and 25,000*l.* in payment of the pension (our kings called it tribute) due to Edward IV. It was thus that Henry sold war, or the hopes of it, to the people, and peace to his enemies. "But the truth is, this peace was welcome to both kings: to Charles, for that it assured unto him the possession of Brittany, and freed the enterprise of Naples: to Henry, for that it filled his coffers, and that he foresaw, at that time, a storm of inward troubles coming upon him, which presently after broke forth. But it gave no less discontent to the nobility and principal persons of the army, who had many of them sold or engaged their estates, upon the hopes of the war. They stuck not to say that the king cared not to plume his nobility and people to feather himself. And some made themselves merry with that the king had said in parliament: *that after the war was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay itself; saying he had kept promise.*"‡

The "storm of inward trouble," which Henry had foreseen, proceeded from a new pretender to the crown, in right of an assumed descent from the House of York. In the preceding year a stranger,—a beautiful young man,—landed in the [illegible]e of Cork, and gave himself out to be Richard [illegible]e of York, the second son of Edward IV. The [illegible]r of the elder son by order of their uncle [illegible]d was admitted, but this youth (so went the [illegible] had escaped by some marvellous means from the Tower; and, after being a fugitive and a wanderer for seven long years, had come to claim his inheritance. Without caring for the recent case of the baker's boy, the citizens of Cork warmly declared in favour of the adventurer, whose name was soon spread over the greater part of Ireland. Many of the Anglo-Irish nobles were quite ready to draw the sword; but the powerful Earl of Kildare was rather more cautious than he had been on the previous occasion, and the young man was induced to accept a pressing invitation to the French court. King Charles, who was then expecting the invasion of Henry, and who had not as yet begun his secret negotiations, saw the use that might be made of him in disturbing and alarming the English government, and he therefore gave him a most courteous reception, and caused his whole court to treat him as the real Duke of York and heir to the crown of England. A royal body-guard was appointed to wait upon him; the story of his adventures, and the list of his accomplishments, were diligently circulated; and Sir George Nevil, Sir John Taylor, and about a hundred English exiles, went to Paris and bound themselves to his service. The person of this claimant was the security which Charles had against Henry, and of which he made the most, threatening to espouse his cause and to let him loose in England, backed by a French army; and it was this consideration that hastened the conclusion of the peace of Estaples. When that treaty was concluded, Charles turned the adventurer out of France, as his maintenance occasioned considerable expense, and there was no further immediate use for him. Henry endeavoured to make the French court deliver him up; but Charles, probably thinking that he might be useful hereafter, said that such a measure would be inconsistent with his honour. The wanderer then retired for protection and assistance to the Duchess of Burgundy. This princess pretended many scruples, and submitted his whole story to a studied and imposing scrutiny, in order that the world might see that she did not take up his cause lightly. All this, and something more, may have been necessary to counteract the recollections left by her conduct in relation to Simnel. But in the end she embraced her guest as her dear nephew, the living image of her loving brother King Edward IV. She bestowed on him the poetical surname of "the White Rose of England," in allusion to his pure Yorkist descent, and she appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers. The people of Flanders, out of their love and respect for the duchess, showed a great alacrity in believing what she desired, and, by means of the active commercial intercourse between them and the

* Hall thus describes the raising of the siege of Boulogne:—"But when every man was prest and ready to give the assault, a sudden rumour rose in the army that a peace was, by the commissioners, taken and concluded; which bruit, as it was pleasant and redundant to the Frenchmen, so it was to the English nation bitter, sour, and dolorous, because they were prest and ready at all times to set on their enemies, and refused never to attempt any enterprise which might seem either to be for their laud or profit: they were in humes, angry and evil content, railing and murmuring among themselves, that the occasion of so glorious a victory, to them manifestly offered, was, by certain conditions, honourable to no man, nor yet to the king, refused, put by, and shamefully slacked."

† This treaty went by the name of the peace of Estaples.

‡ Bacon.

English, the present condition of the young man was soon made known,* and a correspondence was opened in his behalf in England, where Henry's conduct had excited many new disgusts, particularly among some of the old nobility, who saw that the whole tendency of his system of government was utterly to destroy their already crippled power and influence. Sir Robert Clifford was secretly despatched as the confidential agent of these malcontents to the court of the Duchess Margaret, to ascertain whether this were a true prince or not. Sir Robert reported that he had seen "the White Rose," had conversed with him and his aunt, and that there could not be a shadow of doubt as to his birth and rights. But Henry also had sent *his* secret emissaries into the country, and *they* framed a report of a very different nature, stating, as the result of their diligent researches, that "the White Rose" was none other than one Peterkin or Perkin Warbeck, the son of a merchant,—a converted Jew,—of the city of Tournay; that he had lived much with the English merchants in Flanders, and that he had recently been travelling about Europe as a servant to Lady Brompton, the wife of one of the exiles. In the summer of 1493 Henry despatched an embassy to the Archduke Philip, son of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, grandson of Charles the Rash, and now sovereign prince. The ambassadors were charged to demand the surrender, or at least the expulsion, of Warbeck; but the answer they received was, that, to have the love and favour of the king of England, the archduke from that time forward would neither aid nor assist Perkin or his accomplices, but that it was not in his power to interfere with the duchess; dowager, because she, in the lands assigned to her for her dower, might, as a sovereign princess, do and order all things at her own will and pleasure. Henry upon this withdrew the mart of English cloth from Antwerp to Calais, and prohibited all intercourse with Flanders. "After this the king, looking circumspectly to his matters, purposed to pacify the storms and blasts that he perceived to be growing rather by policy and counsel than by dubious war." The first thing he did was to bribe Sir Robert Clifford and William Barly, his associate; and these secret agents of the English malcontents, won by his money and promises, betrayed the names of all the gentlemen in England who had entered into Warbeck's scheme. On the same day Henry caused to be arrested, in different places, and brought before him in London, John Ratcliffe Lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William Daubeney, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cressemer, Thomas Astwood, "as also certain priests and religious men," as Sir William Richeforde, doctor of divinity, and Sir Thomas Poynes, both friars of St. Dominick's order, Dr. William Sutton, Sir William Worsely, dean of Paul's, Robert Layborne, and Sir Richard Lessey. It was not possible to keep secret so many arrests of conspicuous persons, and many who had been sharers in the same treason fled and took sanctuary. Judgment of death was passed upon all the prisoners, and Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, and William Daubeney, were beheaded immediately. The others were pardoned, and all the priests for their order's sake; "but," adds the chronicler, "few of them lived long after." Lord Fitzwater was pardoned of his life; but afterwards, being sent to Calais and there laid in hold, he was beheaded because he corrupted the keepers in order to escape out of prison, intending, as was thought, to have gone to Perkin. These transactions passed towards the end of the year 1494, or nearly two years after the peace of Estaples.*

A.D. 1495.—Henry's suspicions had fallen upon Sir William Stanley, brother to Lord Stanley who had placed the crown upon his head at Bosworth Field. After the festival of Christmas the king and court went to lodge in the Tower of London. One day, as Henry sate there in council, the false Clifford was introduced suddenly to enact a part. Falling upon his knees, as if he who had sold his party were in fear of his life, he implored the royal pardon; and Henry, as good an actor as the traitor, granted it with much benignity of countenance. The traitor was then questioned concerning the full extent of the conspiracy, and Clifford named Sir William Stanley. Henry expressed both horror and incredulity, but he recommended his friend Stanley to keep his room in the Tower, where Sir William was residing with the court in discharge of his duties as chamberlain. Regard had no doubt been paid to the convenience of having the court and prison within the same walls. On the following morning, when he was brought before the council, Stanley "denied little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeavoured much to excuse or extenuate his fault, so that (not very wisely), thinking to make his offence less by confession, he made it enough for condemnation."† It is by no means clear to what extent the Lord Chamberlain was engaged with Warbeck, or indeed whether he was in the plot at all. According to one account he had undertaken to establish him in England, and had sent him money; according to another he had merely said, that if he were sure that he was the son of Edward IV. he would never bear arms against him. The judges at Westminster, however, considered his confession sufficient grounds for a sentence of death. People could scarcely believe that Henry would refuse the royal pardon in such a case. To the Stanleys he had been chiefly indebted for the crown; the criminal himself had saved his life at Bosworth Field, when he was near falling under the furious charge of Richard; and the Lord Stanley, Sir William's brother, in addition to his many important services, was husband to the king's mother, who was still living. But the prisoner was "the richest subject for value in the kingdom,"—his death would put the

* Bacon says, "The news came *blazing* and *thundering* over into England that the Duke of York was sure alive."

* Hall.—Stow.—Bacon.—Rot. Parl. † Bacon.

king in possession of 40,000 marks in ready money and plate, besides jewels and other property of great value, and a fine estate yielding 3000*l.* a-year of *old* rent,—and accordingly he died the death of a traitor on the 15th of February. Other political reasons, such as a wish to inspire terror by striking down a great man, have been assigned; but nearly all the writers who lived near the time seem to agree in thinking that Stanley would have had a much better chance for his life if he had not been so very rich.*

The party of Perkin Warbeck, after all these executions, and the treachery of Sir Robert Clifford, were filled with despair and distrust. "So that they were now, like sand without lime, ill bound together, especially as many as were English; who were at a gaze, looking strange one upon another, not knowing who was faithful to their side; but thinking that the king, what with his baits and what with his nets, would draw them all unto him that were anything worth."† At the same time, the Flemings, who suffered severely from the interruption of the trade with England, began to murmur, and even to threaten the Pretender. Warbeck, upon this, adopted the bold resolution of landing in England: for Henry, with remarkable address, and with a higher course of policy than he usually pursued, had succeeded in tranquillising Ireland, and had so cut off his hopes in that quarter. On the 3rd of July, while the king was in Lancashire on a visit to his mother, a few hundred desperate men—English exiles or foreign adventurers—landed near Deal, and attempted to raise the country in favour of the White Rose. The people were easily moved, but it was fiercely to repel, not to join, the invaders, who, after a sharp conflict, were driven back to the sea-shore. One hundred and sixty-nine were taken prisoners; the rest, with Perkin among them, returned with a press of sail to Flanders.‡ All the captives were driven to London tied together like a great team of cattle, and they were executed to a man, some at London and Wapping, others at different places upon the coast of Kent, Sussex, Essex, and Norfolk, their bodies being gibbeted, "for sea-marks or lighthouses to teach Perkin's people to avoid the coast." The learned historian of this reign speaks of this wholesale execution in the tone of the times of James I. "It was done," he says, "because the king thought that to punish a few for example was gentleman's pay, but for rascal people they were to be cut off every man, especially in the beginning of an enterprise." Henry sent Sir Richard Guildford to thank the men of Kent for their fidelity and bravery, and even to promise rich rewards to some who had particularly distinguished themselves in the fight at Deal. These promises were *private*, and so was the performance of them—for it is not noted that the king ever parted with money to any of those to whom they were made.*

This avarice and the arbitrary methods adopted to gratify it, and his shy and retiring habits, prevented Henry from obtaining that popularity which he sought whenever he considered it needful. At times, however, when it was necessary to produce an effect, he could be liberal, and even splendid; and, smoothing his dark and wrinkled brow, he could partake in festivals and pageants. In the autumn of this year a great feast of the serjeants-at-law was held at Ely Place. "The king," says Bacon, "to honour the feast, was present with his queen at the dinner—being a prince that was ever ready to grace and countenance the professors of the law; having a little of that, that as he governed his subjects by his laws, so he governed his laws by his lawyers." In the preceding year, at the same season, when he was alarmed at the conspiracy, he created twenty-three knights of the Bath, giving a splendid entertainment on the occasion; and on Hallow-mass, or All Saints' Day, he made a grand procession to please the people of London; he and the queen wearing their crowns, "our Lord Harry,"† Duke of York, carried in the arms of Lord Shrewsbury, ten of the bishops wearing their mitres, and a long retinue walked round Westminster Abbey and the Hall.‡ Henry, indeed, on many occasions seems to have relied greatly on the effect to be produced by religious processions.

A.D. 1496. The interruption of the commercial intercourse with Flanders was of necessity almost as injurious to the English as to the Flemings, and Henry agreed to a reconciliation with the Archduke Philip. A "great treaty of commerce" between the two countries was signed in the month of February, bearing this important appendage—that Philip should prevent the Dowager Duchess of Burgundy from assisting or harbouring the king's rebels, and that each of the contracting parties should banish from his dominions the enemies of the other.§ Upon this, Warbeck, who could no longer stay in Flanders, returned to Ireland, where he met with a cold reception. From Ireland he crossed over to Scotland, where the court, which was incensed against Henry, received him with open arms.‖

To James III., who had so readily recognised his accession, and made treaties with him, Henry was never a warm friend, or an open enemy. He kept up a correspondence with the factions in Scotland even at a time when he had no ground whatever for quarrel with the king. But in the summer of 1487, when he was preparing to take part in the war on the continent, he despatched his favourite negotiator, Richard Fox, Lord Privy Seal, who had recently been appointed to the bishopric of

* Bacon.—Hall.—Polydore Virgil.—Andre (MS. in Brit. Mus.)—Stow.—Speed.—Fabyan.

† Bacon.

‡ It appears that Warbeck never landed, but kept himself on board with sails bent, to make off in case of not finding the people favourable.

* Bacon.—Fabyan.—Hall.—Stow.—Rot. Parl.

† Afterwards Henry VIII. ‡ Paston Letters.

§ Rymer. This last clause Henry continued to insert in all his treaties with foreign powers.

‖ Hall.—Polydore Virgil.—Stow.—Tytler, Hist. Scot.

Exeter, to negotiate with James, who referred him to the Bishop of Aberdeen. The two bishops agreed that the truce subsisting should be prolonged till the 1st of September, 1489; and then, taking up a project which had already been entertained in the English court, they settled the following extraordinary marriages: 1. The King of Scots was to take to wife Elizabeth Woodville, widow of Edward IV. 2. James Prince of Scotland and Duke of Rothsay was to marry one of the daughters of Elizabeth Woodville and Edward IV.; and 3. The Marquis of Ormond, the second son of the Scottish king, was to marry another daughter.* This treaty, however, soon fell to the ground, because the Scottish monarch, as a preliminary, insisted upon the surrender of the town of Berwick, which, it appears, Henry had at one time promised. From this moment the English court gave a more decided countenance to the faction of the Scottish aristocracy. Although the turbulent Albany had been killed at a tournament in France, and the great Douglas had been confined like a monk to the monastery of Lindores, the barons were still powerful, and still bent on the destruction of the king, whom they had treated so harshly, that they could never believe in the sincerity of his reconciliation and forgiveness. When the unfortunate James began to display more activity and vigour than had been customary with him, and to adopt measures for curtailing their authority, they won over his eldest son, the Duke of Rothsay, a youth only in his sixteenth year, but who had some ability, and all that impatience which has so frequently distinguished the heirs of weak kings. At the same time they strengthened their party with some of the Scottish bishops and higher clergy, who were irritated by the king's denunciation of the practice of buying and selling church promotions. The King of England secretly sanctioned the unnatural conspiracy of the son against the father; but so adroitly did Henry manage this matter, that it could never be discovered to what extent he went. James was not very wise in his new energy: he set up his second son, the Marquis of Ormond, in opposition to his first, and by heaping titles upon him, seemed to aim at changing the usual order of succession; and he still further irritated the higher order of the clergy by insisting that the right of disposing of vacant benefices belonged solely to him, and not to the court of Rome. His parliament went along with him in this measure, and interdicted appeals to the pope in such cases. They also passed acts of great severity against the Earls of Argyle and Angus, the Lords Drummond, Hailes, and Lyle, the Bishop of Glasgow, and many others. As soon as this parliament adjourned, the barons collected their vassals in arms; and the Duke of Rothsay, who was now addressed as "King of Scotland," issued from Stirling Castle, and put himself at their head. Upon this, James sent the Earl of Buchan, the Lord Bothwell, and the Bishop of Murray, on an embassy to Henry, to solicit the assistance of a body of English troops—in every respect the worst step he could have taken. This application was soon known, and it was made one of the strongest grounds upon which the Scottish insurgents declared that he had forfeited the crown. His son was immediately proclaimed under the title of James IV.; and a new administration was formed, which acted in his name. Henry, hoping to profit by these troubles, and caring little in what manner, did not hesitate to recognise the son as king, and granted passports for the chief men of the faction to go into England as ambassadors from him. The unfortunate father was soon driven from Edinburgh; his baggage and money were seized at Leith; and he escaped with difficulty into Fife, by throwing himself on board a ship belonging to the brave Sir Andrew Wood. As the whole of the south had risen in arms against him he fled to the north, where there were many great families upon whose loyalty he relied, and where he was soon joined by the Earls of Athole, Huntly, and Crawford, the Lord Lindsay of the Byres, a veteran who had served the French in the wars on the continent, and by many other noblemen of great name. Old Lindsay presented him with a grey charger remarkable for height, power, and spirit. "Only keep a good seat, please your grace, and his speed will outdo all I have ever seen either to flee or follow." Such, it is said, were the words of the old soldier as he put the reins into the king's hand; but (probably after the event) the thing was thought very ominous. From the north James soon turned southward, with an army of thirty thousand men. He found his enemies, with his own son at their head, at Blackness, near Linlithgow. His force was far superior; but by the advice of some of his friends he listened to terms of accommodation, and even signed a pacific treaty. But almost immediately after, either with or without his consent, the Earl of Buchan fell unawares on the prince's army, gained a decided advantage, and killed a great many men; though the affair did not break up the array, or even force the prince to retreat. Indeed, within a few days, the king renewed the treaty with his enemies, who stood with arms in their hands, and who obtained very advantageous conditions. He then retired to Edinburgh Castle, and dismissed his northern forces. But the prince's party, or rather the faction which made that youth their instrument, either kept together their forces, or re-collected them immediately after the pacification of Blackness, and once more forced the king into the field. After some minor operations, this short but sanguinary civil war was terminated on the 18th of June, 1488, at Little Canglar, a moor upon the east of a brook called Sauchie Burn, about two miles from Stirling, and one mile from the memorable field of Bannockburn. The royalists were rather inferior in number, and the naked Highlanders were not a match for the hardy and

* Rym.

well-armed Galwegians, and the still better equipped borderers of Liddesdale and Annandale. While his followers still maintained a desperate conflict, the king, who was no warrior, and apparently no horseman, stuck his spurs into his charger, and galloped from the field. The horse he rode was the gallant grey which had been presented to him by the Lord Lindsay of the Byres, and which probably proved too much for an unskilful or a timid rider. It is possible that James may really have been killed by a fall from this horse; but the following is the singular account given by all the Scottish chroniclers who lived nearest to the time, and also we believe universally adopted by later writers, as well as still attested by popular tradition. As the king crossed the brook of Bannock, close to a small hamlet called Milltoun, a poor woman who was drawing water from the brook, threw down her pitcher in alarm close before him; upon which his bounding steed took fright, swerved in his course, and threw him to the ground with such violence as to deprive him of his senses. The cotters ran to his assistance, and, wholly ignorant of his quality, carried him into the house of the miller, took off his heavy armour, and laid him upon a wretched flock bed, with a coarse rug thrown over him. As soon as he recovered his senses he asked for some priest or monk to whom he might confess before he died. The poor people then asked who he was; and James, as the story goes, said, incautiously, "Alas! this morning I was your king." Then the woman of the house ran forth wringing her hands and crying out for a priest to shrive the king! Attracted by her clamour, a man who was one of a party of stragglers from the victorious army of the prince, went into the house, and, recognising the king, stooped over him as if he were a priest about to administer the last consolations of religion, and stabbed him to the heart with a dagger. What appears to be certain is, that a dead body, ascertained to be that of the king, was found in the neighbourhood, and buried with royal honours in the abbey of Cambuskenneth. James III. was only thirty-five years old when he perished. At the dismal news of his death his undutiful son was overwhelmed with remorse; but though this feeling embittered the remainder of his life, and cast a gloom upon his most festive hours, it did not prevent him from ascending the throne, nor from embarking most ardently in the pursuit of pleasure. He attended his father's funeral, and then proceeded to Perth, and was crowned at Scone Abbey, with the usual pomp and rejoicings, on the 26th of June. He had set an example highly dangerous to kings; but this did not seem to affect Henry, who granted passports to the ambassadors of his "dear cousin," James IV., taking care, however, at the same time, to send strong reinforcements to Berwick, which might be attacked with the vigour which generally characterises a new revolution. Having agreed with the young king for a three years' truce, he then waited events; and the course they took, for some time, seemed likely to lay Scotland at his feet without his making war, which he disliked, and without his touching his treasures, which he disliked still more. The late King of Scotland had not died unlamented, and there were some bold and desperate men who were quite ready to try another revolution. In the following year the Lord Forbes took up arms, and marched through the country with a bloody shirt, said to be the late king's, fixed upon a spear, as his banner, and this ghastly token had a wonderful effect upon the common people, who had always been rather attached to the deceased sovereign. At the same time, the Lord Lyle occupied the strong castle of Dumbarton, in defiance of the new government; and the Earl of Lennox, the Lord Darnley, and some others, armed their vassals and put their castles in a state of defence. Among their numerous complaints they did not forget the extravagance, dissipation, and immoralities of the young sovereign, which were encouraged by the barons and by some of the bishops of the triumphant faction; and they asserted, upon pretty good grounds, that the dishonoured father and relatives of the Lady Margaret Drummond, the beautiful mistress of the boy-king, were grasping at all the honours and offices of the state. But James, who was as active and warlike as his father had been sedentary and pacific, and who was surrounded by men of energy, rapidly collected an army, and, after a few sieges, and a desperate nocturnal fight at Talla Moss, about sixteen miles from Stirling, he completely suppressed this revolt. His clemency in the hour of victory and triumph was still more effective than his arms; and the disaffected nobles were pretty generally reconciled and even attached to his government. About this time a brilliant naval victory increased the popularity of the new sovereign. When men were constantly fighting upon land—as the borderers of both nations were—without any regard to existing truces, it is not surprising that hostilities should sometimes be carried on at sea in the same irregular manner. Without attempting the difficult task of proving who were the aggressors originally, we will merely mention that, soon after the accession of James IV., and in time of peace, five English ships sailed up the Clyde, and, after committing many depredations, gave chase to a vessel belonging to the king, and greatly injured her. Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, who was not only a brave, but a skilful and (for the period) a scientific seaman, had won laurels from the English under the preceding reign; and though he was among those who were warmly attached to the late king, and opposed to the revolution, he forgot these political feelings, obeyed the summons of young James—who was doing his best to encourage the infant navy of Scotland—and at that sovereign's request undertook to chastise the marauders. With two ships of superior size, and well manned—the "Flower" and the "Yellow Carvel"—he sailed down the Forth, attacked the five English ships, which were then lying off Dun-

bar, and, after a fierce action, brought them all into Leith. According to the Scottish historians, the King of England encouraged one Stephen Bull, an enterprising merchant and seaman of London, to retrieve this disgrace; and notwithstanding the truce, and the illegal proceedings of the five captured vessels, he permitted various knights to embark with him, together with companies of cross-bowmen and pikemen. Bull sailed to the Forth with three ships, and lay to, behind the Isle of May, waiting for Sir Andrew Wood, who had put out to sea in order to escort some trading-vessels to Flanders. Soon after, the two Scottish ships were seen doubling St. Abb's Head, and the English cleared for action. Wood had the advantage of the weather-gage, and he kept it like a good seaman. The battle continued, within sight of innumerable spectators, who crowded the seaward hills, from early morning till dark night, when the ships separated without any intention of retreat on either side. At day-break the battle was renewed: the hostile ships grappled; the men fought hand to hand; and so intent were they upon this occupation, that they let their vessels drive, and they were all drifted by a strong ebb-tide into the estuary of the Tay, and into shallow water. Here Bull surrendered: his two ships were carried into Dundee, where the wounded were carefully attended to. Soon after Sir Andrew Wood presented Bull to his master, who received him very courteously, and, after remonstrating against the excesses committed on his coasts and shipping by the English pirates, dismissed him without ransom, and gave liberty to all the prisoners that had been taken with him.*

In the following year (1490), at the very moment when the Scottish king was negotiating with Henry in the most friendly manner for the settlement of some border differences, and for a prolongation of the truce, a dark plot was hatched at the English court for the seizing of his person, together with that of his brother the Duke of Ross, the heir-apparent to the throne. Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, the favourite of the late king, who had fled into England, the Earl of Buchan, who had recently been received into James's favour, and one Sir Thomas Tod of the realm of Scotland, entered into an agreement with Henry to seize the two princes and deliver them both into his hands. For present aid in this treasonable enterprise Henry advanced the sum of 260*l.*; but, with his accustomed parsimony, he stipulated that the money should be restored to him by a certain day. The bargain was drawn up at Greenwich, and Tod delivered his son as an hostage or security.† But although James had no suspicion, and probably never learned that such a plan was on foot, the project came to nothing. In the following year Henry received with open arms the Earl of Angus, one of the most powerful of the Scottish nobles, and concluded another dark agreement with him; and though this conspiracy, which was known, at least in part, to James, failed, like that of Bothwell, Buchan, and Tod, he did not, for that, cease to maintain a secret intercourse with the disaffected portion of the Scottish nobility, nor neglect to keep spies in the court. James, though he was very imperfectly informed of these practices, still knew enough to excite his indignation; and his natural disposition alone made him hate the cold and crafty character of Henry. The young king, moreover, had, from the time of his accession, kept up a friendly correspondence with Henry's implacable enemy the Duchess of Burgundy; and there are good reasons for believing, not only that James knew of Warbeck's coming, but that he had negotiated with him several years before he came.

Whether James entered into these relations with his eyes open to the fact, that Perkin was not what he gave himself out to be, or whether he, at this or at any later time, believed him to be an impostor, must remain matter of doubtful speculation. What is certain is, that he and his people had long entertained the notion of breaking with Henry, as with a man who could never be trusted, and who had the art of making peace more dangerous than war. When, therefore, the wanderer presented himself, he found the Scots in a humour which would not dispose them to be very critical in the examination of his proofs of royal birth; but such was the wonderful tact, such the winning manners of Perkin, that he soon convinced people through their feelings to himself personally, and most of them seem to have proceeded in the honest belief that their interesting guest was really the person that he reported himself to be. There was certainly no real prince at the time more beautiful, and graceful, and accomplished than this extraordinary pretender; and his abilities, at least in certain difficult lines, must have been still superior to his personal advantages. The inimitable way in which he played his part for the long term of seven years, added to the dark, ambiguous mode of proceeding which Henry adopted in everything relating to him, long left it a doubt in many inquiring minds whether he could be an impostor. Bacon says, that the king's manner "of showing things by pieces and by dark lights had so muffled the story," that it remained almost a mystery to his day. Believing him to have been an actor, this competent judge expresses a high admiration at the skill with which he played his part,—at his princely behaviour,—at his never-failing address; and he makes the curious remark, that, with long and continual counterfeiting, he was turned by habit almost into the thing he seemed to be.

Immediately after his arrival in Scotland James IV., who always addressed him as "cousin," entertained him with tournaments and other great festivals; and when these were over he took him with him on a royal progress through Scotland, by which means he was seen and enthusiastically ad-

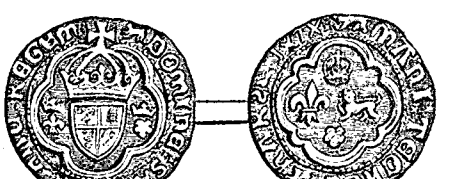
* Pinkerton.—Tytler.

† The industrious Rymer first brought this transaction to light. The original agreement is published in his 'Fœdera'

mired by all classes. As if to prove the warmth of his attachment, and the sincerity of his conviction that Perkin was the real Duke of York, he married him in a short time to the Lady Catherine Gordon, the beautiful daughter of the Earl of Huntley, who, on the mother's side, was nearly related to the royal House of Stuart.

Henry was much disquieted by these transactions; nor were his apprehensions abated when he learned that James had summoned all his lieges to meet him in arms at Lauder, near the borders, and that communications had been opened with some Anglo-Irish barons. The first thing he did was to renew an old friendship with Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, the discontented favourite of the late king;* to send a present to the reigning king's brother; and to employ one Master Wyat, an Englishman, and an old servant in this kind of business, as a secret envoy in Scotland. Henry's bosom friend Fox, now Bishop of Durham, was commissioned to negotiate in a more open manner; but he was less successful than Wyat, for James would not consent to abandon Warbeck, except on conditions which were considered too burdensome and dangerous. The English bishop was soon succeeded at the Scottish court by a French knight, a more welcome ambassador, from Charles VIII. This was the Sire de Concressault, who had been captain of the French guard of honour assigned to Perkin by King Charles in 1493. In public, the accomplished diplomatist showed himself as a mediator anxious to reconcile the differences existing between the French and English sovereigns; in private, he favoured Perkin and the war-party, and pressed for the invasion of England; for his master Charles was irritated and alarmed by the conduct of Henry, who had now formed a league with the pope, the King of the Romans, the King of Spain, the Duke of Milan, and the Doge of Venice, in order to prevent the French establishing themselves as conquerors beyond the Alps. In a short time Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, wrote secretly to Henry, informing him that the Earl of Buchan† took it upon himself to fulfil what was meant, and that he hoped to be able "in the long nights" to surprise Warbeck in his tent, and take him prisoner, seeing that there was no guard, but such as King James had appointed, near his person; and the English exiles and the foreign adventurers who had accompanied or followed Perkin from Flanders would be fixed at a distance, in order to facilitate the nocturnal adventure. He went on to tell his employer that he had spoken to the king's brother, who engaged to do his grace service, and not to join the army against his grace for aught the king might do, and that the Bishop of Moray undertook to solicit the young prince to go over to his grace, in case his brother King James should persist, against the will of his baronry and his whole people, in making this war. This villanous spy, who was trusted by King James all the time, certainly worked hard to earn Henry's money, and scrupled at no measures, however base. In the same letter he informs Henry that, on the 28th day of August, there came a gentleman out of Carlisle to Perkin, who introduced him to the king, upon which he, Bothwell, remained to understand the matter. "I was informed secretly," adds he, "that this man should have come from Randell of Dacre, brother to the Lord Dacre, and from the Skeltons: . . . . and undoubtedly the Northumberland men come shrewdly at days of meeting, and at days secretly appointed betwixt them and Scotsmen; and every day through them their vagabonds come to Perkin, and sundry writings come, and now newling (recently) one Hatfield that was wont to dwell with my Lord of Oxford, and he tells many tidings." In another letter he mentions the names of the Nevils, Lovels, and Herons, and some other gentlemen of the north of England, as being in correspondence, or having stolen interviews, with King James and Warbeck. All this was precisely the kind of service required by Henry, upon whom not one of the hints was thrown away.*

The Dowager-Duchess of Burgundy contrived to send to Scotland sixty picked men-at-arms and a supply of crossbows, arms, armour, and other military stores; and Perkin soon found himself at the head of fourteen hundred men of all manner of nations. We are not informed who sent the rest of the foreigners or the money (for the Pretender *had* money), but both, in all probability, came from the duchess and the French king. James now concluded a treaty with Warbeck as with a



PERKIN WARBECK'S GROAT.

A silver coin supposed to have been struck by the Duchess of Burgundy for distribution among Warbeck's followers. Drawn from the original in the British Museum.

sovereign prince—the latter agreeing to advance the king a certain sum, to deliver over to him the castle and town of Berwick, and to pay him fifty thousand marks within five years, as a grateful acknowledgment for James's assistance in placing him on the English throne. Many of the Scottish nobles besides Bothwell and Buchan were sold to Henry, and ready to betray the army; others, out of prudence and good policy, were against the war, for Scotland had been much weakened by the re-

* At the memorable execution in 1482, when James III.'s favourites were hanged by the barons on the bridge of Lauder, this Ramsay was the only one that escaped. As the plot for seizing King James and his brother seems to have originated with him, he must have had a genius for this kind of undertaking.

† Buchan, it will be remembered, had also been concerned in the Greenwich plot for seizing James and his brother.

* Original Letters illustrative of English History, by Sir Henry Ellis.

cent internal dissensions; but James, who was young and ardent, knew not the treachery of one party, and rejected the advice of the other. By some means, not explained, Buchan failed in his plan of seizing Warbeck in his tent; and on the 8th of September Bothwell informed Henry that, on the 15th day of the same month, James would be at Ellam Kirk, within ten miles of the marches of England, with Perkin and his followers, and all the Scottish troops he could muster.* The spy made a trifling mistake in point of date; but early in the winter James crossed the borders, being preceded by a declaration of war, and an address on the part of Perkin to his faithful subjects the people of England. The latter document was drawn up with considerable skill: it gave an account of his escape from the Tower and of his long travels in foreign parts; it exposed the deficiency of hereditary right in Henry Tudor; it taxed the usurper with selling the honour and trampling upon the rights and liberties of the nation; it charged upon him as murders, the executions of Sir William Stanley, Sir Simon Montfort, and others of the ancient nobility; it called upon every true Englishman to take up arms; and it promised, at the very least, a reward of a thousand pounds in money, and lands to the yearly value of one hundred marks, to the man that should "take or distress Henry Tudor." Another important and well-considered clause in this proclamation was, that the King of Scotland took up arms in his quarrel without any motive of ambition, and that he would retire with his army as soon as a proper force of native English was on foot. But this assurance did not satisfy the inhabitants of the northern counties, whose old animosities against their neighbours were still unabated, and whose affection for the Frenchmen, Germans, Flemings, and others was not greater than that which they felt for the Scots. Had Perkin come alone, or with the few Englishmen who had joined his standard, his chance would have been better, though in no circumstances could that chance have been a good one. Warned in good time by Bothwell, Henry had adopted measures to indispose men's minds to insurrection. The same informer had told him, that the invading army was badly provided with artillery and "other stuffs," and that for "lack of victuals" they would soon call on the king to return home.†

Instead of a general rising in his favour, Perkin saw that he, and the border gentlemen who had joined him, were regarded with detestation, as being in close league with the natural enemies of England. At the same time, the French adventurers could not agree with the Germans and Flemings, and the Scots quarrelled with all the foreigners alike. Then, to convert Warbeck's last faint hope into despair, the ill-disciplined invaders, with or without James's consent, began to plunder the country, and thereby to convert every yeoman and every peasant into a determined enemy. Warbeck said (or at least it is reported, to his honour) that he would rather lose the throne than gain it by the sufferings of Englishmen; but James, it is added, taunted him with being over tender to the nation which would acknowledge him neither as their king nor as their fellow-subject. It should appear that the cattle and stores had been removed betimes from the open country, and that this marauding expedition was not very productive in the article of victuals; for the invaders soon felt the want of provisions, and thereupon retreated across the borders without fighting a battle or waiting for a sight of an English army, just as Bothwell had foretold.*

This incursion, though little better than a foul raid, was productive of serious consequences; for the people of Cornwall, considering themselves over-taxed by Henry to meet the expenses of the war,† rose in open rebellion, and crying for the execution of the Archbishop Morton, chancellor and chief minister, and of Sir Reginald Grey, they poured into Devonshire to the number of sixteen thousand men. From Devonshire they advanced into Somersetshire, where they were joined by the Lord Audley and many other persons of less note. They then marched through Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Surrey, into Kent, and encamped on Blackheath. Henry, whose great sagacity did not preserve him from superstition, believed that Saturday was his lucky day; and, accordingly, he ordered battle to be given on a Saturday. While the Lord Daubeney moved from London to attack in front, the Earl of Oxford made a circuit to attack in rear; and the king, with a great body of reserve and most of the artillery, kept his person out of danger at St. George's Fields, in the suburbs of London. "Within the city there was great running to and fro of people; some to the gates, some to the walls, some to the water-side; all giving themselves alarms and panic fears continually." But these unreasonable alarms were soon dissipated. Lord Daubeney, after a sharp conflict, in which the Cornish archers did great execution, drove in the advanced post of the insurgents at Deptford-Strand, carried the bridge, ascended the hill, and established himself on the heath. At the same time, Oxford showed himself in their rear. Though without horse or artillery, or any good officers to command them, the Cornish men fought bravely, until two thousand of them were slain. Fifteen hundred were taken with arms in their hands; and among the prisoners were Lord Audley, and Flammock, an attorney, and Joseph, a blacksmith, who had inflamed them at the first by their harangues against the tyranny of the king and the archbishop. The Lord Audley was beheaded at Tower Hill; Flam-

* Sir H. Ellis. † Ellis's Letters.

* Bacon.—Hall.—Stow.—Tytler's Hist. Scot.—Sir Henry Ellis's Letters.

† On the 13th of February, 1497, soon after receiving news that James and Warbeck had crossed the borders, parliament granted a grant of two tenths and two fifteenths. The Cornishmen pleaded that the men of the north alone ought to pay for the defence of their provinces.

mock and Joseph were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn. The blacksmith died like a hero. All the rest were pardoned by proclamation, and the prisoners were permitted to compound for their liberty with the men that had taken them. "It was a strange thing," says Bacon, "to observe the variety and inequality of the king's executions and pardons; and a man would think it, at the first, a kind of lottery or chance. But, looking into it more nearly, one shall find there was reason for it, much more, perhaps, than, after so long a distance of time, we can now discern. In the Kentish commotion, which was but an handful of men, there were executed to the number of one hundred and fifty; but in this so mighty a rebellion, but *three:* whether it were, that the king put to account the men that were slain in the field; or that he was not willing to be severe in a popular cause; or that the harmless behaviour of this people (that came from the west of England to the east, without mischief almost, or spoil of the country) did somewhat mollify him, and move him to compassion; or, lastly, that he made a great difference between people that did rebel upon wantonness, and them that did rebel upon want."

The battle of Blackheath was fought on the 22nd of June, 1497. A short time before it happened King James again crossed the Tweed, and swept the country as far as the Tees; but he retreated when the Earl of Surrey marched northward with a powerful army. The English then ravaged a part of the Scottish borders; but after gaining or losing a few insignificant conflicts they retired, and the war languished. Henry's correspondents were not slow in informing him that James wished for peace: whereupon the English king repeated an offer he had already made of the hand of his eldest daughter Margaret to his cousin, the King of Scots. Don Pedro Ayala, the Spanish ambassador, interposed as a mediator; commissioners met at Ayton in the Merse, and the preliminaries were easily arranged, though some time elapsed before the treaty was signed, and the marriage was not concluded till more than five years after. James, though young, thoughtless, dissipated, and extravagant, was too honourable to think of selling Perkin Warbeck, for whom he had coined his plate, and even converted the great chain of gold which he was accustomed to wear into money. Before dismissing his army, or concluding anything with Henry, he permitted Perkin to depart; being no longer able to assist him, and seeing that if he remained his presence would only embarrass the negotiations. It has been suspected by some, that James foresaw, or even recommended, the course he afterwards pursued; but there is no existing proof to this effect. A ship, commanded by Robert Barton, was privately got ready at Ayr, and a delicate attention was paid to whatever might contribute to the comfort of the passengers. Warbeck was escorted to the seaport by a guard of horse, and he embarked with a few followers who were much attached to him, and who would on no account leave him. Though he had nothing to offer her but a wandering and perilous life, his wife resolved to share his fortunes to the last—for, prince or impostor, he had won the heart of that beautiful woman. At the end of July the "Duke and Duchess of York"—as they were still called—left Scotland for ever.* They stood over to Ireland, and, landing at Cork, Warbeck tried once more to raise the Irish. Failing in this attempt, he acted on the bold resolution of trying his fortunes in Cornwall.† According to some accounts, the Cornishmen—"some of the subtilest of them"—hearing of his being in Ireland, found means to send to him to let him know, that if he would come over to them they would faithfully serve him. At the beginning of September he arrived in Whitsand Bay, with four small barks and some six or seven score fighting men. From the coast he marched inland to Bodmin, the native place of Joseph the blacksmith, whose eloquence was still remembered, and whose fate at Tyburn seemed to his townsmen to call for vengeance. In other parts of the country there were many thousands who had lost relations and friends in the fierce fight at Blackheath, and who were equally eager for revenge. Warbeck soon found himself at the head of a host. Having assumed the title of Richard IV., King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, and having sent his wife "for present safety" to Mount St. Michael, he advanced into Devonshire, and, being joined by many disaffected persons, appeared before the city of Exeter on Sunday, the 17th of September, with an irregular force, estimated by those within the walls at ten thousand men. The nobility and gentry of all the neighbouring country had flocked into that city, where, headed by the Earl of Devonshire, and seconded by the wealthier burghers, they bade defiance to the insurgents, who had no artillery nor any kind of engines proper for a siege. The Cornishmen, however, boldly assaulted the east and north gates, endeavouring to break them open with such instruments as they had; but they failed at both gates, and lost about three or four hundred men. On the following morning they repeated their assaults upon the same two gates, and "especially at the north gate, which was again well and truly defended, and put Perkin from his purpose there; . . . . . in so much, as when Perkin and his company had well assayed and felt the guns, they were fain to desire to have licence to gather their company together, and so to depart and leave the city."‡ This failure disheartened such of the men

* Tytler's Hist. Scot. Mr. Tytler's curious extracts from the 'Treasurer's Books' establish several interesting points.

† It appears, from a letter of King Henry to Sir Gilbert Talbot, that he could not have remained any longer in Ireland in safety. The king says, "Whereas Perkin Warbeck and his wife were lately set full poorly to the sea by the King of Scots, he after landed within our land of Ireland in the wild Irisherie, where he had been taken by our cousins the Earls of Kildare and Desmond if he and his said wife had not secretly stolen away.'—*Ellis's Letters.*

‡ Letter from the Earl of Devonshire to the king, dated the 18th of September, the same day on which this second attack was made. —*Ellis's Letters.*

of Devonshire as had joined the insurgents, and they began to return to their homes as quietly as they could; but the hardy men of Cornwall advised Warbeck to continue his march eastward, vowing that they were ready to die for him to a man. Making rapid marches, they reached Taunton, in Somersetshire, on the 20th, but they found no accession of force, though the country people, who were still complaining of the king's tax-gatherers, wished success to their enterprise. At Taunton their farther progress was checked by the presence of a royal army, numerous, provided with artillery, and well appointed in all particulars. The van was commanded by Daubeney, the Lord Chamberlain, and Robert Lord Brooke, the Steward of the Household; a second division was under the Duke of Buckingham; and Henry, as usual, stayed in the rear. The half-naked Cornishmen thus confronted, neither fled nor spoke of retreat; and Warbeck, showing a good countenance, rode along their lines, and made his dispositions for a battle, to be fought on the morrow; for the quiet shades of evening were stealing along the beautiful valley of Taunton Dean, and the royalists had pitched their tents and tethered their horses for the night. But Warbeck, with all his princely qualities, was deficient in one, very essential to princes in those days—he wanted courage; he was appalled by the sight of the measureless superiority of Henry's forces, and during the night he mounted a swift horse and fled from his company at Taunton, taking no leave nor licence of them.* When morning dawned, and his flight was discovered, the Cornish men, without head or leader—"without stroke stricken"—submitted to the mercy of Henry, who hanged the ringleaders, and dismissed the rest, naked and starving. Great numbers of well-mounted men were despatched in every quarter in pursuit of Perkin, but his steed carried him well, and he reached the sanctuary of Beaulieu, in the New Forest, before any of his pursuers could come up with him. There was also sent, with all speed, a force of horse to St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, to seize at all hazards the person of the Lady Catherine Gordon, who had been sent there by her husband, "whom in all fortunes she entirely loved." "The king," adds Bacon, "sent in the greater diligence, not knowing whether she might be with child; *whereby the business would not have ended in Perkin's person.*" The horsemen easily got possession of the fair Catherine, and brought her like a captive and bond-woman to the king, in whose presence she blushed and wept bitterly. Her beauty and amiable countenance touched even the cold, impassive heart of Henry; he treated her with respect, almost with tenderness, and sent her to his wife, the Queen Elizabeth, in whose court she was received with great kindness.†

* Letter from the king, dated the 25th of September.—*Sir Henry Ellis.*

† *Hall.*—André.—Bacon.—Sir Henry Ellis's Letters

The sanctuary of Beaulieu was soon surrounded by the king's troops, but Henry hesitated to force so holy a place, and he proceeded by artifice, in which he was not often unsuccessful. He sent some of his skilful agents to work upon the fears of Perkin, who, finding himself without help or hope, accepted the royal pardon, and, of his own will, frankly and freely departed out of sanctuary. Henry would not admit him into his presence, but his curiosity induced him to take a secret view, from behind a screen, of the spirit which had so long tormented him. A part of the royal army, whose presence was necessary for the enforcement of taxes and fines, marched westward into Devonshire and Cornwall. In the winter Henry himself was at Exeter, where several trees in St. Peter's Close, between the north entrance of the cathedral church and the treasury, were cut down, that the king, "standing in the new window of Mr. Treasurer's house," might see the rebels, who came bare-headed, with ropes round their necks, to ask for mercy and pardon. Henry addressed them in a short speech, and granted them his clemency, upon which they made a great shout, hurled away their halters, and cried "God save the king." But those who had money or property of any kind were not treated in this manner; they had to deal not with the king personally, but with certain "finers and commissioners appointed for the fining of all such as were of any substance, and could be convicted or suspected of partaking in the aid or comfort of Perkin or of the insurgents, either in the field or in their flight;" by which it was meant, that any man who had given the starving fugitives a crust of bread was to be punished for it as a crime. The chief of these commissioners were the Lord Darcy, Amias Paulet, Knight, and Robert Sherborne, a priest of St. Paul's, London, and afterwards bishop of Chichester—a promotion which he seems to have owed to his remorseless exactions as a tax-gatherer. These commissioners, according to one old writer,† "like a whirlwind tossed and pierced the coffers and substance of the people;" and Bacon says that "they proceeded with such strictness and severity as did much obscure the king's mercy in sparing of blood, with the bleeding of so much treasure."

When Henry returned to London Warbeck rode behind him at a little distance, but not in any ignominious fashion. In order that he might be seen by all the citizens, he was sent through Cheapside and Cornhill to the Tower, riding on horseback in slow procession. The people crowded to gaze upon the handsome prisoner, whose wonderful adventures had occupied their minds during so many years. Some hooted and scoffed, but the majority preserved a wondering and respectful silence. When they saw the dismal gates close upon him they thought never to see him again

* Quotation from the town archives of Exeter, furnished to Sir Henry Ellis (See Letters illustrative of English History), by the Rev. George Oliver.

† Hall.

but presently he came forth of the Tower, and he was conveyed in the same slow state back to the palace at Westminster. In appearance he lived at liberty in the court; in reality he was watched by certain keepers, who were ordered never to lose sight of him nor permit him to move from them a nail's breadth. He was not converted into a menial, like Simnel, but was treated with an outward show of respect. He was repeatedly examined before a select commission; but, except a few particulars, which in no way explained the most mysterious parts of his story, his confessions were kept secret; "so that men missing of that they looked for, looked about for they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before; but the king chose rather not to satisfy than to kindle coals."*

A.D. 1498.—Without speculating on Henry's motives, which it is clear were not penetrated by any of the contemporary writers, we will proceed to relate the outward and visible facts which wound up the marvellous history of Perkin Warbeck. In June, when he had resided some six or seven months in Henry's court, he contrived, or, what seems more probable, he was permitted to escape. Being immediately pursued, he took refuge in the house of Bethlem, called the Priory of Sheen, beside Richmond, in Surrey. This house was one of those which enjoyed the right of sanctuary; but the prior having, by earnest solicitations, procured a promise from the king that his life should be spared, delivered him up. A paper was now put into his hand, and he was fettered in a pair of stocks, before the door of Westminster Hall, where he stood a whole day, not without coarse insults; and there he read the paper, which purported to be his full confession. The next day he stood in the stocks at Cheapside, and read the same paper. If he had the spirit of a man this must have been worse pain than dying at the field of Taunton could have been. The confession, which was afterwards printed by Henry's orders, though we believe that no authentic copy is preserved, was a very unsatisfactory, and in part a contradictory document. Henry's cunning and caution injured the weight of the evidence by which he wished all men should be convinced. The prisoner in the stocks was made to declare that he was a native of Tournay in Flanders, the son of John Osbeck and of Catherine de Faro; that all his relations were persons engaged in trade; that his mother sent him to Antwerp to learn Flemish; that one Barlow placed him with a merchant of Middleburgh to learn English; that he afterwards went into Portugal with Sir Edward Brompton's wife; that at Lisbon he entered the service of a knight of the country: that, desiring to see other countries, he went to Ireland, where, "being dressed in some clothes of silk," the people took it into their heads that he must be the son of the Duke of Clarence (the Earl of Warwick), who had been before time in Dublin; that then an Englishman swore he must be a bastard son of King Richard III.; but that, finally, it was determined, by the enemies of King Henry, that he should be the Duke of York, the second son of King Edward IV.; and that thereupon, against his will, they made him learn English, and taught him what he should do and say. The paper went on to state, that he was invited into France by Charles VIII., and that from France he went into Ireland, from Ireland into Scotland, and so into England. After the second reading Perkin was shut up in the Tower, where he became the companion and friend of the unfortunate Earl of Warwick, who, after his exhibition in the city and at court for the purpose of exposing the imposture of Simnel, had been recommitted to his old lodging.*

A.D. 1499.—Perkin Warbeck had not been more than six months in the Tower when a new attempt was made to dethrone Henry; and one Ralph Wilford, or Wulford, the son of a cordwainer, undertook to play the part of the Earl of Warwick. Several plots had been set on foot to release the unfortunate earl, and proclaim him king; but though aided on one occasion by Charles VIII., they had all failed. Now a report was spread that Warwick had perished, or was missing in the Tower; but after a short interval there was a whisper that he had escaped. From the borders of Sussex, Ralph Wilford and an Augustine friar, named Patrick, who was the chief contriver of this farce, stole into Kent, where they seem to have found some encouragement. The cordwainer's son told the story of his royal birth, captivity, and escape; and the monk undertook to prove it to be all true in a discourse which he publicly delivered from the pulpit. Both, however, were arrested almost immediately; Ralph the scholar was executed,—Patrick the monk and master was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. There was a very general impression at the time that this whole business "was but the king's device," and that the friar was soon permitted to go to some monastery abroad. Wilford was executed in the month of March. In the month of July it was rumoured that Warbeck and the real Earl of Warwick had conspired together to escape from the Tower and get up a new insurrection. Such was the fascination of Perkin's manners that he not only won the entire friendship of Warwick, but also the favour and kindness of his keepers. Strangways, Blewet, Astwood, and Long Roger, undertook to murder their master Sir John Digby, the governor, to get possession of the keys of the Tower, and to conduct the two captives to some place of safety, where *Warbeck might be proclaimed by the title of Richard IV.*, and whither Warwick might summon the retainers of his father, the late Duke of Clarence. Such at least was the account given by the law officers of the king, though here again people doubted whether Henry had not excited the natural desires of the two prisoners for liberty, led them into the plot, and invented some of its worst features; for he was so cunning that it was not believed he could ever act

* Bacon.

* Bacon.—Hall.—Grafton.—Fabyan.—André.—Stow.—Rymer.

in a straight-forward manner. The plot being discovered before it could be executed,—or this at least being stated,—Warbeck and Warwick were closely confined in separate cells, and preparations were made for their separate trials, for though the only charge brought against Warwick was his being an accomplice of Perkin, it was not deemed wise to try them together. Henry's judges seem to have been ready to twist and turn the law just as it suited the purpose of their master; but on the present occasion there were long deliberations. At length, on the 16th of November, Warbeck was arraigned in Westminster Hall, upon divers treasons committed and perpetrated after his coming on land within this kingdom (for so the judges advised because he was a foreigner). He was convicted, of course, and on the 23rd day of the same month, he and John O'Water, the mayor of Cork, one of his first adherents, were drawn to Tyburn: there, on the scaffold, his confession was again read, and he affirmed, on the word of a dying man, that it was all true. Then he and his fellow-sufferer "asked the king's forgiveness, and died patiently."* Such was the end of this strange drama. "It was," says Bacon, "one of the longest plays of that kind that hath been in memory, and might perhaps have had another end if he had not met with a king both wise, stout, and fortunate."

Before the execution of Warbeck the Earl of Warwick was brought, not before the judges, but as a peer (though he had never taken the oaths, and the act of attainder passed against his father, the Duke of Clarence, had never been reversed), to the bar of the House of Lords, and accused, not for the attempt to escape simply, but for conspiring with Perkin to raise sedition and destroy the king. The poor prince, who, from his long confinement, was unaccustomed to the ways of the world, and helpless and ignorant in a piteous degree, confessed to the indictment; the Earl of Oxford, as Lord Steward, pronounced the judgment of the house; and on the 24th of November, three days after his trial, he was beheaded on Tower Hill.† Thus did Henry remove the last descendant of the Plantagenets from whom he had any thing to fear, and from this moment he stood without a competitor. The hapless Warwick was in his twenty-ninth year when he died; but he had been a state-prisoner from his childhood, and seems to have been almost as innocent as a child, when he was judicially murdered by the king and the degraded peers of England. Statesmen and judges and courtiers might applaud the deed and the wisdom which dictated it, but the spontaneous feelings of the people could not be repressed; and the free utterance of their commiseration and horror startled the wily Henry, who thereupon endeavoured to shift the odium from himself and cast it upon his dear ally Ferdinand, the most Catholic king of Spain, with whom he was negotiating a marriage for Prince Arthur, his eldest son. "For these two kings," says Bacon, "understanding one another at half a word, so it was that there were letters showed out of Spain, whereby, in the passages concerning the treaty of the marriage, Ferdinand had written to the king in plain terms that he saw no assurance of his succession so long as the Earl of Warwick lived, and that he was loth to send his daughter to troubles and dangers."* The people, however, long continued to murmur; nor were their doubts wholly removed that Warbeck, after all, might have been the real Duke of York, and lawful heir to the throne. The dying words of that mysterious character might have been uttered on some secret promise of pardon, or on the threats of some execrable tortures; and the confession itself was so full of contradictions and reservations, that it could scarcely impose even on simple minds.† If there was a tenderer sympathy for the inoffensive Earl of Warwick, the exciting adventures of Warbeck were the more frequent theme of conversation. And what became of Warbeck's fair wife? The Lady Catherine continued in the queen's court, apparently much respected, and, on account of her beauty, the people continued to call her "the White Rose,"—the name given to her husband by the Duchess of Burgundy. She was afterwards re-married to Sir Matthew Cradoc, of North Wales, ancestor of the Earls of Pembroke, and was buried with him in the old church of Swansea, where their tomb and epitaph are still to be seen.

A.D. 1500.—When a fierce plague broke out in London a few months after these executions, the people considered it as a judgment from heaven. After several changes of residence Henry, partly from a delicate regard to his own health, and partly because he had business to transact with the Archduke Philip, went over to Calais, and stayed there till the pestilence was over. He invited the archduke to Calais, but that prince prudently declined putting himself within his power, and their meeting took place at St. Peter's Church, between Calais and St. Omer. The subjects of their long conference were commerce and cross-marriages between their children; but there were no visible effects, and it was thought that the king's anxiety to confer personally with the archduke proceeded from some other causes, in which the case of Warbeck was included. About this time died, "much hated of the people," Morton,

* Hall.

† Blewett and Astwood, two of the servants of the governor of the Tower, were hanged at Tyburn, a few days after the execution of "the noble and commiserable" Earl of Warwick.

* "But hereby," adds Bacon, "as the king did in some part remove the envy from himself, so he did not observe that he did withal bring a kind of malediction and infausting upon the marriage, as an ill prognostic; which in event so far proved true, as both Prince Arthur enjoyed a very small time after the marriage, and the Lady Catherine herself (a sad and a religious woman), long after, when King Henry the Eighth's resolution of a divorce from her was first made known to her, used some words — *That she had not offended; but it was a judgment of God for that her former marriage was made in blood:* meaning that of the Earl of Warwick."

† The reader will be amused, though probably not convinced, by Walpole, who, in his 'Historic Doubts,' maintains that Perkin Warbeck was really the Duke of York. For ourselves, we believe that Perkin was an impostor, but that Henry overdid his part, and never proved him to be one. We have, however, stated the clearer facts without any bias, and from them the reader may draw his own conclusions.

the chancellor and primate; but men were disappointed in their hopes that the death of that grinding minister, and the tranquillity at home and abroad, would render the king less eager for money. The fact was, Henry had always loved money for its own sake; he had a passion for hoarding, and this passion always increases with age.

Charles VIII., of France, had now been nearly two years in his grave. In 1494, about sixteen months after buying off Henry by the treaty of Estaples, that strange king, who claimed by purchase from the House of Anjou an absurd right to the throne of the Two Sicilies, crossed the Alps with an army of 3600 men-at-arms, 20,000 French infantry, 8000 Swiss mercenaries, and an immense train of artillery. The little princes of the numerous states into which Italy was divided had no force to oppose to such an army, and their jealousies prevented the formation of a general league. The invaders poured on, from the foot of the Alps to the Bay of Naples, without meeting with any resistance. But Charles soon found that the Lily of France was not destined to take root.* The Neapolitans, who, in their frivolity and "mad love of change," had at first welcomed the French, were presently disgusted with their insolence, and opened communications with their expelled sovereign Ferdinand II. of Arragon, who had not retired further than the Island of Sicily. At the same time a formidable league, consisting of the Pope, the King of the Romans, the King of Castile, the Duke of Milan, the Republic of Venice, and a few of the minor Italian states, was formed against the invaders; and Charles not only lost his conquest as rapidly as he had made it, but had extreme difficulty in fighting his way back to France.† While waiting till the state of his finances should enable him to renew the mad enterprise, he gave himself up to pleasure and debauchery, neglecting his beautiful wife, Anne of Brittany. In 1498, when he flattered himself that he saw reasons of his failure in Italy, he resolved to engage 15,000 men-at-arms, natives of Italy, and win over the Pope, who had quarrelled with the Republic of Venice and with some other members of the coalition. "He also resolved, within himself, to lead a more chaste and religious life, to regulate the laws, to reduce taxation, under which his people were groaning, and to reform the church. He got good preachers about him, and was a constant hearer of their discourses. He was anxious that a bishop should enjoy but one bishopric, a cardinal two, and that both should be obliged to residence; but he would have found it a difficult task to persuade the clergy to this."‡ At the same time he gave abundant alms to the poor, and, what was of more importance, he opened a public audience-chamber, where he heard the complaints of the poor and oppressed, which led to the dismissal of several of his officers, who had practised shameful extortion and bribery. "Being thus in great glory in relation to this world, and in a good mind as to the next (*his health had been for some time declining*), on the 7th of April, being the eve of Palm Sunday, he took his queen by the hand, and led her out of her apartment in the Castle of Amboise, where the court was then residing, to a place in which she had never been before, to see them play at tennis-ball in the castle ditch."* The king and queen had to pass through a filthy corridor, which was so low at the entrance that Charles, notwithstanding his diminutive stature, struck his forehead against the archway. The accident seemed slight, and the king spent some time in looking on at the tennis-players, talking freely with everybody. But about two in the afternoon he fell down backwards, and lost his speech, and being laid down on an old straw mattress in the open corridor, he died about nine hours after, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.† The Duke of Orleans, whom we have seen in rebellion in Brittany, succeeded to the throne, and married the widow Anne, having obtained a divorce from his wife Jane, who was still living, by agreeing to pay 20,000 ducats to Pope Alexander VI., and to cede the Valentinois in Dauphiny, with a pension of 20,000 livres to the pope's son, the execrable Cæsar Borgia. Louis XII.—such was the title of Orleans—was as eager as his predecessor for the conquest of the two Sicilies, in addition to which he put forth a claim to the duchy of Milan. That England might not hinder him in the prosecution of those distant wars, he gladly renewed the treaty of Estaples, and bound himself by solemn oaths to pay up the pension which had fallen into arrears. Henry got some money, and in the summer of 1499 Louis descended from the Alps into the fertile plains of Lombardy, of which he took possession almost without a blow; and from Lombardy he marched to Naples, which again submitted to the French for a short time.

A.D. 1501, —2, and —3.—Some border forays afforded Henry a pretext for sending Fox, Bishop of Durham, on an embassy to James of Scotland. This skilful negotiator found the young king in Melrose Abbey, and induced him to *ask* the hand of the Princess Margaret, his master's eldest daughter. This match had long been a favourite scheme with Henry; it had been proposed more or less openly on several occasions, but James had hitherto shown a strong aversion to it. After tedious negotiations this treaty, which led, after the lapse of a century, to a no less important result than the peaceful union of England and Scotland, was concluded and ratified. Henry was now considered one of the wealthiest sovereigns in Europe, but all the money he would consent to give as the marriage portion of his eldest daughter was the paltry sum of 30,000 nobles, and this not to be paid at once, but in three yearly instalments. James, a prince of much more liberal *intentions*,

* Che non lice
Che il giglio in quel terreno abbia radice.' *Ariosto.*

† Giannone Storia del Regno di Napoli.—Guicciardini, Istoria d'Italia

‡ Comines

* Comines. † I id.

settled on the princess lands worth 2000*l.* a-year, but she was to accept in lieu of them 500 marks yearly as long as he lived. Henry's old friend and correspondent, the Earl of Bothwell, came to London to act as proxy for King James; and "the fiancels" were solemnly celebrated in the queen's chamber, the Princess Margaret, in giving her consent, being made to say that she did it "wittingly and of deliberate mind, *having twelve years complete in age* in the month of November last past."* This ceremony took place on the 29th of January, 1502, but the young lady did not arrive in Scotland until nearly twenty months later. In July, 1503, she set out with a train of ladies and matrons, and was escorted as far as York by the Earl of Kent and four lords. She rode on a palfrey; but a magnificent litter was used when she had to enter the towns that lay in her way. To lighten the fatigues of the journey there was a company of players and a company of minstrels. From York she was escorted by the Earls of Surrey and Northampton. On the borders she was met by a selected party of Scottish nobility, and on the 7th of August she made her entry into Edinburgh, King James riding behind her on the same palfrey. The following day the marriage ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Glasgow. This marriage was preceded by a treaty of perpetual peace, wherein Henry's favourite clause was not forgotten,—that neither prince should give shelter or encouragement to the revolted subjects of the other.

Before the consummation of the marriage of his eldest daughter, Henry's eldest son Arthur had been married and had died. As early as 1496 Henry concluded a bargain with Ferdinand of Spain, who agreed to give Prince Arthur his fourth daughter Catherine, with a portion of 200,000 crowns. Three years after, when Arthur was in his twelfth year, he was solemnly affianced, the Spanish ambassador acting as proxy for the princess, who did not arrive until two more years had passed. On the 6th of November, 1501, the marriage ceremony was performed in St. Paul's Cathedral. On this occasion Henry had the heart to spend a considerable sum of money in feasts and tournaments; but some of his nobles, in order to flatter him, spent so much that they were reduced to ruin. The chief man that took care of the marriage pageants was Bishop Fox; "who," says Bacon, "was not only a grave counsellor for war or peace, but also a good surveyor of works, and a good master of ceremonies, and anything else that was fit for the active part belonging to the service of court or state of a great king." The historian adds that there was a great deal of astrology and fortune-telling in the masques and fanciful pieces which were represented. "You may be sure that King Arthur, the Breton [after whom the young prince was named], and the descent of the Lady Catherine from the House of Lancaster [through the daughter of John of Gaunt], was in nowise forgotten." Prince Arthur was compared to Arcturus, and the princess to Hesperus; and her ancestor, old King Alfonso, "the greatest astronomer of kings," was brought on the scene to predict the wonderful and brilliant fortunes, and the glorious progeny which should spring from the match. "But, as it should seem, it is not good to fetch fortunes from the stars; for this young prince, that drew upon him at that time not only the hopes and affections of his country, but the eyes and expectation of foreigners, after a few months, in the beginning of April [1502], died at Ludlow Castle, where he was sent to keep his residence and court as Prince of Wales." Arthur was little more than fifteen years and six months old; and his amiable temper and handsome person seem to have gained the affection of the people. Bacon says that, "by reason of his father's manner of education, that did cast no great lustre upon his children," there remained little known of the young prince except "that he was very studious and learned beyond his years, and beyond the custom of great princes." Ferdinand, the father of the young widow, for political reasons, instantly proposed that she should be married to her brother-in-law, Prince Harry, now heir-apparent to the English throne,—a marriage more in accordance with Jewish law than with the canons of the Catholic church. Henry suggested some difficulties; but, when Ferdinand asked back the young lady, and the money which had been paid with her, he agreed to the match, provided that the dispensation could be obtained from Rome, and that 100,000 crowns, the remaining half of Catherine's portion, should be immediately remitted to London. The dispensation was more easily obtained than the money; and though, in 1503, in the thirteenth year of his age, Henry was contracted to his brother's widow, the marriage, for various reasons, was delayed for five years, during which time it was more than once nearly broken off altogether, Henry making a job of it both financially and politically, as he did of everything else.

At the same time Henry was looking through Europe for a rich wife for himself, his queen, the daughter of Edward IV., having died in childbed in the Tower shortly after the death of her son Prince Arthur. He lost no time; he commenced his search before the dust had time to gather on his wife's coffin; but he was a suitor difficult to please in point of money. Having no longer any fear of insurrection at home, and seeing the great powers of the continent too much absorbed by other wars to molest him, he fleeced his subjects more unmercifully than ever, giving all his affections and thoughts to the gathering and heaping up of treasure. His ministers, his lawyers, and his priests did their best to gratify this ruling passion, and to prove to the people that all was done legally, and that the duty of all loyal subjects was passive obedience and a ready paying of money. "And as kings," observes Bacon, "do more easily find instruments for their will and humour than for their service and honour, he had gotten for his purpose,

* Ellis's Letters.

or beyond his purpose, two instruments, Empson and Dudley, whom the people esteemed as his horse-leeches and shearers, bold men, and careless of fame, and that took toll of their master's grist. Dudley was of a good family, eloquent, and one that could put hateful business into good language. But Empson, that was the son of a sieve-maker, triumphed always upon the deed done, putting off all other respects whatsoever." These men, who, according to the forcible expression of the same great writer, "turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine," were both lawyers. Their modes of proceeding were very simple, but such as could hardly have succeeded, had not the spirit of the aristocracy been annihilated, and the house of commons reduced to a cipher. They charged the owners of estates, which had long been held on a different tenure, with the obsolete burdens of wardships, liveries, premier seisins, and the whole array of feudal obligations, for which they would only give quittances for payments in money: they not only converted nearly every offence into a case of fine and forfeiture, but they also invented new offences, that they might get the fines. To hunt up their game they kept packs of spies and informers in every part of the kingdom; and to strike it down with the legal forms, they kept a rabble to sit on juries. In the end, they did not "observe so much as the half face of justice." Instead of proceeding by indictment, and submitting cases to a trial by jury, they arrested men by precept, and tried them, or squeezed their money out of them, in a court of commission held in their own private houses. "These and many other courses, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of preying upon the people; both like tame hawks for their master, and like wild hawks for themselves; insomuch as they grew to great riches and substance."*

A.D. 1504.—At the very moment that this system was in full vigour a parliament met (in the month of January), and the commons chose Dudley, the leech, for their speaker, and passed all such bills as the king thought fit to propose. But though parliament had become the obedient tool of the court, there were loud murmurs out of doors; and there was a desperate man, a son of a sister of Edward IV. and Richard III., who appears to have been disposed to take advantage of the prevailing discontent. This was Edmund de la Pole, son of the Duke of Suffolk, and younger brother of the Earl of Lincoln, who came over with Simnel, and was killed at the battle of Stoke. When the Duke of Suffolk died Edmund claimed his titles and estates; but the king, who had a law and a logic of his own, maintained that he did not inherit from his father, but from his brother Lincoln, who had died before the father, and had never had possession; and that, as his said brother Lincoln had been attainted by parliament, he, Edmund, could have no claim to the honours or lands. Strange as was this course of argument, it received the sanction of the obsequious parliament; and Edmund was obliged to content himself with a fragment of his patrimony, which was given, not as of right, but as an act of kindness and liberality on the part of the king, and with the inferior title of Earl of Suffolk. This harsh usage had a great effect on a temper which seems to have been naturally irritable. The young earl, in a broil, had the misfortune to kill a man. The case, if properly tried, would not probably have gone beyond a modern case of manslaughter; but Henry, glad of the opportunity to reduce one connected with the House of York, had him arraigned as a murderer, and then, instead of permitting the trial to take place, commanded him to plead the royal pardon. Suffolk fled to the continent, and took refuge in the court of his aunt, the Duchess of Burgundy, which, in spite of all that Henry could do, still remained open to the friends of the House of York. Henry, by means with which we are unacquainted, induced him to return to England, where he lived at large for some time without any talk of his offence. At the marriage of Prince Arthur and the Infanta Catherine, he attended with the rest of the nobility, and, being "too gay," sunk himself deep in debt, as did many others on the same occasion. Almost immediately after he was again missing, as was also his youngest brother Richard de la Pole. Henry soon learnt that both the young men were with their aunt of Burgundy, and resorting "to his wonted and tried arts," caused Sir Robert Curson, who was employed at the time at Calais, to quit his post as if he had fled from it in disgust or in fear of the king, and to present himself to the Earl of Suffolk as a discontented man. This knight soon insinuated himself into the secrets of the earl, and found out the names of the persons upon whom "he had either hope or hold." To increase Suffolk's confidence in the spy, Henry at one stage of the business ordered the pope's bull of excommunication and curse against rebels to be read at Paul's Cross against the Earl of Suffolk and Sir Robert Curson. Curson communicated with Henry in great secrecy, and still maintained his own credit and inward trust with the earl. In consequence of the information given by this base agent, Henry arrested William de la Pole, another brother of Suffolk; the Lord Courtenay, who had married the Lady Catherine, one of the sisters of Henry's queen; Sir James Tyrrel, Sir William Windham, and some other meaner persons. Lord Abergavenny and Sir Thomas Green were apprehended at the same time, but they were not closely confined, and were liberated soon after. It was not easy, even in Henry's courts of law, to convict William de la Pole and the Lord Courtenay of any other crimes than their relationship to the fugitive and their connexion with the House of York, which was now "rather feared than nocent." Yet Courtenay, Henry's brother-in-law, remained a prisoner in the Tower during the king's life, and de la Pole "was also long restrained though not so strictly. But for Sir James Tyrrel, against whom the blood of the innocent princes, Edward V. and his brother,

* Bacon.

did still cry from under the altar, and Sir John Windham and the other meaner ones, they were attainted and executed; the two knights beheaded."* The sentence is another curious specimen of Henry's indirect dealing. Tyrrel and Windham were condemned, not for any conspiracy, but for having assisted the king's enemy, the Earl of Suffolk, in his first escape out of England in 1499, or nearly three years before this trial. If suspicions had rested upon Tyrrel as the murderer of the innocent sons of Edward IV., Henry had not thought it expedient to proceed against him for that horrible and mysterious business; on the contrary, he had employed Tyrrel, and seems even to have honoured this master of the horse of his predecessor. It appears to have been while Tyrrel was lying in the Tower under sentence of death for having favoured the escape of Suffolk, that he confessed, or at least it was reported by Henry that he confessed, to his having employed Miles Forest and John Dighton to murder the princes, and that they had been murdered in their bed, and buried at the stair foot. From the manner in which this confession was obtained or reported, and from other circumstances, the mystery did not seem cleared up in an entirely satisfactory manner. As the story went, there were but four persons that could speak upon their own knowledge as to the murder,—Sir James Tyrrel, Miles Forest, John Dighton, and the priest of the Tower, who, it was said, had buried the bodies. Sir Robert Brackenbury, who was removed from the custody of the Tower for twenty-four hours, must have known that the two children were either killed or carried off, but Brackenbury had died at Bosworth Field fighting for King Richard; and his servant, one Black Will, who guarded the princes, if alive, was never questioned or mentioned, any more than John Green, who had carried, or was said to have carried, Richard's order to Brackenbury. Of the four witnesses mentioned, Miles Forest and the priest of the Tower were dead, and from this showing there only remained Tyrrel and Dighton to speak to the facts. Dighton was a prisoner as well as Tyrrel; and whatever the master may have done or said, it is quite certain that the servant confessed the murder, and that he repeated the particulars of the story to many men and in many places. But here, again, the course pursued darkened and deepened the shades of doubt in the popular mind. The confessions in the Tower appear to have been taken privately. Tyrrel, as we have seen, was got rid of on another charge; but according to the remarkable words of Bacon, "John Dighton, who, it seemeth, *spake best for the king, was forthwith set at liberty*, and was the principal means of divulging this tradition."†

Several years later (about 1513), when More wrote, Dighton was still not only alive, but at large; and though the same writer tells us that he was likely to come to the gallows at last,* he does not inform us for what crimes, or whether he ever really met the fate predicated for him.

As for the fugitive Earl of Suffolk, if, in flying the second time, he had arranged a conspiracy, there was certainly no proof of it made public by this inscrutable government. Sir Robert Curson, "when he saw the time, returned into England, and withal into wonted favour with the king, but worse fame with the people." Suffolk, dismayed, retired from the court of his aunt, and became a needy and neglected wanderer through the Netherlands, Germany and France.

A.D. 1506. In the last years of his reign Henry dispensed with parliament, not caring for their votes, but levying money by the arbitrary and illegal method of benevolences. Dudley and Empson continued their profitable labours all the while. In 1504, when Prince Henry was knighted, the king called a parliament, and demanded, by the feudal customs, a payment for that occasion, and another for the marriage of his eldest daughter. They were instructed to offer 40,000*l.*; and then the king, to show his moderation, took 30,000*l.* After this there was no more talk of parliaments. Henry's coffers were brim-full; his wealth in ready money was enormous; yet he still earnestly endeavoured to increase it by marriage, and an accident occurred which seemed to offer him, not only the means of obtaining a wife, but also of getting possession of the person of an enemy whom he dreaded even in his helplessness and beggary. Henry was considered a fortunate prince, and his conscience was not so delicate as to reject any kind of chance which fortune threw in his way. In the month of January a storm drove some foreign vessels to seek shelter in the harbour of Weymouth. Distressed by their sufferings at sea, and being in want of fresh provisions, a small party came on shore. Among them were the Archduke Philip and his wife Joanna, now, by the death of her mother Isabella, Queen of Castile, of which country they were going to take possession when the tempest interrupted their progress. Their departure from Flanders had been watched, and, as if he had foreseen what would happen, or had been alarmed by the passage of a fleet through the Channel, where the vessels beat about for many days, Henry had stationed guards along the coast, and had issued his orders as to the treatment of the royal couple if they should land. They had scarcely set foot on shore when Sir Thomas Trenchard and Sir John Carew went with an armed force into Weymouth, where,

* Bacon.

† Bacon's account of this affair is unaccountably perplexed, and indeed contradictory. His narrative of the confessions of Tyrrel and Dighton distinctly makes these persons to have been committed to the Tower, and examined upon the subject of the murder of the princes, on the first rumour of Warbeck's attempt, and for the express purpose of putting down his pretensions. Yet he concludes the statement by informing us that Tyrrel was "soon after beheaded in the Tower yard," leaving us to suppose that he had never been liberated between his said examination and his execution. His own History shows that it was, in fact, ten or eleven years after that Tyrrel was put to death on another charge, and that in the mean time he had been long at large. We have followed the account of More, who speaks of Tyrrel's confession as having been made after his committal on the charge for which he suffered.

* "Dighton, indeed, yet walketh on alive, in good possibility to be hanged ere he die."

with much humbleness and humanity, they invited the party to their houses—giving them, however, to understand that they would not be allowed to re-embark without the notice and leave of their king and master. Philip had no confidence in Henry's good faith: he knew him to be in close alliance and constant correspondence with his father-in-law, Ferdinand the Catholic, who, at the moment, was endeavouring to keep the kingdom of Castile for himself: he must have bitterly regretted not being guided by his council, who advised him to brave the storm rather than trust himself on any part of Henry's dominions; but, making a virtue of necessity, he put on a cheerful countenance, as if he considered himself a guest, and not a prisoner. Henry presently despatched the Earl of Arundel to tell his loving cousin how glad he was that he had escaped the dangers of the seas,—that he was to consider himself as in his own land, and that he, the king, would make all haste to embrace him. Arundel went to the coast in great magnificence, with a brave troop of three hundred horse; and "for more state" he made his approach by torch-light. When Philip had heard the earl's message, "seeing how the world went, the sooner to get away, he went upon speed to the king at Windsor; and his queen followed by easy journeys." At three o'clock, on the 17th of January, the cunning host and the unwilling guest met upon Elworth Green, two miles from Windsor. Henry was an adept in scenes of display, and on the present occasion he shewed himself to the best advantage, assuming a striking superiority in dress and equipment even in the minutest article over the Archduke, or King of Castile, as Philip was now called in right of his wife. He was mounted on a bay horse trapped with needle-work; he wore a gown of purple velvet, a gold chain with a George of diamonds and a hood of purple velvet. His attendants were mounted on splendid steeds covered all over with goldsmiths' work, cloths of tissue velvet, roses, and dragons, tassels, gilt bells, rubies, and other precious stones. "The King of Castile rode upon a sorrel hobby, which the king had given him; his apparel was all black; a gown of black velvet, a black hood, a black hat; and his horse was caparisoned in black velvet. His lord chamberlain and all the rest of his retinue, not passing a dozen in number, were clad in sad apparel, with cloaks of sad tawney and black, with very little velvet and sarsenet." The two princes saluted each other with all loving demonstrations. Philip said that he was now punished for not having gone within the walled town of Calais when they last met. Henry replied (did the by-standers keep their countenances?) that walls and seas were nothing where hearts were open! When they went from Elworth Green towards Windsor, Henry rode on the right hand of Philip, and when they reached the castle, the host, instead of being at the stirrup of his royal guest, permitted him to dismount, and to stand some time before he alighted from his own saddle. Within the castle Philip found a splendid apartment prepared for him; there were seven chambers together hung with cloth of arras wrought with gold as thick as could be; and as for the three beds of state, no king christened could show such three. But the guest soon found that he had to pay a dear price for his entertainment. Henry drew up a new treaty of commerce wholly in his own favour; and while they were discussing this subject, choosing a fitting time, he drew Philip into a private room, and asked from him the immediate surrender of the Earl of Suffolk, who, after long sufferings and wanderings, had retired in penury to Flanders, where he was then enjoying Philip's protection. The King of Castile "herewith was a little confused and in a study:" he said that such a measure would reflect dishonour, not only on himself, but also on the King of England, who would be believed to have treated him as a prisoner if he exacted such a thing from him; but Henry told him to make his mind easy in this respect, for, as for the dishonour, he would take it all upon himself, and so the honour of Philip would be saved. "The King of Castile, who had the king in great estimation, and besides remembered where he was," consented reluctantly to oblige the king, from whom, however, he obtained the most solemn assurances that the life of Suffolk should be respected. Philip, in consequence, adopted such measures as induced the earl to believe that his sovereign pardoned him, and to come over of his own good will. Henry next proceeded to exact a wife. Margaret, Duchess of Savoy, was sister to Philip, and a widow, and very rich. Henry had cast his eyes upon her as a suitable match, and now he forced her brother to agree to the marriage, and to fix her portion at 300,000 crowns. But Philip had a son as well as a sister; and this remorseless driver of hard bargains made him agree that his infant son Charles* (afterwards the Emperor Charles V.) should be married to the Princess Mary of England, his youngest daughter. This match had been proposed before, and Philip had rejected it, but now nothing remained to do except to sign this treaty like the rest.

To draw out the time, Henry gave great feastings and entertainments; he made Philip a knight of the garter; and Philip made him and Prince Harry knights of the golden fleece. At the proper season he conducted Philip and Queen Joanna to London, where they were entertained with the greatest magnificence; but as soon as the Earl of Suffolk had been conveyed to the Tower (which was the serious part of the business) the festivities had an end, and the kings took leave. Philip and Joanna sailed instantly for Spain, having been detained nearly three months in captivity in England. The life of the unfortunate Earl of Suffolk was spared for a few years; but in his last moments Henry left an order for his execution.

Before the negotiations could be finished for

* Charles, at this time, was just six years old.

the marriage of Margaret, Duchess of Savoy, Philip died in Spain, and thereupon, thinking that his widow would be a better match than his sister, Henry dropped the treaty for the duchess, and proposed for Joanna, the queen. At the very time Joanna was bereft of her reason by the sudden loss of her young and handsome husband Philip—sunk in the most hopeless insanity, from which she never recovered. But the bronze which fifty years of successful craft and assurance had put upon the face of Henry was not to be affected, and, in reply to her father, King Ferdinand, who had taken upon himself the government of Castile, he asserted that her malady had been brought on by the harsh treatment which she had received from her former husband,—that it was only temporary, and by no means of a nature to prevent her from contracting a proper marriage. Ferdinand, not less from a desire of continuing to rule the whole Spanish monarchy, and to keep so great a master of intrigue from having any part of it, than out of tenderness for his unhappy child,

The Great Brass Screen which encloses the Altar Tomb of Henry VII, and his Queen in his Chapel at Westminster.

renewed his representations of Joanna's condition. Upon this, Henry gave his old friend to understand, that if he were not permitted to marry one of his daughters (Joanna), his son Prince Harry should nevery marry his other daughter (Catherine). He had several advantages in this controversy: he knew that his alliance or neutrality in the great game that was playing between the French and Spaniards for supremacy in Italy was indispensable to Ferdinand, he had the Infanta Catherine in his hands, and 100,000 of Ferdinand's dollars in his coffers. But at the same time he also knew the subtlety and power of the Spanish monarch; and even Henry's genius may have been overawed by the sublime craft and state policy of Cardinal Ximenes, who conducted the administration of affairs in Castile for Ferdinand. Three such minds have not often been brought in contact! In the end, seeing that he would never be allowed to marry Joanna, Henry gave up that suit, and concluded a new treaty, in which Ferdinand agreed, on one hand, to remit 100,000 more crowns in completion of his daughter's portion; and Henry agreed, on the other, that his son should complete his marriage with the Infanta as soon as all this money was received, but not before. The money was to be paid in four half-yearly instalments; but Henry only lived to receive two; and this marriage, which was attended by such memorable consequences, was not celebrated during his lifetime.

A.D. 1509. The king's health had long been in a wretched state; he was subject to violent fits of the gout, but an elder enemy was a periodical cough, "that wasted his lungs, so that thrice in a year, in a kind of return, and especially in the spring, he had great fits and labours of the phthisic." Henry was a religious prince; his declining strength and sufferings made him think "more seriously of the world to come,"—and the world to come made him think of the sufferings of his people. In the spring of 1507, two years before his death, he distributed alms among the poor, and discharged all prisoners in London that were confined for fees or debts under forty shillings. The following year, being still worse, he opened his ears to the bitter cries raised against Dudley and Empson and their accomplices. Formerly many persons had been set in the pillory and had their ears cut off for uttering these complaints, or defaming the king's council; but now, "partly by devout persons about him, and partly by public sermons (the preachers doing their duty therein)," he was touched with great remorse for the oppressions and exactions he had permitted his two finance ministers to exercise. He even ordered justice to be done to all persons who had suffered wrong; but as his bad season passed these good resolutions departed, and his greediness for money returned. For, "nevertheless, Empson and Dudley, though they could not but hear of these scruples in the king's conscience, yet, as if the king's soul and his money were in several offices, that the one was not to intermeddle with the other, went on with as great rage as ever." Sir William Capel, mayor of London, was a second time prosecuted under some frivolous pretences, and condemned to pay the enormous fine of 2000*l.* Capel was a man of spirit, and hardened by his former troubles, he refused to pay a mite, upon which he was sent to the Tower, where he lay till the king's death. Nesworth, who had served as lord mayor, and both his sheriffs, were thrown into prison, and there kept till they paid 1400*l.* Hawes, an alderman of London, was indicted, and put in trouble, and died of vexation, before his mock trial came to an end. Sir Lawrence Aylmer, who had also been mayor of London, and his two sheriffs, were fined 1000*l.*; and Sir Lawrence, refusing to pay, was committed to prison, where he remained till his persecutor Empson was committed in his place in the first year of the reign of Henry VIII.

A.D. 1509. Thus, in spite of his repentance, did Henry continue to the last to grind his wealthier subjects to add to his immense treasures, which he kept for the most part under his own key at his manor of Richmond. But his last spring had now arrived; his cough was worse than ever; his thoughts were again turned to repentance, and he drew up a will, which strongly shows his remorse and anxiety, enjoining his young successor to do what he had never the heart to perform himself—to repair the injuries he had committed, and make restitution to the victims he had plundered. He died on the night of the 21st of April, 1509, at his new palace of Richmond, and was buried in the magnificent chapel which he had built, and which bears his name, in Westminster Abbey. He was in his fifty-third year, and had reigned twenty-three years and eight months, wanting one day. In part through the great difficulties with which he had to contend in establishing himself, in part through natural temperament and the force of habit, he had made his whole reign an uninterrupted series of craft, treachery, stratagems, and intrigues, of which many must always remain inexplicable. "All things were so covertly demeaned—one thing pretended and another meant—that there was nothing so plain and openly proved, but that yet, for the common custom of close and covert dealing, men had it ever inwardly suspect, as many well counterfeited jewels make the true mistrusted."*

Henry, as a sovereign, was a man of the age—and *his* was an age of subtlety, as the preceding ones had been ages of rude force and violence. There was one great struggle in every part of Europe, the objects of which were to overthrow the feudal system, to depress the aristocracy, and to elevate the authority of kings. In other countries this led to the establishment of despotic monarchies, from which England herself had a narrow escape; for, if hardy and ancient seed remained in the ground which craft could not detect, or of which it could not appreciate the importance, and if

* Sir Thomas More.

sturdy plants continued to thrive which no force or tyranny could ever uproot, yet the liberties of the country were, in a great measure, held in abeyance during the sway of the Tudors. The people were not yet strong enough to put in their claim for a portion of the power which had been wielded by the feudal lords, and which for a time fell almost entirely to the sovereign. The effects of this reign on laws, commerce, navigation, industry, and general civilization, which, on the whole, were sufficiently advantageous, will be noticed in the proper places.

Henry's contemporaries called him a second Solomon. His abilities were manifest in his success; but on many occasions he over-refined and subtilised and created difficulties by cunning, which might have been avoided by pursuing a more honest and straightforward course. The reading of his life produces much the same effect on the mind as the perusal of the celebrated manual of Machiavelli, most of whose notions he anticipated, and put into practice. Indeed, the princes who flourished in the latter half of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth — Louis XI. of France, Ferdinand of Spain, Henry of England, Pope Alexander VI., and his son Cæsar Borgia—scarcely among them left a state crime or manœuvre to be discovered by the great Florentine Secretary. They enacted in blood and treachery all that Machiavelli afterwards wrote in his book, and much that he omitted.*

* Machiavelli did not write 'The Prince' until 1513, when all these great masters, of what is incorrectly called Machiavellism, had done their best and their worst, and had been for some years in their graves.

Henry VIII.

Henry VIII. From a Picture by Holbein in Trinity College, Cambridge.

A.D. 1509.—Henry Prince of Wales, the only surviving son of his father, was in his eighteenth year when he ascended the throne without opposition, and to the universal joy of the nation. His handsome person, his frank manners, his cheerful disposition, and even his ardent love of pleasure, were all made subjects of applause and endearment; and the people seemed to like him the more from his differing in all things from his father, whose death they openly rejoiced in. He had been prevented by the jealousy of the late king from taking any part in public business, but, in retirement, he had contracted a taste for literature and the arts, and his natural abilities were fancied to be of a high order. He was proclaimed on the 22nd of April, and was crowned, with his Queen Catherine, on the 24th of June.

His marriage with the Spanish Infanta, the widow of his own brother, had not been concluded without serious deliberation; but it appears that

GREAT SEAL OF HENRY VIII.

Henry himself offered no objection, and that Catherine was admired and beloved both by the court and the people. Some of the ministers recommended the completion of the match, because they considered that the alliance with Spain was necessary to counterbalance the power of France; others, because it would be unprofitable to return the sum of 150,000 crowns which had been received as part of the portion of the princess, and to pay out of the country the large dowry to which she was entitled as widow of Prince Arthur. A bull from the pope did away with the restrictions of canonical law, and was considered sufficient to settle all scruples of delicacy. They were married at Greenwich on the 3rd of June, twenty-one days before the coronation, Catherine being about eight years older than Henry. With the single exception of Warham the primate, every member of the council had forwarded the match, which, moreover, was strongly recommended by Henry's grand-

QUEEN CATHERINE. From a Miniature by Holbein.

mother, the Countess of Richmond, who was still living and much consulted by the ministers.*

The council of government, which was appointed under the advice and influence of the old countess, consisted of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor; Fox, Bishop of Winchester, secretary, and privy seal; the Earl of Surrey, treasurer; the Earl of Shrewsbury, steward; Lord Herbert, chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovel, master of the wards and constable of the Tower; Sir Edward Poynings, comptroller; Sir Henry Marney, Sir Thomas Darcy, Thomas Ruthal, Doctor of Laws, and Sir Henry Wyat. Most of these were men of experience and ability: they had all served the late king, and had taken part in his most obnoxious acts; but this consideration did not prevent them from joining heartily in a measure of vengeance against their old colleagues in office, Empson and Dudley, who had been arrested immediately after the death of their master.†

When brought before the council, these two learned lawyers made a skilful defence, but this did not save them from being committed to the Tower. Soon after, a proclamation was issued to encourage complaints against them, and the long restrained fury of the people was purposely let loose against their spies and informers. Many of the "lesser rogues in country places" were torn to pieces; some were paraded through the streets of London, mounted on wretched horses, with their faces turned to the tail. Some were set in the pillory at Cornhill, and then conveyed to Newgate, where they soon died in consequence of the harsh treatment received from the mob and from their gaolers. The gratifying of their spite seems to have been the only gratification the people received, for, though there was a talk of "restitution," the courts of law took such an alarm at the immense number of persons who presented themselves as victims, that their doors were soon closed in the faces of the applicants, and no more was said about refunding. Henry, who was no exception to the general rule that the son of a miser must be a spendthrift, and who had dipped deeply into his father's coffers for his splendid coronation, and the jousts, tournaments, and expensive feasts and masks he was constantly giving, probably fancied that the heads of Empson and Dudley ought to serve as a receipt in full. It may be that he was also tempted by the great wealth those rapacious men had accumulated. Few pitied their fate, and law had no delicacies in those days. They were indicted, not for offences of which they were notoriously guilty, but against which it would be difficult to proceed without holding up the memory of the late king to execration, and committing the character of some of the actual ministry, besides reviving the delicate question of "restitution," but for the almost impossible crime of forming a conspiracy to deprive the present king of his succession and rights. The judges, the law officers of the crown, and two juries,* concurred in finding them guilty of treason, and they were condemned to death and forfeiture, not as robbers of the people, but as traitors to the king. The sentence, however, was not immediately executed, but they lay in the Tower for about a year, enduring all the miseries which they had so frequently heaped upon others, in addition to the pain of seeing the fruits of their injustice and avarice seized and dissipated. A report got abroad that Queen Catherine had begged their lives, upon which numerous petitions were presented to Henry, praying for their immediate execution. At last he signed their death-warrant, and they were both publicly beheaded on Tower Hill on the 17th of August, 1510, to the great satisfaction of the people.†

Secure in his insular position, and for a long time in the hearty affection of his subjects, rich, and powerful, the English king might have defied the sovereigns of the continent and avoided taking any part in their wars. Even at this time he might have occupied the honourable position of an arbiter or friendly umpire, and given increase of wealth and strength to his country by commerce, while his contemporaries were exhausting their kingdoms by incessant hostilities. But Henry was anxious for military glory; his council were cajoled by his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Arragon, and by Pope Julius II.; Louis XII. of France was not inclined to continue the pension paid to his father, and thus, in the third year of his reign, the young and fortunate king was induced to join a coalition against France, and to take part as a principal in the continental war.

A.D. 1512.—A herald was despatched to command Louis not to make war upon the Pope, "the father of all Christians." As Julius II. was, at the least, as much a soldier as priest, and as he had formed the present league against France, it was not to be expected that Louis would submit to this injunction. He was soon visited by a second herald from Henry, who demanded the instant cession of Anjou, Maine, Normandy, and Guienne, "his lawful inheritance." This was equivalent to a declaration of war, and Henry summoned his first parliament to ask for money to enable him to fit out a proper army. Supplies were voted with the greatest alacrity; and though parliament no longer expressed the free voice of the nation, yet on this occasion the people, who had lost little of their love for wars against the French, applauded their votes, and began to dream once more of the glories of Crecy and Azincourt. A fine army was

* This lady, the mother of Henry VII., died in the same month of June in which her grandson was married and crowned. She believed (and so it was generally believed both in England and Spain) that there had been no consummation of Catherine's first marriage. Catherine was married to Henry, not with the ceremonies prescribed for widows, but with those appropriated to maids. She was dressed in white, and wore her hair loose.

† Polydore Virgil.—Peter Martyr.—Lord Herbert, Life of Henry VIII.—Stow.

* Dudley was tried at London; Empson at Northampton. The heirs of both were restored in blood some two or three years after. John Dudley, the son of the first, became Viscount Lisle under Henry VIII., Earl of Warwick under Edward VI., then Duke of Northumberland, and was beheaded on the accession of Mary. It was the son of this man, and grandson of the rapacious minister of Henry VII., that was married to Lady Jane Grey.

† Herbert.—Stow.—Bishop Godwin.

raised and equipped, and Henry thought of passing into France by way of Calais, when his father-in-law Ferdinand represented how much more advantageous it would be to make his attack in the south, and to begin operations by making sure of the rich province of Guienne, where the English rule was still regretted. His arguments seemed convincing, and when he sent a fleet to convey the English forces to the foot of the Pyrenees, whence they could march in a few days to the banks of the Garonne, his son-in-law consented to adopt his plan of operation. Ten thousand men were immediately embarked under the command of the Marquess of Dorset, who was accompanied by the Lord Howard, son of the Earl of Surrey, the Lord Broke, the Lord Ferrers, and many other ardent volunteers of the noblest families in England. Crossing the Bay of Biscay, they landed in Guipuzcoa, and were quartered, by Ferdinand's orders, at Fuente-Rabia, near the mouth of the Bidassoa. Dorset immediately proposed passing the river into France, but he had little or no artillery, and found that he could not move except in concert with a Spanish force. Ferdinand promised every thing that was necessary, and collected troops in the Biscayan provinces, as if for the invasion of the south of France. When all was ready, the English expected to be led to the siege of Bayonne, but Ferdinand pretended that it would be dangerous for the allied army to advance until they had made sure of Navarre, which that movement would leave in their rear. Navarre was then a separate kingdom, governed by Catherine and John d'Albret, who, to defend themselves against the encroachments of the King of Arragon, had contracted a close alliance with the King of France. As Dorset could not help himself, he consented to remain in force upon the Bidassoa while his ally negotiated with the terrified court of Navarre. D'Albret readily consented to remain neutral during the present war, but Ferdinand demanded a free passage for his troops, the surrender of some of the most important fortresses, and the person of the Prince of Viana, the heir to the crown, as an hostage. The latter terms were indignantly rejected, and thereupon Ferdinand threw the army he had collected under pretext of joining the English into Navarre, where he had a strong faction devoted to his interest, and where the minds of the people were disturbed by the sentence of excommunication which his ally the pope had launched against their king and queen. This army was commanded by the Duke of Alva, who, after taking several of the towns, invited the English to join him in the siege of Pamplona, the capital of Navarre. Dorset, whose eyes were now open, refused to make war anywhere but in France, and called for the artillery, and a supply of horses, which had been promised to him ever since his landing. With the greatest courtesy he was told that, since he scrupled to join the Spanish arms in Navarre, he must wait until that business was settled, and that then he would have all that he wanted, together with an auxiliary force to enable him to take Bayonne and Bordeaux, and the whole of Guienne. As the marquess could do nothing else, he again consented to wait. The presence of an English army on the Bidassoa obliged the French to concentrate their forces between that river and Bayonne, and prevented Louis from sending any succour to his unfortunate ally the King of Navarre, who was soon reduced to extremities, and obliged to fly with his wife and children across the Pyrenees into his little principality of Bearn. Pamplona capitulated to Alva, who swore, in the name of his master, that all the ancient rights and privileges of the country should be respected, and Navarre was thenceforward joined to the Spanish monarchy,—an important scheme long in contemplation, and for the happy execution of which Ferdinand had been so anxious for the presence of an English army in the south. When Dorset again made his impatient voice heard, he was told that the Duke of Alva was quite ready to march, but that it must be in the direction of Bearn, not of Bayonne and Bordeaux. Upon this the English commander refused to move at all, and Ferdinand sent an ambassador to Henry. It is little to the credit of the sagacity of the English council that they did not perceive how they were duped, but, on the contrary, sent Dorset orders to conform to the instructions of the Spanish court, who, in the end, it was said, would fulfil their engagements; but before these orders arrived the English troops, who during their inactivity had suffered severely from sickness and also from famine (for Ferdinand did not even supply them with proper provisions), took the decision of the case into their own hands, and insisted upon returning home. When the crafty Spaniard saw that their violence was becoming dangerous, he prepared some ships for them, well satisfied with the success of his past manœuvre. At this moment the order that they were to remain arrived from England; but the men mutinied, and, cursing the Spaniards and the Biscayans, forced their commanders to set sail. Greatly reduced in numbers, humiliated, and in tatters, this expedition, from which so much had been expected, reached England about Christmas. Henry at first was inclined to vent his spite upon Dorset and the mutinous troops, "but the multitude of the delinquents proved a pardon to all." He scarcely seems to have bestowed a thought on the unprofitableness of the whole war and the hollow policy of his allies, and he continued to play the game of Ferdinand until that sovereign had no further need of his services.*

A.D. 1513.—Having made up his mind to lead an army in person into France, Henry, in the preceding autumn, had summoned a parliament to ask for more money. Besides imposing a poll-tax and a sort of property-tax, the Houses voted him two fifteenths and four tenths. With the money thus raised, and with the remnant of

* Herbert.—Polydore.—Wolsey's Letters quoted by Fiddes.—Godwin.

his father's hoards, the young king began to fit out ships and to levy a great army. By this time the French were not only driven out of Italy, where the Spaniards succeeded them, but were harassed on their own frontiers by the "Holy League," as the sovereigns continued to call a coalition which acted in the most base and worldly manner. In these difficulties Louis opened negotiations with the King of Scotland, in order to find Henry occupation in his own country. The Scots at the moment had several grounds of complaint against the English court. Henry had appropriated to himself certain jewels which his father had bequeathed to the Queen of Scotland, and his fleet had come into hostile collision with ships bearing the Scottish flag. To avert a war, Henry was now ready to offer some reparation, and Doctor West, Dean of Windsor, one of the clerical diplomatists who had been trained under his father, was sent on a friendly embassy to King James. In the month of April the dean reported to his master from Edinburgh that King James was preparing a fleet and putting his artillery and stores in order, as if for a war; that there was one "mighty great ship" spoken of which was to carry "more great ordinance in her than the French king ever had in the siege of any town;" and that provisions and stores were expected from France to supply this new fleet.* At the same time the dean informed Henry that James had assured him that he would not break the truce, "so that he might have justice without war," and (what was probably a more important assurance) that the Scots after all were, in his opinion, not in a situation to commence hostilities with any advantage. As Henry was not inclined to offer excuses and compensation for the destruction of the Bartons (the Scottish sea-captains), whom he still chose to consider as pirates, and as James was fully resolved not to stand by and witness the destruction of the best and most ancient ally of his country (France), the dean's negotiations left matters in uncertainty and suspense. Fully anticipating what followed, Henry put his towns near the Scottish borders in a good state of defence,—collected troops in the marches, and gave the command of them to the Earl of Surrey, the best of his generals, who was instructed to watch James, while his royal master proceeded against Louis.†

The French king, though much exhausted in finances by his Italian wars, and though oppressed both with ill fortune and ill health, was no contemptible opponent. He determined if possible to obtain the command of the Channel, to meet the English at sea, which was already considered in a manner as their element, and to prevent their landing on his coasts. In the preceding year several naval encounters had taken place; and in one great battle fought off Brest the French had the advantage, though it was dearly bought with the death of their brave Admiral Primauget, who was blown up in his ship with nine hundred men. At the same time, however, the 'Regent,' Henry's finest ship, perished in the like manner with seven hundred Englishmen. Louis reinforced his fleet and collected a great number of mariners, who were conveyed from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Channel, and there embarked under experienced commanders of various nations, but chiefly Genoese. This "great navy," says Hall, "which the French had prepared, and which was well furnished in all things, was, no doubt, a wonder to see!" To disperse or destroy it, Henry despatched "ships royal and others meet for war, to the number of forty-two, besides ballengers," under the command of the Lord Admiral, Sir Edward Howard, one of the gallant sons of the Earl of Surrey. Howard sailed from Portsmouth in the month of March, 1513, with instructions to scour the Channel, destroy all cruisers, and then fall upon the fleet at Brest. Early in April he presented himself at the mouth of the harbour of Brest, within which the French ships were anchored, and defended by batteries and other works. He secured the mouth of the haven, and then wrote to the young king his master to come over in person to have the glory of a great and sure victory. Henry, it appears, had no taste for naval engagements, and his council, considering it very improper in Howard to send such an invitation "for putting the king in jeopardy upon the chance of the sea," wrote sharply to him, and commanded him to do his duty as admiral. Howard was stung by this letter, but it was his maxim that in sea-fights no commander was worth anything unless he carried his bravery to a degree of madness. On St. Mark's Day, despising the tremendous fire kept up both on sea and shore, he sailed right into the harbour of Brest, followed by a number of small row-galleys, and attempted to carry the whole fleet by boarding, or, failing in that, to cut out some of their best ships. He lashed himself alongside the French admiral, and leaped on board sword in hand; but only seventeen men had followed him when the French admiral cast himself loose, and the English galley slid away. The row-galleys, under the command of Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Wallop, and Sir William Sidney, pressed forward to his rescue; but they were engaged by the light vessels in the harbour, and before they could get alongside Howard and his handful of men were all killed and thrown overboard. The last act of the English admiral was to take his gold chain and gold whistle, the badges of his office, from his neck, and throw them into the sea, vowing that such trophies should never fall into the hands of the enemy. The death of their gallant admiral, who had many brilliant qualities and some virtues, completely disheartened the fleet, which returned to England, being followed shortly after by the French, who sailed out of Brest and made some descents on the coast of Sussex. James of Scotland, in a half-conciliatory letter, told Henry that the loss of the brave Howard

* Letter from Dr. West to King Henry.—*Ellis's Collection.*
† Sir Henry Ellis.—Lord Herbert.

was greater than would have been the advantage of taking the whole French fleet;* and the young king for a short time deplored his fate. But he soon consoled himself by appointing his brother, the Lord Thomas Howard, to succeed him, telling him to revenge his death. The new admiral took the sea immediately, upon which the French retired to their old position at Brest, and left the English in undisturbed possession of the Channel.†

At this moment King Ferdinand, who had led Henry into this absurd war, made a separate truce for himself with France, which, among other things, recognised his seizure of Navarre. Some of the English ministers thought that, as the strength of the league had thus received a mortal wound, it would be better to postpone the invasion of France; but Henry, the willing dupe of those who flattered him as the most warlike monarch and most perfect knight in Christendom, would not forego his purpose, and pretended that a new alliance which he had formed with Maximilian "the Moneyless," who was now emperor, would more than compensate for the secession of his father-in-law Ferdinand. His army was ready; his people from one end of the land to the other were singing beforehand the glory which should attend "the red rose," "the royal rose," in France.‡ To desist at this stage would have been a marvellous effort, but Henry soon showed that he had not a particle of the military genius of his predecessors, and that he loved war for its pomp and parade rather than for its grand operations in the field. In the month of May he despatched his vanguard to Calais, under the command of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Herbert, both members of his privy council: he cut off the head of the Earl of Suffolk in the Tower § (a cowardly mode of beginning a campaign); and then, "when all things were prest, accompanied with many noblemen and six hundred archers of his guard, all in white haberdines and caps, he departed from his manor royal of Greenwich the 15th day of June, and so he and the queen, with small journeys, went to Dover Castle and there rested. . . And he made the queen governor of the realm in his absence, and commanded Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Thomas Lovel, a sage knight, and divers others, to give their attendance to the queen. . . Then the king took leave of the queen and of the ladies, which made such sorrow for the departing of their lords and husbands that it was great dolor to behold."* Instead of steering straight for Calais, Henry ran down the Channel as far as Boulogne, to regale the French coast with a mighty firing of great guns. Having thus announced to France that the majesty of England was coming, he put about his fleet and landed at Calais, on the last day of June, amidst such a roar of artillery from ships and batteries as had never been heard in the memory of man.† Lord Herbert had already taken the field and begun the siege of Terouenne, but Henry was in no great hurry to join him, passing his time very pleasantly at Calais with his courtiers and favourites, among whom Thomas Wolsey, his almoner, was already the most prevalent.‡

The news that a French army, under the command of the Duke de Longueville and the far-famed Bayard,—*Le Chevalier sans peur, et sans reproche*,—was moving to the relief of Terouenne, caused the young king to mount his war-horse; and on the 21st of July he marched out of Calais with a magnificent army amounting to about fifteen thousand horse and foot, without counting the besieging force under Lord Herbert, or the detachment under the Earl of Shrewsbury, sent to support that nobleman. Sir Charles Brandon, recently created Viscount Lisle, and the Earl of Essex, lieutenant-general of the spears, led the van; Henry marched with the main body, being placed in the midst of a choice guard of twelve hundred men, commanded by the Duke of Buckingham and Sir Edward Poynings; and his minister, and his prime favourite, Bishop Fox and Wolsey, followed in the rear, in the midst of spears and cannon. They had scarcely got beyond Ardres when they saw a strong detachment of French cavalry manœuvring in their front. Expecting a battle, Henry dismounted, and threw himself into the centre of his lansquenets, to fight on foot like the Henries and Edwards of former times. The brilliant Bayard, who was with the French horse, would have charged, but his superiors in command reminded him that King Louis had given orders that they should most carefully avoid fighting the English in open battle; and, after reconnoitring the invaders, the French withdrew, having already succeeded in another part of their commission, which was to throw provisions and gunpowder into the besieged town. The English believed that they had fled out of fear of their great guns. "Without let or hindrance" they joined the divisions under Herbert and Shrewsbury, and the siege was then pressed with some vigour. Henry caused a magnificent pavilion, bedecked with silks and blue damasks, and cloths of gold, to be pitched in front of Terouenne, but the bad weather soon drove him from this fantastical lodging, and he then inhabited a house built of wood. The besieged garrison was numerous, brave, and skilful:

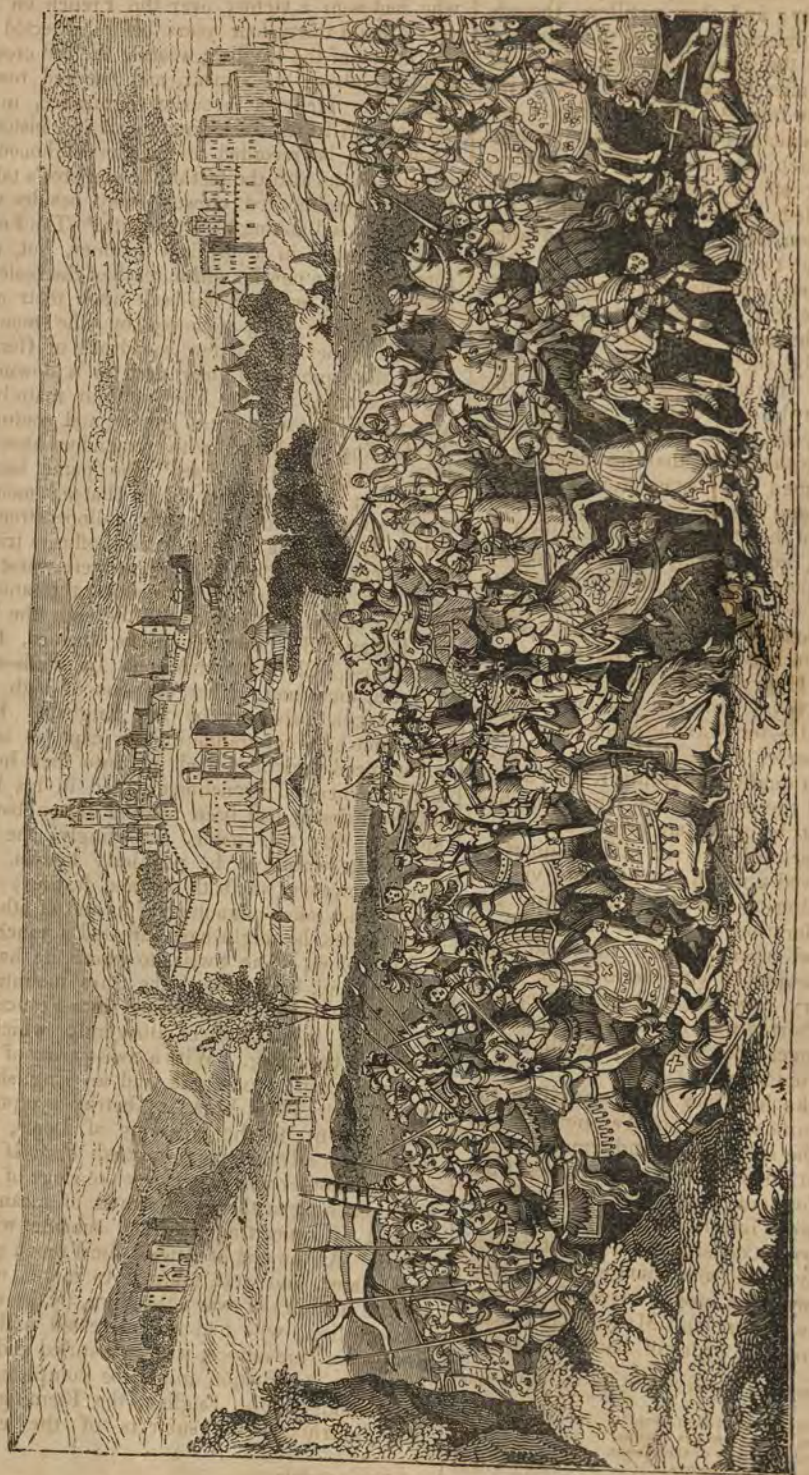
* Sir Henry Ellis's Collection.
† Lord Herbert.—Hall.—Stow.

‡ The rosse wille into Frawnse spring,
Almythy God hym thyder bryng,
And save this flowr wiche ys our kyng,
Thys rosse, thys rosse, this Ryall Rosse.

Popular song of the time.

§ For Suffolk's strange adventures see the preceding reign. It was one of the dying commands of Henry VII. that Suffolk, "for safety," should be put to death; but his fate was probably hastened by the conduct of his brother Richard de la Pole, who had entered the service of Louis XII. and assumed the appellation of "the White Rose." Henry pretended that there was a treasonable correspondence between the two brothers: but, as Suffolk was jealously guarded in the Tower, this is not very likely.

* Hall.
† Tytler, Life of Henry VIII.—Herbert.—Holinshed.
‡ At this time we find Queen Catherine writing very humbly and affectionately to the rising Wolsey, and entreating him to send her frequent news of her husband, his grace the king. See *Sir Henry Ellis.*



Battle of the Spurs.

From the Ancient Picture in the possession of the Royal Society of Antiquaries.

they countermined a mine attempted by Baynam, the English engineer; and their artillery, though it made less noise, did more mischief than that of the besiegers. At the same time, the Count of Angoulême (soon after Francis I.) advanced with a considerable army from Amiens, and threw out detachments of stradiotes (an active description of light cavalry), which scoured the whole country, frequently cutting off the convoys and foraging parties of the English. In this state of affairs the Emperor Maximilian, who had received an advance of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns from the English treasury, to enable him to raise troops, came to Terouenne with nothing but a small escort. Henry put on all his magnificence for this reception; for, nominally, the emperor was the first of Christian princes. He equipped himself and his principal nobles in the most costly dresses of gold and silver tissue; he made a display of all the jewels and goldsmiths' work that his camp furnished; and both men and horses were glittering masses of riches and finery. The emperor and his companions, on the other hand, were attired in plain black cloth, for the empress was recently dead. The two potentates met in a tremendous storm of wind and rain (which must have deranged the white silk jackets of the English courtiers) in the midst of a plain between Aire and the camp. The broad way to Henry's heart had been discovered by all his royal brothers, and, his vanity being once satisfied,—for Maximilian assured him that he, the Emperor of the West, was come to serve under him in quality of volunteer,—he seems to have overlooked the omission of which he had been guilty in not bringing an army with him. The emperor had scarcely arrived at head-quarters when Henry received a much less flattering visitor. This was Lyon King-at-arms,* bringing him the defiance and declaration of war of the King of Scotland, who had already taken the field, and sent his fleet to co-operate with his ally the King of France. Henry, however, had been prepared by Dean West: Surrey was in the marches, and he told the messenger that that earl would know how to deal with his master.

Nearly six weeks had now been wasted in the siege of the insignificant town of Terouenne; and so absurdly had the siege been conducted, that the garrison still continued to receive supplies from the army of the Count of Angoulême. When these communications were interrupted, the main body of the French army, consisting of about twelve thousand men, advanced from Plangy, with a view of throwing in provisions, under cover of a feigned battle. Upon this, Henry and Maximilian crossed the river, and formed in order of battle between it and the town and the French army. The emperor, who had won a victory over the French on that very ground thirty-four years before, directed the operations of the English, wearing the red cross of England above his armour, and the red rose of Lancaster, Henry's favourite cognisance, in his helmet. All this, according to an old historian, deserves to be recorded to the eternal honour of our nation, as also the fact of the emperor's taking for pay one hundred crowns a-day, besides what was disbursed among his attendants.* The French horse charged in a brilliant manner, but, after throwing some powder within reach of the besieged, they wheeled round, to fall back upon their main body. Being hotly followed by the mounted English archers and a few squadrons of German horse, they quickened their pace to a downright flight, galloped into the lines of their main body, and threw the whole into uproar and confusion. As the English charged with tremendous shouts of "St. George! St. George!" the panic became complete; and every Frenchman that was mounted struck spurs into his horse, and galloped from the field. In vain the bravest of their officers tried to rally them; the attempts, indeed, were worse than vain, for, owing to their not making the same use of their spurs, and flying with the rest, the Duke of Longueville, the illustrious Bayard, Bussy d'Amboise, Clermont d'Anjou, La Palisse, La Fayette, and many other captains of high rank, were taken prisoners by the English. Henry could not help congratulating his captives on the great speed their men had put into their horses: the light-hearted Frenchmen joined in his laugh, and said that it had been nothing but a battle of spurs.† By this name, accordingly, the affair came afterwards to be popularly known. The panic, however, was both real and lasting; and if Henry had taken advantage of it, and of other circumstances, he might have inflicted a much more serious blow. The Swiss, to whom he had sent some money, had crossed the Jura mountains in great force, and had penetrated into France as far as Dijon, the capital of Burgundy, which they were now besieging. With a Swiss army of twenty thousand men on one side, and an English army on the other, Paris began to betray symptoms of alarm. But, to the great joy of Louis, Henry, instead of advancing, permitted himself to be amused another whole week by the siege of Terouenne, catching at the mere straws of a campaign, instead of concerting a grand scheme with the Swiss. At the end of August the French garrison capitulated, and were allowed to march out with all the honours of war: the town, by the advice of Maximilian, who had an interested and evident motive for this advice, was dismantled and burned. That the destruction might be complete, without any labour to the English, the Flemings in the neighbourhood, the subjects of the emperor's

* The reader will remember Walter Scott's odd but picturesque verse in Marmion,—

Still is thy name in high account,
And still thy verse has charms,
Sir David Lindesay of the Mount,
Lord Lion king at-arms!

We are sorry that it is doubtful whether the poetical Sir David was in France on this mission, or engaged in receiving the English envoys before the battle of Flodden Field.

* Bishop Godwin.

† Paolo Giovio.—Du Bellay, Hist. de Chev. Bayard.—Hall.—Villaret.

grandson the Archduke Charles, were let loose upon the devoted place, and, being animated with the old enmities usual to bordering nations, razed the walls, filled up the ditches, set fire to the houses, and scarcely left one stone standing upon another, except in the cathedral church and the house of the canons. The weather continued to be very rainy, and Henry, by this time, "had so much of war that he began to be weary of the toil thereof, and to cast his mind on the pleasures of the court."* But still it was only the beginning of the month of September, and military etiquette required that something more should be done before going into winter quarters. What Henry *did* was a military absurdity; but he continued to be guided by Maximilian, who was still working for the profit of the Flemings and his grandson Charles. Instead of advancing into France he turned back to lay siege to Tournay, which belonged to France, though it was *enclavé* in the territory of Flanders, over the trade of which it exercised a bad influence, while it gave a passage to the French into the heart of the country. As far as the Flemings were concerned it was altogether an unpleasant neighbour; and the emperor was wise in getting possession of it without cost or risk. But what interest Henry could have in such an enterprise was not very apparent. His favourite Wolsey, however, had an interest, and a great one;—Maximilian had promised him the rich bishopric of Tournay, which was then vacant, and this prevailing favourite no doubt recommended the siege. The French citizens of Tournay refused the assistance of a garrison of the royal troops, and sacrificed themselves to a bad pun.† Upon being summoned they made a bold show of resistance, but, as soon as the English artillery got into play, they changed their tone, and in a few days capitulated. On the 22nd of September Henry rode into Tournay with as much pomp and triumph as if he had taken the capital of France. Ten days before this inglorious conquest the Swiss, who saw what sort of an ally they had in the English king, concluded a treaty highly advantageous to themselves with the King of France, and marched back to their own mountains. Louis was thus enabled to concentrate his forces in the north, and the grand plan of the allies vanished in air. Wolsey got the rich bishopric, Henry spent some money in jousts and tournaments, and then returned well satisfied to England, where he arrived safe and sound on the 22nd of October. Although he did not gain quite so much by it, Maximilian had duped the vain-glorious king almost as much as Ferdinand had done before. The money which Henry had expended amounted to an enormous sum. But his confidence in the Earl of Surrey had not been misplaced, and during his absence on the continent that nobleman had gained one of the most remarkable victories on record. Following up his defiance, the Scottish king put himself at the head of a numerous and gallant, but somewhat undisciplined army, and, contrary to the advice of most of his ministers, crossed the Tweed and began hostilities. The unfortunate issue of the campaign disposed men to judge harshly of his policy, but there was political wisdom as well as chivalrous generosity in making a diversion in favour of the French king, who, at the moment, seemed on the brink of destruction. France was the only ally upon whom the Scots could count, and it was natural enough to apprehend that her ruin would be followed by the subversion of Scottish independence. The management of the campaign is another consideration; and here the unfortunate James seems liable to heavy censure, though here, again, his imprudence and misconduct have been pretty generally exaggerated both by Scottish and English historians.

The most received version of the fatal field of Flodden is so striking and romantic that we scarcely hope to rectify what is incorrect in the impressions it has made; but the following appear to have been the real circumstances which preceded and attended that battle.

Although undertaken against the advice of the majority of the nobility, the war was very popular with the Scottish people, who flocked in such numbers to the royal standard that James was enabled, on the 22nd of August, to cross the borders with one of the most formidable armies that had ever invaded England. His artillery and appointments were also superior to what had hitherto been seen in the Scottish armies. Instead of advancing, however, he lingered on the right bank of the Tweed, besieging Norham Castle which did not surrender till the 29th of August. He then marched up the Tweed to Wark Castle, which detained him a day or two. From Wark he went to Etall, and thence to Ford, another border fortress of no great consequence, but which he attacked out of spite to the family of the Herons (to whom it belonged), a member of which, John Heron, was suspected of having murdered his favourite, Sir Robert Ker, the warden of the Scottish marches. William Heron, the head of the family and real owner of the castle, was a prisoner in Scotland, and Elizabeth, his wife, had passed southward to the Earl of Surrey, at York, in order to make arrangements by which the castle might be spared from the fury of the Scots, and her husband liberated from his captivity.* James, how-

Bishop Godwin.

† They said—"Que Tournay n'avoit jamais tourné, ni encore ne tournerait."—Mémoires de Fleuranges.

* Though a different account is commonly given, there is good reason for believing that the 'Dame Heron,' or 'Mistress Ford,' whose beauty is said to have detained the amorous monarch on the Tweed, "dissolved in indolence and love," when he ought to have been marching against Surrey, was not in Ford Castle, or anywhere near it, when it was taken,—that she fled to the south when he first crossed the Tweed, and that she merely saw James for a short time on or about the 3rd of September, when, like a good wife and prudent woman, she implored him to save the castle "and deliver her husband out of Scotland;" for which favours she was authorised by the Earl of Surrey, who, on the 4th of September, repeated the promise in a letter to James, to offer the liberation of the Lord Johnstone and Alexander Home, then prisoners in England. If, as Pitscottie asserts, the king did really "meddle" with the fair dame, it must have been for a very short time. The old notion that the lady, by going and coming between the two armies, betrayed the Scottish king, is scarcely worthy of a moment's attention.

ever, took the castle by storm, and razed it to the ground.

From York the Earl of Surrey, who was allowed time to reinforce his army, marched to Newcastle, and from Newcastle he advanced to Alnwick, whence, on the 4th of September, he despatched Rouge Croix, the pursuivant-at-arms, to reproach James with his breach of faith, and to offer him battle on the following Friday, if he had courage to remain so long on English ground. The same herald bore another message from Surrey's son, the Lord Thomas Howard, admiral of England, who, in very rude terms, told the Scottish monarch that he would come to justify the death of that pirate, Barton, which had been charged upon him as a foul murder by James, and that he neither expected to receive nor would give quarter. To Surrey James replied in a chivalrous tone, accepting his challenge; but he left the brutal message of his son unanswered. Though his army was already somewhat thinned by desertion, James resolved to abide the battle, and chose his ground with some skill on Flodden Hill, an off-shoot of the Cheviot, steep on both flanks, and defended in front by the deep Till, a tributary of the Tweed. When the English came in sight of this position they did not like it; and Surrey, on the 7th of September, sent James a second letter, reproaching him with having "put himself into a ground more like a fortress or a camp, than any indifferent ground for battle to be tried." As this taunting message had not the desired effect, Surrey sought to obtain his end by manœuvring round the position, by advancing towards Scotland, and then turning sharply round on the rear of Flodden. On the morning of the 8th he crossed the Till, near Weetwood, without meeting any opposition, and marched over some rugged ground to the village of Barmoor, on the right bank of the river. Early on Friday morning, instead of pursuing his march towards Berwick, he faced the north-west, and proceeded to Twisell-bridge, where he re-crossed the Till, and advanced towards Branxton, as if it was his intention to occupy a hill to the westward of Flodden. James, who had thrown away an admirable opportunity of attacking the English while they were crossing at Twisell-bridge, and at a dangerous ford a little higher up, now put himself in motion, in order to prevent them from taking up a formidable position between him and his own country. Setting fire to their huts and litter, the Scots descended their hill, and, under cover of the great smoke they had raised, hurried forward to seize the heights of Branxton, towards which the English vanguard was hastening in another direction. Between Twisell-bridge and Flodden, but nearer to the latter than the former, runs the small stream of Palinsburn, which the English had crossed before the wind drove away the smoke, and discovered the Scottish army within a quarter of a mile of them, in perfect order, "marching, like the Germans, without talking or making any noise."* Several of the Scottish nobles had advised a retreat: among these was the same Lord Lindsay of the Byres that made James III. the fatal present of the grey charger,† a rough old soldier, who had a turn for parables, and who had represented to the council that the stakes between the combatants were not equal. "I compare your lordships," said he, "to an honest merchant, who would, in his voyage, go to dice with a common hazarder, and there to jeopardy a rose-noble on a cast against a gleed (crooked) halfpenny; which if this merchant wins, it will be counted but little, or else nought; but if he tynes, he tynes his honour with that piece of gold, which is of more value. So, my lords, ye may understand by this, ye shall be called the merchant, and your king a rose-noble, and England the common hazarder, who has nothing to jeopardy but a gleed halfpenny, in comparison of your noble king and an old crooked carle lying in a chariot." For this advice James, it is said, threatened to hang Lindsay at his own castle gate; nor were the remonstrances of the Earl of Huntley and the Earl of Angus (the once terrible Bell-the-Cat) heard with more calmness. It is added, that the king told the latter that, if he were afraid of the English, he might go home. The taunt touched the old man to the quick, and he burst into tears. He turned, however, to depart, saying mournfully, "My age renders my body of no use in battle, and my counsel is despised; but I leave my two sons and the vassals of Douglas in the field: may old Angus's foreboding prove unfounded!"

To decline the battle was now impossible; and the Scottish nobles, with a very few exceptions, made up their minds to conquer or die with their sovereign. The two armies were about equal in number, each counting about thirty thousand men.‡ On the side of the English were five thousand whom Henry had sent back from France to meet this storm on the borders—one, not altogether unimportant, consequence of the diversion of the Scots in favour of Louis. The disposition of both armies was also much the same, and very

* Official account written to Henry VIII. in French.—The good order and striking silence of the Scots are noticed by nearly every contemporary writer. "Little or no noise did they make," says a black letter account, printed by Richard Faques in 1513, and reprinted by Mr. Haslewood in 1809. This picturesque circumstance did not escape Sir Walter Scott in his glorious version of the battle:—

> Nor martial shout, nor minstrel tone,
> Announced their march; their tread alone,
> At times one warning trumpet blown,
> At times a stilled hum,
> Told England, from his mountain-throne
> King James did rushing come. *Marmion.*

† See ante, p. 302.

‡ The number of the Scots was greatly exaggerated by the English bulletins and chronicles. The original "Gazette," in French, said (though we believe incorrectly) to have been written by Lord Thomas Howard himself, estimates them at 80,000; counting, no doubt, the camp-followers of all kinds. The curious account, republished by Mr. Haslewood, says the Scots were "an hundred thousand men at the least;" but this was when they first came across the borders; and in describing the actual battle, and in summing up the advantages of the Scots, the writer does not mention that of their superiority in numbers. "In this battle the Scots had many great advantages—that is to wit, the high hills and mountains, a great wind with them, and sudden rain, all contrary to our bows and arrows."

simple. The line of each was formed into a centre and two wings, and on each side a strong body of reserve was posted behind the centre. The battle began about four in the afternoon of Friday, the 9th of September, with cannonading on both sides. The English were superior in artillery, and their guns seem to have been better served. "Then out burst the ordnance on both sides with fire, flame, and hideous noise; and the master gunner of the English slew the master gunner of Scotland, and beat all his men from their guns, so that the Scottish ordnance did no harm to the Englishmen, but the Englishmen's artillery shot into the midst of the king's battail, and slew many persons—which seeing, the King of Scots and his brave men made the more haste to come to joining." The Earl of Huntley and Lord Home, with part of the left wing of the Scots, who fought on foot with "long spears like Moorish pikes," fell upon part of the English right wing under Sir Edmund Howard, with a fury that was irresistible. Sir Edmund was beaten down; his banner was brought to the dust; his lines were completely broken, and part of his men fled in the greatest disorder. It is said that most of the fugitives were men of Cheshire, whose wonted valour was impaired by their being separated from the rest of their countrymen, and placed under the command of a Howard instead of a Stanley. Sir Edmund, after being saved by the remainder of the right wing under the lord admiral, fell back towards the English centre, which extended its line to receive him, while Lord Dacre, who was in reserve behind the centre, came up and charged with all the English cavalry. Though the borderers under Lord Home, fancying they had already gained the victory, had begun to disperse over the field in search of plunder, that Scottish wing kept its ground with wonderful obstinacy, throwing off the English horse at the point of their long spears: but charge after charge told upon them, and, after a long conflict, and a terrible slaughter on both sides, Huntley and Home retreated before Sir Edmund, the Lord Admiral Howard, and Lord Dacre. The Earls of Crawford and Montrose, who were not able to prevent this retrograde movement, were charged in their turn by horse and foot, whom they received in line without wavering and breaking, upon the points of their spears; and when they were reinforced from the centre they not only became the assailants, but also threw the whole right wing of the English, with the cavalry from their reserve, into confusion. At this critical moment the lord admiral sent the Agnus Dei which he wore at his breast to his father, who was with the English centre, requesting him to bring up the whole of that division with all possible speed. Surrey advanced; but King James, who watched his movements, fell upon him with the entire centre of the Scots, fighting himself most gallantly in their front. The battle was now tremendous; and, when the Earl of Bothwell came up with the reserve to the support of the king, the victory for a while inclined to the Scots. But there were two circumstances—the shyness of Lord Home, and the rashness of the Highlanders who formed James's right wing—which proved fatal to the high hopes of the imprudent but gallant sovereign. When the Earl of Huntley urged Home to renew the fight and advance with his portion of the left wing, which had suffered cruelly, to the assistance of the king, he is said to have replied, "He does well that does for himself. We have foughten our vanguards, and have won the same; therefore let the lave (the rest) do their part as well as we."* When the right wing, under the Earls of Lennox and Argyle, with the Campbells, the Macleans, the Macleods, and the other clans from the Highlands and the Isles, who obeyed no orders save those of their chiefs, descended a hill to join the main body, they were met by the extreme left of the English—hardy bowmen and stout pikemen from Cheshire and from Lancashire—under Sir Edward Stanley, who galled them sorely with their arrows. In a frenzy, the half-naked clansmen threw away shield and target, and with their broad swords and axes, and without any order, rushed among the English. In vain La Motte, a commissioner from the French king, and other experienced French officers, endeavoured to keep them in their ranks—on they rushed, as if every Highlandman thought of deciding that great engagement with his own right arm. At first the English were astonished at this fierce onslaught, but they stood firm, closed their ranks and squares, and opposed as wonderful a coolness to the wonderful impetuosity of their enemies, who, at length, were driven back, and, being unable to re-form, were slaughtered in detail, or put to downright flight. Their chief commanders, the Earls of Lennox and Argyle, both perished on the field. Stanley now charged the king's centre on its right flank and rear; and, at the same time, James had to sustain the shock of Surrey in front, and the attack of the Admiral Howard and Lord Dacre, who, after repulsing the Earls of Crawford and Montrose, who were both slain, had fallen upon his left flank. In fact, he was now surrounded—hemmed in within a gradually contracting circle of foes, who, by this time, seem to have adopted, to a man, the savage resolution of the Lord Admiral, Thomas Howard—of giving no quarter.† Now was the time that the nobles and

* Pitscottie, who relates this incident, adds, that the Earl of Huntley, who commanded the rest of the left division, called his men together by trumpet and slug-horn, intending to advance to the succour of the king; but that ere he arrived the battle was decided. This earl was one of the very few great Scottish lords that escaped alive from Flodden Field; and he lost his standard, which is said to have been taken by Sir William Molyneux, a Cheshire knight, ancestor of the Earl of Sefton.

† Mr. Haslewood's black letter account says, "The Scots were so vengeable and cruel in their fighting, that when the Englishmen had the better of them they would not save them, though it so were that divers Scots offered great sums of money." In nearly every clause of his short narrative, this writer, who appears to have been in the battle, shows that, from the furious and determined way of fighting of their enemies, the English must have suffered most severely.

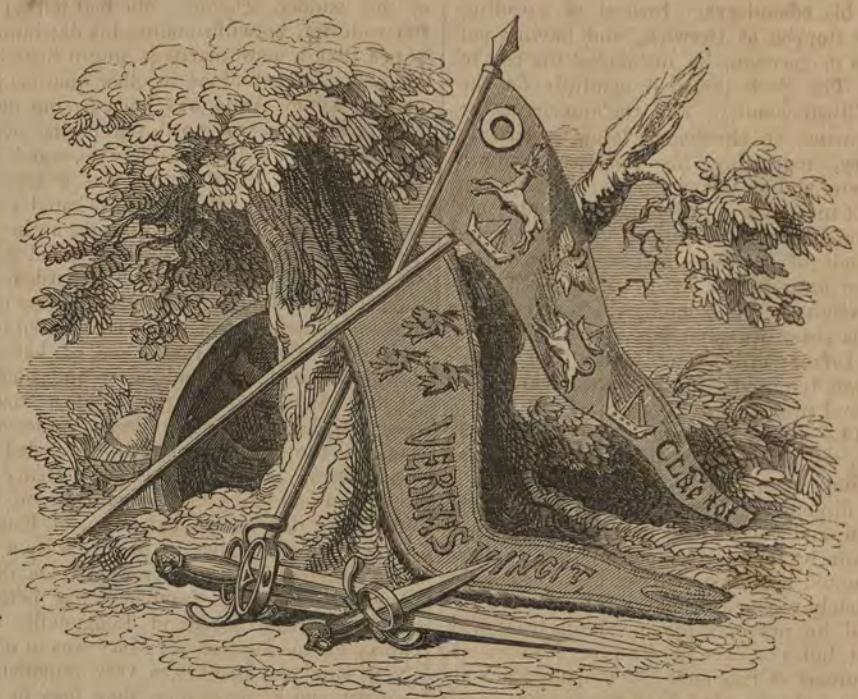
the meanest subjects of the doomed prince showed their valour and their attachment to his person:—

> "The English shafts in volleys hail'd,
> In headlong charge their horse assail'd;
> Front, flank, and rear, the squadrons sweep
> To break the Scottish circle deep,
> That fought around their king.
> But yet, though thick the shafts as snow,
> Though charging knights like whirlwinds go,
> Though billmen ply the ghastly blow,
> Unbroken was the ring;
> The stubborn spearmen still made good
> Their dark impenetrable wood,
> Each stepping where his comrade stood,
> The instant that he fell.
> No thought was there of dastard flight;
> Link'd in the serried phalanx tight,
> Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,
> As fearlessly and well."*

Nor did they cease fighting when James bit the dust with an English arrow sticking in his body, and with a mortal wound from an English bill on his head: they closed round the body, which fell within a spear's length of Surrey, defending it dead as obstinately as they had defended it when living. Night closed upon the carnage, and separated the combatants. Surrey was for a while uncertain of the victory; but during the night his scouts brought him intelligence that the Scots were in full retreat towards their own country, and that none remained on the field; "upon which the earl thanked God with humble heart." But the intelligence of the scouts was not quite correct: during the night the borderers, who had fought under the standard of Lord Home, being joined by marauders from Tynedale and from Tiviotdale, stripped the slain and pillaged part of the baggage of *both* armies; and when day dawned, Home's banner was seen hovering near the left flank of the English, while another body of Scots—apparently the remnant of the centre, which had fought under the king—appeared in front, occupying a hill, as if determined to renew the contest. Surrey brought his artillery to bear upon them, and they were dislodged; but even then they seem to have retreated very deliberately, and Lord Home's people carried a rich booty and a considerable number of prisoners across the Tweed. Lord Dacre found seventeen pieces of cannon deserted on the hill-side; and it appears to have been in the morning, and not in the preceding evening, that the English horse followed a portion of the retiring Scots for about four miles, and not further. It is quite certain that Surrey had suffered dreadfully in this stern conflict, and that he had no inclination whatever to try the fords of the Tweed and the moors and morasses beyond it. The loss of the Scots, according to the most moderate calculation, amounted to eight or nine thousand men; but in this number were included the very prime of their nobility, gentry, and even clergy. "Scarce a Scottish family of eminence but has an ancestor killed at Flodden; and there is no province in Scotland, even at this day, where the battle is mentioned without a sensation of terror and sorrow."† Besides the king and his natural son, Alexander Stuart, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who had studied abroad, and received instruction from Erasmus, there were slain twelve earls—Crawford, Montrose, Lennox, Argyle, Errol, Athole, Morton, Cassilis, Bothwell, Rothes, Caithness, and Glencairn: to these must be added fifteen lords and chiefs of clans; amongst whom were Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, Loughlan Maclean of Dowart, and Campbell of Lawers; and conspicuous in the sad list are the names of George Hepburn, Bishop of the Isles; William Bunch, Abbot of Kilwinning; Lawrence Oliphant, Abbot of Inchaffray; the Dean of Glasgow; La Motte, the French agent, and most of his countrymen. Some families of the gentle blood of Scotland lost all their male members that were of an age capable of bearing arms. The body of the king was found by Lord Dacre among a heap of dead. Dacre, who had known him well, recognised it, though it was disfigured by many wounds, and it was afterwards identified by James's chancellor, Sir William Scott, by Sir John Forman, and some other prisoners. The body was conveyed to Berwick, where it was embalmed and wrapped in sheets of lead, and it was then sent secretly among other packages to Newcastle. From Newcastle the Earl of Surrey took it with him to London, and then placed it in the monastery of Sheen, near Richmond. Meanwhile, in Scotland, the people were loth to believe that their king was dead; and those who believed it attributed his death, not to the English in the field, but to certain traitors in the retreat. It was said that James, after escaping across the Tweed, was murdered by some of the retainers of the Earl of Home; and the classical, but credulous and imaginative, Buchanan tells us that he himself had heard one Lawrence Telfer say that he saw the king on the north of the Tweed after the battle. Lesley, again, informs us that it was asserted by many, that it could not be the king's body which Surrey had conveyed to London, as James was seen alive by many and safe at Kelso after the fight of Flodden; and he adds, that some of the Scots continued to believe that the king had gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to pray for the souls of his slaughtered nobles, and to pass the rest of his life in devotion and penitence. By these romantic believers it was particularly objected to the English, that they could never show the token of the iron belt which James constantly wore round his body, in penance for his youthful rebellion and the death of his father: but the English produced the unfortunate monarch's sword and dagger, and a turquois ring (supposed to have been sent him by the Queen of France), which are still preserved in the Heralds' College, London; and no rational doubt can be entertained that James perished at Flodden Field.

The English also prided themselves particularly on the capture of the Scottish guns, which, according to an official report, were "the neatest, the soundest, the best fashioned, the smallest in the touch-hole, and the most beautiful of their size and length that ever were seen." Among them was the

* Marmion. † Walter Scott.



Sword and Dagger of James IV., and two Knights' Banners, used at the Battle of Flodden Field.

fine train of seven pieces called the "Seven Sisters," recently cast by the famous Robert Borthwic, master of artillery to James, who was killed beside his own guns in the beginning of the battle. According to another English bulletin or gazette, written at the moment, "The field where the Scots did lodge was not to be reproved, but rather to be commended greatly for their many and great number of goodly tents, and much good stuff in the same; and in the said field was plenty of wine, beer, ale, beef, mutton, salt fish, cheese, and other victuals necessary and convenient for such a great army—albeit our army, doubting that the said victuals had been poisoned for their destruction, would not save, but utterly destroyed them."*

* Original dispatch in French, attributed to the Lord Admiral Howard, preserved in the Heralds' College, and printed by Pinkerton.—"The Trewe Encountre or Batayle lately don betweene Englande and Scotlande," &c., first printed in 1513, and reprinted by Haslewood, in 1809.—Hall's Chronicle.—Pitscottie.—Lesley, De Rebus Gestis Scotorum.—Walter Scott, Notes to Marmion.—Ellis's Letters.—Tytler, Hist. Scot.—Rambles in Northumberland and on the Scottish Border; with brief Notices of Interesting Events in Border History, by Stephen Oliver the Younger.

We have not ventured on an estimate of the loss of the English, which was absurdly underrated, considering all the circumstances of the battle. Hall says that the slain and taken were less than 1500, the dispatch in French less than 1400, which, as it has been observed, might have been correct if the Scots had stood merely like sheep to be slaughtered, instead of fighting (as they did) with a determination that rendered the victory uncertain, even to the very last, when night parted the combatants. There was no panic retreat at all, which is so fatal to the one side, and so safe to the other, nor did the English make much use—except against the naked Highlanders—of their bows, but were obliged to fight hand to hand. "It is not to be doubted but the Scots fought manfully, and were determined either to win the field or to die. They were also as well appointed as was possible at all points with armour and harness, *so that few of them were slain with arrows*; howbeit the bills did beat and hew them down, *with some pain and danger to Englishmen*."—*Trewe Encountre, etc.*

On his advance northward to meet King James, the Earl of Surrey, previously to leaving Pontefract Castle, "layed posts every way" for the speedy communication of intelligence; and the day after the battle, and when the body of James had been found, he sent off couriers to the queen-regent, who lay at Woburn. Queen Catherine instantly announced this victory to her husband in a very spirited and very English letter. Being on the winning side, she said, "All that God sendeth is for the best;" and *she* sent Henry the coat-armour of the unfortunate James. "In this," she adds, "your grace shall see how I can keep my promise (of protecting England), sending you for your banner a king's coat. I thought to send *himself* unto you, but our Englishmen's hearts would not suffer it." The affectionate tone of the letter is remarkable. She calls the king "my Henry;" and concludes with praying God to send him home shortly, as without this no joy can be complete.* The king received this conjugal dispatch while he lay before Tournay. Soon after his return to England he rewarded Surrey, by restoring to him the title of Duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father, who fell in the battle of Bosworth Field.

The victory at Flodden had been so dearly bought, and money and provisions were so scarce in his camp, that Surrey was in no condition to

* She also tells him that she is going to make a long-promised visit to the shrine of our Lady of Walsingham. The whole of the letter, which is preserved among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum, and printed in Sir Henry Ellis's collection, is exceedingly interesting.

follow up his advantages. Instead of invading Scotland he stopped at Berwick, and having put some troops in garrison, he disbanded the rest of his army. The Scots prepared manfully for the defence of their country; and the queen, at the same time, wrote an affectionate letter to her brother Henry, requesting his forbearance for a widowed sister and an infant orphan. Henry was, perhaps, not incapable of generous sentiments; but it is not uncharitable to suppose that the determined attitude of the Scots and the old recollections of the unprofitable nature of Scottish wars had their weight in his council, which agreed to a peace. His sister Margaret was appointed regent during the infancy of her son; and a friendly intercourse was renewed with Scotland, which was forwarded and prolonged by other events.*

A.D. 1514.—Louis XII., who had been so much indebted to the blunders committed by Henry in the preceding campaign, dexterously pursued a course of diplomacy which broke up the coalition against him, and which would have left the English to make war by themselves had Henry's military ardour tempted him to a renewal of the struggle. He completely reconciled himself with the court of Rome, and he not only prolonged his truce with Ferdinand, but won over the Emperor Maximilian, —the volunteer of England,—by proposing a treaty of marriage. Louis offered the hand of Renée, his second daughter, with his claim to the duchy of Milan, to Prince Charles, who was grandson both to Maximilian and to Ferdinand. Charles, it will be remembered, had been affianced during the lifetime of the late king to the Princess Mary of England, Henry's younger sister. The bargain had been arranged with Charles's father, Philip, during his detention in Windsor Castle; but Henry did not consider it the less binding from the force and treachery which had been used on that occasion; and as Charles was now approaching the age of puberty, he expected shortly to see the completion of the marriage. The first person to inform Henry of these negotiations was the French king himself, through the medium of the Duke of Longueville, who had been taken prisoner in the Battle of the Spurs and conveyed into England. That accomplished courtier soon won the favour of the English king; and when Henry was almost frantic at the treachery of his allies, the Duke adroitly proposed a family alliance with his master. Louis's wife, Anne of Brittany, had died in the month of January, just in time for the furthering of this sudden scheme. She had left no son, and her widower, notwithstanding his declining health, hoped that a new marriage might bless him with an heir. Negotiations in other quarters had been opened before Anne was buried; but the friendship of England was worth purchasing even at the price of taking a disagreeable wife,—and the Princess Mary, on the contrary, was a beautiful and charming person. Henry, whose mind was seldom startled by sudden changes, caught at the proposal. Louis anxiously urged the treaty, and the private feelings of the princess were disregarded, as in all such cases. Louis was fifty-three years old, Mary was sixteen, and passionately enamoured of Charles Brandon, Viscount Lisle, one of her brother's favourites, and the handsomest and most accomplished nobleman in the English court. The treaty, which was to secure lasting peace and amity between the two nations, was concluded with the usual forms: Louis agreed to pay Henry a million of crowns, in ten yearly instalments, in discharge of arrears due on the old treaty of Estaples, and Henry agreed to give his sister Mary a dower of four hundred thousand crowns. On the 7th of August a marriage ceremony was performed at Greenwich, the Duke of Longueville acting as proxy for his master. If Mary was in no hurry to leave England, Louis was very impatient for her society, and he wrote more than once to hurry her departure. On the 2nd of September he addressed Wolsey, now Bishop of Lincoln and the manager of all Henry's affairs, desiring that his queen might be sent over without delay; and on the same day the Duke of Orleans wrote to Mary herself, beseeching her to hasten her journey. A month after this Henry and his court accompanied the young Queen of France to Dover, where she embarked for Boulogne, accompanied by a splendid retinue, among whom were Surrey, now Duke of Norfolk, her lover the Viscount Lisle, who had been created Duke of Suffolk, and *Anne Boleyn*, then a pretty little girl and maid of honour.* On the 8th of October she made her public entrance into Abbeville, where she was joyfully received by her husband King Louis. On the following day the marriage was re-solemnised by a French cardinal, Louis suffering grievously from the gout during the ceremony; and the day after, to the great vexation of the young queen, he dismissed the Lady Guilford, her governess, Sir Richard Blount, her chamberlain, with all the rest of her English attendants except two or three mere menials. The accomplished Charles Brandon, however, remained with the Duke of Norfolk in quality of ambassador. On the 12th of October Mary addressed her brother, complaining bitterly of this treatment, and lamenting, above all, the forced departure of her "Mother Guilford." "Would to God," she exclaims, "that my Lord of York had come with me in the room of Norfolk!

* James having died under sentence of excommunication, which he incurred by breaking the treaty of peace, Henry, with some ostentation, applied to the pope for permission to give Christian burial to his body; and Leo X., in a letter dated the 29th of November, granted him permission to inter it, as requested, honourably in St. Paul's Cathedral. It, however, was left above ground at Sheen, till the time of Edward VI., when the monastery became the property and residence of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, who permitted it to be thrown into a lumber-room among some old timbers, lead, and other rubbish; in which state it was seen by Stow. In the reign of Elizabeth some workmen cut off the head of the embalmed corpse; and one Lancelot Young, master glazier to her majesty, feeling a sweet savour to proceed from it, brought it to his house in Wood-street, London, where he kept it for some time; but at length he caused it to be buried by the sexton of St. Michael's, amongst other bones taken out of the charnel-house of that church.—*Stow's Survey of London.*

* In the original list signed by King Louis, which is preserved among the Cottonian MSS., this personage is merely named as *Madamoyselle Boleyn.*

for then I am sure I should have been left much more at my heart's ease than I am now!" My Lord of York was none other than Wolsey, who ran through all the grades of church preferment with unprecedented rapidity, and who had been translated from Lincoln to the Archbishopric of York on the preceding 5th of August. On the same day that she wrote to her brother the young queen of France addressed her "loving friend" the archbishop, repeating her complaint that the morn next after her marriage all her servants, both men and women, had been discharged, and begging him, as he loved the king, her brother, and herself, to find means to send back to her her dear Mother Guilford. The history of these details is preserved in a series of original letters full of minute and curious information.* On the 7th of November Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and the other ambassadors in France, wrote to Henry a full account of his sister's coronation, which took place at St. Denis on the 5th of November, the Count of Angoulême, soon afterwards Francis I., holding the crown over her head, "to ease her of the weight thereof," during the greater part of the ceremony. On Monday the 6th she made her triumphal entrance into the capital, where she was received with such ceremony, and by so many deputations from the nobility, the parliament, the university, the chamber of accounts, the municipality, "and divers other which were too long to write," that she was nearly six hours in going from the Port St. Denis to the palace. There was a grand allegorical pageant which ran a good deal upon the old concetto of the happy union of the Lily and the Rose; and on the following day there began a stupendous course of joustings and tournaments, where the Duke of Suffolk carried off every prize for which he contended, and where poor Louis, whose days of chivalry were over, attended in a litter, on account of his great weakness. The contrast was too unfavourable to the royal husband! When the jousts were over, Suffolk wrote to Wolsey, modestly telling him, among other things, that, by God's blessing, all the Englismen who had entered the lists had "sped well," as he was sure my Lord Archbishop would hear from others. The gallant Brandon certainly excited a great jealousy among the French courtiers; and, if we are to believe the majority of the French writers of the time, the attachment between him and Queen Mary was apparent from the moment of their arrival in France, and excited suspicion notwithstanding their great prudence and irreproachable conduct. It should be noted, however, that the immorality which went by the mild name of gallantry was exceedingly prevalent in the French court, and soon became more so. In the month of December Louis wrote to his "good brother, cousin, and gossip," the king of England, to express his happiness in this marriage; and on the 1st of January following he expired at Paris, worn out with sickness and debility. Louis was a prince of many excellent qualities: he obtained from a better source than court flattery the glorious title of Father of his People, and his subjects sincerely lamented his death—for a few days. Mary was certainly not an inconsolable widow. It was generally rumoured that Francis I., who now ascended the throne of France in the twenty-first year of his age, was not insensible to her beauty and accomplishments; but he was provided with a queen, having recently married the Princess Claude, daughter of the late King Louis and Anne of Brittany. Ten days after the death of her husband we find Queen Mary writing a very cool letter to Wolsey to ask what her brother meant to do with her now that his grace the king of France was departed to God, and assuring him that her conduct had been such as to redound to the honour of the king her brother and of herself. There is another letter of a later date addressed to Henry himself, in which she earnestly beseeches him to send for her out of France in order that she might shortly see his face again, which was the thing in this world she most longed for. Henry then sent the Duke of Suffolk, Sir Richard Wingfield, and Dr. West, with "a goodly band of yeomen all in black," to bring the princess home again. Mary, who had been not quite three months a wife, and scarcely two months a widow, gave heart and hand to her lover, and was privately married at Paris to the captivating Brandon, almost as soon as he arrived at that capital. It had not been unusual for princesses of the blood to marry subjects, but the notion of the royal dignity was now wonderfully on the increase; and it had been set down as law, at least as far back as Henry VI., that no such marriages should be allowed without the express permission of the king; and for this it appears Mary did not ask. She wrote to implore pardon for the step she had taken to secure her own happiness, and then travelled with her husband to Calais, where a more public marriage was solemnised shortly after. Henry for a time was, or appeared to be, exceedingly wroth at the unequal match; and on their return to England, in the month of August, the duke and duchess went to their manor in Suffolk instead of joining the court. Thence Mary wrote another supplicatory letter, in which, after repeating her regret at the great and high displeasure of his highness against her and my Lord of Suffolk for the marriage between them, she proceeded to assure him that she did not enter into that marriage through mere sinful appetite.* The king, however, had a warm affection both for his sister Mary and for the accomplished Brandon, who had been brought up with him from his childhood, and who delighted Henry by his cheerful humour, his gallant deportment, and his great address in tournaments and all martial exercises; and a perfect reconciliation soon took place, aided by the good-will of my "Lord Cardinal,"—for Wolsey, still rising, got the cardinal's hat in the course of this summer.†

* Sir Henry Ellis's Collection.

* "Of any synewale appetyde."

† Ellis's Letters.—Hall.—Bishop Godwin.—Hist. de Bayard.—Lettere de' Principi.—Original Letters quoted by Fiddes.

It is time to say a word touching the history of this gorgeous churchman, who for nearly twenty years was more king of England than Henry himself. Thomas Wolsey was the son of a substantial butcher of Ipswich. His father, who was rather wealthy for the time, procured him a good education, and brought him up for the church. He studied at Oxford, where, on account of his precocity and early attainments, he was honoured with the name of the Boy Bachelor. For some time he taught the grammar school adjoining to Magdalen college. Among other pupils the sons of the Marquess of Dorset were committed to his care, and, by means of the marquess, the parsonage of Limington in Somersetshire,—"no very mean one,"—was bestowed upon him. He was not distinguished at any period of his life by temperance and sobriety and a command of his passions: in the hot season of youth he appears to have been guilty of sundry indiscretions. There is an old tradition which, if not strictly true, is at least told by nearly all the English writers of the time. It is, that soon after taking possession of his living in Somersetshire, Sir Amias Paulet, for some misconduct, clapped him in the stocks, a punishment not usually inflicted upon other "than beggars and base people."* It is quite certain that the young parson soon grew weary of the obscurity of a country life; "bearing a mind that looked beyond this poor benefice," which he soon left to become domestic chaplain to the treasurer of Calais. The treasurer introduced him to the notice of Bishop Fox, the cunning minister and diplomatist,—"a man that knew rightly how to judge of good wits." Fox, finding in the young man sufficient learning and admirable activity, and great aptitude for the despatch of public business, warmly recommended him to his master Henry VII., whose particular talent it was to discover the abilities of other men, and who never employed a dull one. Henry, who, besides, had always business upon hand that required diligence and adroitness, presently employed Wolsey in certain secret affairs of great moment, and Wolsey more than justified the warm recommendation of his patron the bishop. "What need many words?" exclaims an episcopal historian; "he so far pleased the king, that in short time he became a great man, and was first preferred to the deanery of Lincoln and then made the king's almoner."† Of the nature of one particular affair in which the cautious old king employed Wolsey we are duly informed. In the last years of his life, when he was ransacking Europe for a rich wife, he despatched "the almoner" to the imperial court to treat, with proper discretion, for the hand of Margaret Duchess of Savoy, the daughter of Maximilian.

Upon the death of the old king there was a struggle for supremacy in the council between Bishop Fox and the Duke of Norfolk, then Earl of Surrey. The bishop was not slow in perceiving that the earl, whose military character and tastes pleased the young king, was getting the upper hand, and, to counteract this influence, he introduced Wolsey, who could change hue like a chameleon, and adapt himself to the tastes and humours of every man who was rich and powerful enough to reward his versatile genius. It was the old story—the tool was too sharp for the hand that would have worked with it for its own purposes. Instead of propping the bishop against the weight of the earl, the chaplain supplanted them both, and soon acquired more power and influence at court than they had ever possessed between them. Though nearly twenty years his senior, Wolsey glided into all the tastes and habits of the young king, some of which, however, seem to have been natural to him; and, though a churchman, he became a sort of model and a bosom friend to Henry, whose chief, but not only ambition it was, to figure as a warlike monarch and perfect knight. We have noticed his love of literature. Of the books he had read many were of the school divinity;* and his favourite author was the subtilising St. Thomas Aquinas. Wolsey could entertain him on this subject, which he had studied professionally; and, with a happy facility, he could pass from St. Thomas to the ladies and affairs of gallantry. Bishop Fox had acquired great fame as a deviser and manager of feasts, pageants, and court entertainments; but his conceptions appear to have been tame and niggardly compared to those of Wolsey, who was a great refiner of sensual pleasures, and whose talent for magnificence amounted almost to genius. Nor did his clerical character prevent him from taking an active part in the balls and feasts and parties of pleasure: he ate and drank as freely as any of the lay courtiers; he sang merry songs, and occasionally would join in the dance. Nature had given him a large faculty of enjoyment, and it was easy for so prosperous a man to keep up a gay and cheerful humour. His craft and cunning were covered with a thick, rich varnish of frankness and bluntness, the most deceptive of all cheats. Henry, according to an old writer, had "as little inclination to trouble himself with business as a wild ox has to be yoked to the plough;" and it quite suited Wolsey's views to encourage this feeling, and to take the whole business of government upon himself. "The king," said this convincing preacher, "should hawk and hunt, and, as much as him list, use honest recreations. If so be he should at any time desire suddenly to become an old man, by

* "What the matter was," says the old Bishop of Hereford, "that so exasperated him against Wolsey I know not; this I know, that Wolsey, being afterwards made Cardinal and Lord Chancellor of England, so grievously punished this injury that Sir Amias Paulet was fain to dance attendance at London some years, and, by all manner of obsequiousness, to curry favour with him. There remains to this day (reign of James I.) a sufficient testimony hereof in a building over the gate of the Middle Temple in London, built by the knight at the time of his attendance there, and decked round about very sumptuously with the cardinal's arms, hoping thereby somewhat to allay the wrath of the incensed prelate." It will be remembered, however, that Sir Amias had been a finer and tax-gatherer under Henry VII.

† Ibid.

* According to several accounts Henry's father had at one time destined him for the church. Hence his knowledge of divinity, church music, &c.

intermeddling in old men's cares, he should not want those (meaning himself) that would in the evening, in one or two words, relate the effect of a whole day's consultation." In a short time it was seen that there was nothing to be done but through him and by him; "For he was the man that was made choice of, who, like another Mercury, should pass between this our Jove and the senate of the lesser gods."

A few months after the return of the Princess Mary from France, Archbishop Warham, finding his authority reduced to nothing, resigned the seals, upon which Wolsey became chancellor of the kingdom. This high promotion was soon followed by another of an ecclesiastical description: in consequence of services rendered or promised, Leo X. appointed him to the important and lucrative post of papal legate. He now became most gorgeous in his dress, retinue, housekeeping, and all other things; carrying pomp, and ceremony, and expense to a higher pitch than men had ever before seen in a subject. His fine portly figure was set off with silks and satins of the finest texture and richest scarlet or crimson dye; his neck and shoulders were covered with a tippet of costly sables; his gloves were of red silk; his hat, of a cardinal, was scarlet; his shoes were silver gilt, inlaid with pearls and diamonds. The eye of imagination is dazzled by this warm and glowing picture.* It was calculated at one time that his income, with the pensions and presents he received from foreign princes, equalled the revenue of the crown. His taste was rather for spending than accumulating. He maintained a train of eight hundred persons, amongst whom were nine or ten lords, the beggared descendants of proud barons. He had fifteen knights, and forty squires. All his domestics were splendidly attired: his cook wore a satin or velvet jerkin, and a chain of gold round his neck. When he appeared in public his cardinal's hat was borne before him by a person of rank: two priests, the tallest and best-looking that could be found, immediately preceded him, carrying two ponderous silver crosses; two gentlemen, each bearing a silver staff, walked before the two priests; and in front of all went his pursuivant-at-arms, bearing a huge mace of silver gilt. Most of his followers were mounted upon spirited horses, perfect in training, and richly caparisoned; but he himself, as a priest, rode a mule, with saddle and saddle-cloth of crimson velvet, and stirrups of silver gilt. At his levee, which he held every morning at an early hour, after a very short mass, he always appeared clad all in red! Henry seems to have taken a pride in the splendour of his favourite, and jealousy was probably avoided by his considering all this glory as a mere reflection of his own. Even the nation was less jealous of the low-born minister than might have been expected; for Wolsey was an excellent paymaster, and constantly gave largesses to the people and alms to the poor. At the same time he encouraged men of learning, exerted himself for the revival of classical literature, and endowed colleges. Indeed, Wolsey, though the most absolute minister of an absolute king, was rather popular than otherwise until Henry's wants obliged him to overtax the people. As chancellor he dispensed strict justice, though his severity too often savoured of the system of Empson and Dudley; for he set round fines on the heads of rich offenders, without any very scrupulous attention to legal forms or the positive amount of their guilt. He, however, repressed with a strong hand the arbitrary power of the aristocracy, which was not much at court, but still a great thing in the country; and he put down thieves and robbers, improving the police by encouraging the sheriffs and local magistrates. On the whole, and with reference to that age, his home-government was not a bad one; "and, certainly," says an old writer, "they that lived in that age would not stick to say that this kingdom never flourished more than when Wolsey did; to whose wisdom they attributed the wealth and safety that they enjoyed, and the due administration of justice to all without exception." His foreign politics were bad and base enough, as will be seen in our narrative of the course of events, which will also place in its proper light the whole moral being of this extraordinary man, whose history, for many years, is almost the history of his country. His faults and vices were of a gigantic growth; but Wolsey was no vulgar upstart—no sordid mind.*

Francis I., the new king of France, whose views were all directed beyond the Alps, gladly renewed the treaty which his predecessor Louis had concluded with Henry at the time of his marriage; and this new league was published by proclamation in London. Having secured peace with England, and resumed alliances with Venice, with Genoa, and some other states, Francis poured sixty thousand men into the plains of Lombardy, part of whom crossed the Alps by a pass to the left of Mount Genèvre, which had never before been attempted by an army. His first object was the conquest, or rather the recovery of the duchy of Milan, which was then held by Maximilian Sforza, a native prince, who relied entirely on the favour of the pope and on the arms of the Swiss mercenaries. The bold and skilful movements of the French brought them suddenly among the scattered columns of the Swiss, who were beaten in detail, and prevented from uniting. Negotiations were begun for a capitulation, when twenty thousand of their countrymen descended from the Alps, and so much revived the spirit of the Swiss that they determined to risk a general engagement. The head-quarters of Francis were at Marignano; the Swiss were collected behind the walls of Milan. The two armies were thus only separated by about ten miles, and the road between them, running across a flat and, to some extent, a marshy country, was, for the greater part an elevated causeway, with a ditch on either side. Stimulated by a cardinal legate, who

* It is drawn by Cavendish, one of Wolsey's own servants.

* Cavendish.—Fiddes.—Hall.—Bishop Godwin.

had more zeal than knowledge of military affairs, the Swiss resolved, without waiting for reinforcements from the pope, to sally out by this road and attack the French in the positions they had chosen, not having so much before their eyes the great superiority of the enemy, particularly in artillery and cavalry, as the memory of the many victories they had formerly gained over the French.* So eager were they for the fight that they would not wait an hour, but began their march when the day was far advanced. About two hours before sunset they advanced to the attack, and with such fury that they drove in some of the French columns of infantry, and took part of their artillery. But Francis, surrounded by a squadron of determined men, threw himself in the van, and presently charged along the road with the mass of his cavalry. The Swiss held firm, and a fierce combat ensued, in which the French gens-d'armes suffered severely, and were broken more than once by the brave Swiss infantry. They fought through the evening until the setting of the moon, when darkness obliged them to cease. Francis retired, wounded with lances in several places, and so worn out with fatigue that, as soon as he dismounted, he threw himself upon the carriage of one of his guns and fell asleep. But he had short time for rest anywhere: the affair thus far was decidedly unfavourable to him; he had lost fifteen pieces of heavy artillery, a great many men, and some of his best officers; and the shouts and songs of the Swiss, who were reposing close at hand upon the ground where they had so bravely fought, gave him full assurance that they were only waiting for daylight to renew the conflict. The cardinal legate had sent them out wine and provisions from Milan, and they were altogether in a much better condition than the French troops, and the allies and mercenaries serving with them. During the night a report was spread all over the country that the French army had been thoroughly defeated, and couriers were despatched with this intelligence to different parts of Italy. Fully aware of his critical situation, Francis passed the greater part of the night in removing his artillery to better positions, and in making a better distribution of his forces: he also sent to hasten the advance of Alviano, who commanded the light cavalry of his allies, the Venetians, who had an army in the field. At the first peep of day the Swiss recommenced the attack with more fury than ever, but, by moving forward, they became exposed to a flank fire of the whole French artillery. Still they kept their ground; and they were on the point of routing the French cavalry anew, when, just as the sun rose above the horizon, Alviano came up with his light horse, and attacked them in the rear. The Swiss, believing that he was followed by the whole Venetian army, then sounded a retreat, which was executed with great coolness and order. Placing their wounded in the centre, and carrying off their field-pieces on their shoulders, they moved with slow and measured steps along the road to Milan, with their faces still turned to the enemy, and without the least confusion. Such was the effect on the French army that neither infantry nor cavalry had the boldness to follow them. Two detached companies that occupied a farm-house off the road, were surprised and burnt by the Venetian light-horse; but the rest of the Swiss army, with the same brave spirit beaming in their eyes, returned untouched to Milan. But they left behind them on the field eight thousand dead, mixed with nearly an equal number of their enemies. The pikes of the mountaineers had levelled some of the loftiest crests of France, and such another victory would have forced Francis to fly back across the Alps. Never since the days of Henry V., and the Bedfords and Talbots, had the French encountered such undaunted foes; and the Swiss, like the English of that time, fought all on foot. "This is not a battle of men," exclaimed Trivulzio: and the Italian veteran added, that the eighteen battles in which he had fought before were mere child's play compared to this fierce encounter at Marignano. The day after the battle, which was finished on the 14th of September, most of the Swiss quitted the service of Sforza, who had no money, and retired leisurely, by way of Como, to their own mountains. The brilliant valour of Francis was rewarded by the surrender of Milan, and the temporary occupation of the whole duchy.*

The military glory which the young French king thus acquired beyond the Alps excited the jealousy of Henry, and an outcry was raised in the English court against French ambition and encroachment. As Francis had given great offence to Wolsey, that powerful favourite encouraged the hostile feelings of his master, and recommended him to form a fresh alliance with the Emperor Maximilian, in order to expel the French from Italy. If there had been money in hand war would have been immediately declared against Francis, but Henry by this time had completely exhausted the treasures left to him by his father; and Maximilian, on his side, was still the "moneyless," and could do nothing without English subsidies. He soon adopted an expedient which, by a very correct estimate of Henry's character, he calculated would induce him to make greater exertions for the raising of money than the mere prospect of a doubtful war. Gradually he hinted that he was weary of the weight of the imperial crown, and might be easily persuaded to resign it, for a proper consideration in money, to the English king. Duped as he had been by Maximilian already, Henry's greedy vanity took the bait; and the Earl of Worcester and Dr. Cuthbert Tunstall, afterwards Bishop of Durham, were sent as ambassadors to the emperor's court to negotiate for this cession of a title. Tunstall, who was one of the most accomplished scholars in Europe, and a man of business besides, presently discovered the specious cheat. After begging his short-sighted

* Guicciardini.

* Guicciardini.

master to pardon his frankness, he went on to say, in an admirable letter, "Surely, please your grace, your election to the empire cannot be brought about by no means, for divers considerations. First, that, like as in the election of the pope, a certain form is to be kept, which, not observed, maketh the election to be void, so, of ancient time and ordinance of the universal church, a certain form must be observed in choosing of the emperor, which omitted, the election is void. One of the chief points in the election of the emperor is, that he which shall be elected must be native of Germany, and subject to the empire; whereas your grace is not, nor never since the Christain faith the kings of England were, subject to the empire; but the crown of England is an empire of itself, much better than now the empire of Rome; for which cause your grace weareth a close crown. . . . Besides, that the form of the election containeth that first he must be the king of the Romans, and the coronation at Rome maketh him have the name of emperor, where before he is called but king of the Romans. Over this, if the emperor which now is remain still king of the Romans, as I understand he intendeth to do, then, even if your grace were eligible, and under the empire, yet ye could not be chosen emperor, because you were never king of the Romans. . . . For which consideration I repute it impossible that your grace be chosen: and I am afraid lest the said offer, being so specious at the first hearing, was only made to get thereby some money of your grace." In another letter from the emperor's court the learned Tunstall tells him that it is a place of great dissimulation and fair words, where no promises are kept.* Henry was convinced; and he not only gave up his dream of being an emperor, but also his projected alliance with Maximilian, for the purpose of driving the French out of Italy. Nor did he stop at negatives. When once turned from a line of policy, it was his general custom to run for a time in a directly contrary direction. Francis, after securing himself in possession of the Milanese, went on to Bologna, where he held a long conference with the pope, whom he won over by his liberal treatment and the fascination of his manners. Leo, indeed, thought himself compelled to change his line of policy, and to promote the interests of the French in Italy, instead of opposing them as he had hitherto done. It is said that he even suggested to Francis the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, which was rashly undertaken some six or seven years latter. In the following spring the French monarch re-crossed the Alps, leaving the Constable Bourbon to govern the duchy of Milan. He soon applied himself to arrange a reconciliation with Wolsey, and by means which are not explained, but at which it is not difficult to guess, my Lord Cardinal was converted from an enemy into a zealous friend. A treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was then set on foot, and at length, on the 4th of October, 1518, it was solemnly ratified. Henry's biographer, Lord Herbert, holds up this treaty as a model for princes; but we see little in it that is new, either in matter or manner, and all its clauses were broken more rapidly even than usual. It was agreed, as a basis, that the infant dauphin, the son of Francis, should be contracted to Henry's *daughter*, the Princess Mary, who was then about a year and a half old; and that Henry should restore Tournay to Francis upon payment of 600,000 crowns, and under charge of an annual pension of 12,000 livres, which Wolsey was to receive in lieu of the revenues of the bishopric of that city. The cardinal, in the course of the negotiations, had not neglected his own interests, and he had a confidential agent attached to the embassy in France. "The French commissioners," writes this agent, "severally apart, answered, that the king and the council were determined to send your grace a marvellous great present, but what it should be, or what time it should be sent, I could in no wise get of them. Notwithstanding, the admiral said to me at another time, that before long time the king would send your grace some other pleasure, and he desired me to let him know what would best content you. I answered, that I could not tell, but I supposed it was most convenient to send you goodly plate or other rich jewels."*

A.D. 1519.—Henry's jealousy of Francis seemed now converted into a vehement admiration; and he proposed a personal interview to take place in the month of July, 1519, between Calais and Boulogne. In the month of March of that year Sir Richard Wingfield wrote to his master from Paris, that he had nearly settled all the difficult points of etiquette with the French court, as to the meeting and embracing one another on horseback without descending, and the like; adding, that the French courtiers and ministers were delighted at the notion, and felt quite certain, that if the two great kings came once together, they would often meet thereafter by a mutual wish. But this scene of parade was postponed in consequence of the occurrence of a great political crisis, which wholly occupied the attention of Europe for many months.

The Emperor Maximilian died suddenly in the month of January, 1519, and Francis proposed himself as candidate for the vacant dignity. Henry, in the month of March, when his head was full of the pageantry to be gotten up for their meeting, promised the French king his countenance and support; a little later (in the month of May) he sent the learned Richard Pace to the German electors, to announce himself as a candidate. But a greater than Henry or than Francis was now in the arena—one whose successful ambition was soon to eclipse them both. This was the Archduke Charles, who had once been betrothed to the Princess Mary, Henry's sister. By the death of his maternal grandfather, old Ferdinand of Aragon, which happened in 1516, Charles had become possessor of the whole Spanish monarchy; and

Ellis's Letters. The originals are in the British Museum.

* Taylor's MS. Diary, quoted by Turner, Hist. Eng.

now, on the death of Maximilian, his paternal grandfather, he proposed himself as his successor in the empire. The claims of Charles were in all essentials preferable to those of Francis; he was of a German house (of the Imperial House of Austria); he was born at Ghent, and was, by right of inheritance, sovereign of the Low Countries, which were held to be a subject part of the empire. The German electors had often been most corrupt, and Francis flattered himself that he could set aside all these advantages by intrigue and bribery.* But the Lord of the Netherlands, of Naples and Sicily, of Spain and the Indies, was a much richer sovereign than the French king; and as for political intrigue, Francis, though his senior in years, was a mere child to Charles, whose councils were directed by the most cunning diplomatists in Europe—men who had studied their craft in the school of his grandfather Ferdinand and Cardinal Ximenes. There was another great advantage on the side of Charles: while Maximilian was deluding Henry with the hope of the imperial crown, he was exerting himself to the utmost to make sure of that crown for his grandson; and though he did not succeed with all the electors, he laid a good foundation in Germany, where, from the long continuance of the dignity in the Austrian line, people were inclined to think that it had become in a manner inherent in that family. (What the German *people* never could have thought of, was to appoint a French prince.) Henry soon found that, between two such competitors, there was no chance for him; and, either from that common desire men feel for being on the winning side, or from some new disgust against Francis, or in a lame attempt at manœuvre, he wrote to assure Charles of his earnest wishes that he might prove the successful candidate.† This young king went from Spain to the Netherlands; and while the electors were debating in the Diet of Frankfort, he raised an army, which he kept sufficiently near to overawe the Diet, and yet sufficiently distant to save appearances. After long deliberations, and a rapid circulation both of French and Spanish money, Charles was elected emperor on the 28th of June. Francis bore his disappointment and his heavy pecuniary losses with seeming lightness of heart, saying to the Spanish ambassadors that, in ambition as in love, a discarded suitor, ought never to cherish resentment. But notwithstanding this *bon mot*, he was deeply mortified, and he felt that he and Charles must be rivals for life. This, however, in all probability would have happened even if there had been no imperial crown to contend for. Ever since Charles VIII. had carried his lances through the defiles of the Alps—for more than twenty years—there had been a struggle between the French and the Spaniards for the dominion of Italy; and it was not likely that this would be given up under two young, active, and warlike princes, at a moment when Charles held the whole of the south of that beautiful peninsula, and when Francis had obtained a firm footing on the north of it. And even if this rich prize had not existed, there were abundant grounds for quarrel. France claimed possession of Navarre, which had been seized by Ferdinand, and Charles laid claim to Burgundy, which had been wrested from his grandmother by Louis XI. And even had these particular sources of discord been wanting, two such neighbours would have been sure to find some others.

The eagerness with which each of these rivals attempted to secure to himself the friendship of the King of England, was flattering to the power and importance of the nation; but Henry was utterly incapable of benefiting either himself or his people, or the cause of humanity, by the advantages afforded him by his enviable position. On the 6th of July he ordered Wolsey to draw up, "as his politic wisdom should think best," letters of congratulation to Charles;* and on the 8th of the same month we find Wolsey stating, in a letter to his master, that De Hesdin, Charles's ambassador, complained that proper respect had not been paid in London to this grand occasion, and that the French in London were making "dishonourable bruits thereof, to the hindrance of the entire love and amity established between his highness and the emperor." Wolsey recommends them to assemble themselves at St. Paul's on the Sunday next coming, and also "at night to cause joy-fires to be made throughout the city," which he considered the best means of "purging the suspicion" of the Spanish ambassador. "And to the intent," he adds, "that the French king shall not take this doing in ill part, I purpose to make the French ambassador privy to such solemnity, notifying unto him, that, standing the good amity between your grace and the emperor, you can no less do, and that you would have made semblable solemnities and congratulations for the honour of *his* master, if he had been advanced to the said dignity; not doubting but the French ambassador will take this overture and direction in good part." The cardinal also informed the king that, in order to prevent the spreading of "ill bruits and reports as might be made," he had stopped all manner of passages in the sea ports—which was rather a common practice in those

* Francis told Sir Thomas Boleyn, who was one of Henry's ambassadors, that he would spend three millions of gold but he would succeed.

† At the same time, however, Sir Thomas Boleyn conveyed to Francis the most solemn assurances of Henry's support, and also (at the same time, or very nearly so,) Pace recommended his master to the electors. Pace fell sick during his negotiations at Frankfort. From a letter written to Wolsey, at this moment, by John Clerk, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, it should appear, that the cardinal was now averse to Henry's pressing his hopeless suit. "As touching his enterprise of the empire," writes Clerk, "you may be assured that I have reasoned as deeply as my poor wits would serve me, not varying from your instructions, and that for *mine own interest*; but his grace (the king), as me thinketh, *considereth no jeopardies*. Notwithstanding, his grace said that he *would sleep and dream upon the matter, and give me an answer upon the morning*."—State Papers, reign of Henry VIII., published by his Majesty's Record Commission, A.D. 1830.

* This letter to Wolsey, in the hand-writing of Sir Thomas More, is preserved in the British Museum, and is printed in Sir Henry Ellis's collection, and in the State Papers published by government.

days.* It is quite clear that both king and minister wished to play a double game, and to keep on the best of terms, for the present, with both Charles and Francis. What advantages Henry proposed to himself are not so obvious; but Wolsey had recently touched the French king's money, and was probably expecting more, while, with the emperor, he was engaging for a still higher prize. When Francis requested the king to fulfil his former purpose, and pass over to the continent to a personal interview, it was agreed to give him this great sign of friendship and confidence; and the meeting was fixed for the following summer. Upon learning this appointment Charles was greatly alarmed, and his ambassadors in England did all that they could to break it. But Henry, who longed to display his magnificence, was firm to his purpose, and, as the time approached (towards the end of May), he removed with his queen and court from Greenwich to Canterbury. He had scarcely collected his finery for embarkation at Dover, when he received news that the emperor was in the Channel. According to the commonly received account, Henry was taken by surprise, but not so was his minister. Wolsey had opened a secret negotiation with Spain, where the emperor was then residing, and had concerted this opportune visit; and Charles had granted his "most dear friend" a pension of 7000 ducats, secured upon two Spanish bishoprics. Wolsey was now detached from Canterbury with a splendid train to meet the imperial guest, who anchored at Hythe on the 26th of May. The lord cardinal met him on the water in a magnificent barge, and escorted him and his court to the beach, where they all landed under a canopy glittering with gold and embroidery, and bearing the device of the black eagle. The illustrious strangers were lodged in Dover Castle, whither Henry repaired to pay his respects. He arrived by torch-light, and saluted and embraced the emperor very tenderly. They conferred together in private during a great part of the night; and on the morrow, being Whit-Sunday, they rode together in great state to Canterbury, the emperor always keeping the right hand, and the Earl of Derby bearing the sword of state before them.† As they approached the cathedral they were met by Wolsey at the head of a procession of the clergy, and conducted into the church. The cathedral, the adjoining monastery, and the different buildings thereto attached, and which formed a little town in themselves, were then at the height of their glory, enriched by the accumulated donations of nearly a thousand years. "Every place," says Erasmus, "was enlightened with the lustre of most precious stones, and the church throughout abounded with more than royal treasure." But it was the shrine of St. Thomas Becket, wherein were inclosed the relics of the martyr, that blazed like a sun in the midst of brilliant satellites. It was said of this shrine that it was so embossed with jewels and enriched with precious workmanship, that gold was the meanest thing about it. The sovereigns, according to precedent, laid their offerings on the tomb, and some time was spent there in devotions, not only by the emperor, but even by him who shortly after defaced the monument and seized upon that infinite treasure. From the church they proceeded to the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury, where the emperor was joyfully welcomed by Queen Catherine, who was his aunt. Here, too, Charles saw, for the first time, Henry's sister Mary, late Queen-Dowager of France, and now Duchess of Suffolk. He gazed with unconcealed admiration on her exquisitely beautiful person; and it is said that, remembering how she had been affianced to him, he bitterly regretted the political views by which he had lost such a wife, and that these thoughts marred all the splendid festivities which were got up to do him honour. But if those tender feelings ever existed at all, they must have been of transient duration in such a mind; and Charles spent a good part of the time of his short visit in arranging fresh schemes of ambition, or in securing Wolsey to his interests. The cardinal, who considered every advancement but as a step to something higher, sighed for the triple crown of Rome; and the adroit emperor engaged to give him all the weight of his influence whenever the present pope should die. He also made Wolsey some magnificent presents, and conciliated his pride by treating him with great reverence, and affecting to submit to his superior judgment in state affairs. Three days were spent in this manner, and, on the fourth, Charles re-embarked at Sandwich, and set sail for his Netherland dominions, well satisfied that, by anticipating and by winning Wolsey, he had prevented any evil consequences that might otherwise have arisen out of the more formal interview with Francis. On the same day Henry, with the cardinal, the queen, and the whole court, sailed for Calais to keep that appointment. The place fixed upon, after deliberations of an interminable length, was within the English pale, between Guisnes and Ardres. The manner of meeting and the whole regulation of the ceremonial and pageant were left by both monarchs to Wolsey, who, as we have mentioned, had a decided genius for such matters. Francis thought to flatter the vanity of the cardinal by this arrangement; but his making Wolsey a master of the ceremonies could not have an equivalent effect with Charles's promises to make him pope.*

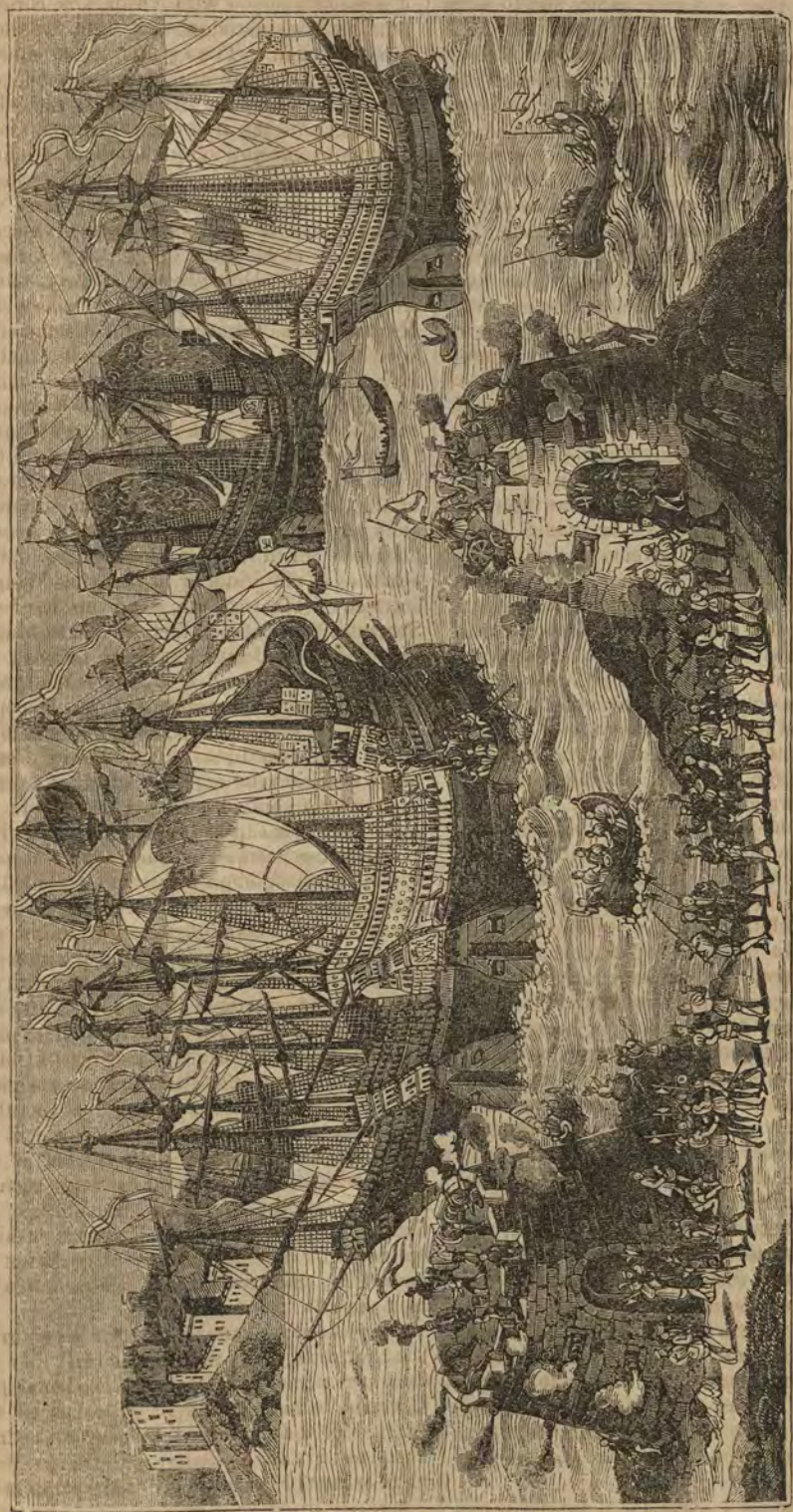
On the 4th of June (1520) the king's grace, with all the lords, and the queen with her train of ladies, removed from Calais to the lordship royal of Guisnes, where a temporary palace of wood had been built and decorated by eleven hundred workmen, most of them cunning artificers from Flanders or from Holland.† "This palace was set on

* This long letter of Wolsey is published in the State Papers, from a draft preserved in the British Museum.

† Derby, it appears, was one of Wolsey's retinue.

* Herbert.—Hall.—Stow.—Godwin.

† According to one account, part of the frame-work had been made in England.



THE EMBARKATION OF HENRY VIII. AT DOVER, MAY 31, 1520.

Preparatory to his Interview with the French King Francis I. From the large Print published by the Royal Society of Antiquaries, engraved after the Original Picture preserved in Windsor Castle.

stages by great cunning and sumptuous work. At the entering into the palace, before the gate, on the plain green was built a fountain of enbowed work, gilt with fine gold, at which was seen the old god of wine, called Bacchus, birling (carousing at) the wine, which, by conduits in the earth, ran to all people plenteously with red, white, and claret wines, over whose head was written in letters of Roman, in gold, 'Faicte bonne chere quy voudra.' On the other side of the gate was set up an elaborate column, supported by four lions, well gilt, enwreathed with golden foliage, and surmounted by an image of the blind god Cupid, with his bow and arrows of love, ready, by his seeming, to strike the young people to love." The building, within which were square courts and other fountains, was in form of a quadrangle, each side being one hundred and twenty-eight feet long, and having in front a figure of a wild man with bow and arrows, and underneath a motto, which Henry had chosen as appropriate—"Cui adhæreo præst" (He whom I support prevails). Round about the great tower, and in the windows, and on the battlements, were placed images resembling men of war, ready to cast great stones; as also images of ancient princes, such as "Hercules, Alexander, and the like." The outside was covered with sail-cloth, which was so painted as to look like squared stone; the inside was hung with the richest arras. The furniture and decorations of the temporary chapel and apartments of state were gorgeous in the extreme. The walls glittered with embroidery and jewels; the altar and the tables groaned under the weight of massive plate.* Francis, that he might not be outdone, had prepared an immense pavilion, which was chiefly sustained by a mighty mast, with ropes and tackle strained to steady it: the exterior, in form of a dome, was covered all over with cloth of gold; and in the interior, the concavity of the sphere was lined with blue velvet, set with stars in gold foil, "and the orbs of the heavens, by the craft of colours in the roof, were curiously wrought in manner like the sky or firmament." At each side there was a smaller tent or pavilion of the same costly materials, the very tent ropes being made of blue silk twisted with gold of Cyprus. But there arose a most impetuous and tempestuous wind, which broke asunder the ropes, and laid all this bravery in the dirt; and Francis was obliged to take up his lodging in an old castle near the town of Ardres. As soon as the two kings were settled in their respective residences, "the Reverend Father Lord Thomas Wolsey, cardinal and legate à Latere, as the king's high ambassador, rode with noble repair of lords, gentlemen, and prelates, to the French court at Ardres, where the same lord cardinal was highly entertained of the French king." The Frenchmen were so struck with Wolsey's pomp and splendour, that they afterwards "*made books*, showing the triumphant doings of the cardinal's *royalty;* as, of the number of his gentlemen, knights, and lords, all in crimson velvet, with marvellous number of chains of gold,—the multitude of horses, mules, coursers, and carriages that went before him with sumpters and coffers,—his great silver crosses and pillars,—his embroidered cushions,—and his host of servants, as yeomen and grooms, all clad in scarlet." At the same moment that Wolsey visited Francis, a deputation of French nobles waited upon Henry. The cardinal, who had "full power and authority to affirm and confirm, bind and unbind whatsoever should be in question," even as if the king his master were there present, spent two whole days in arranging an additional treaty with the French sovereign. Francis, whose heart was beyond the Alps, readily agreed to pay a high price for the neutrality of England in the war which he saw was inevitable: he renewed the recent marriage treaty, and, in addition to the money there promised, bound himself and his successors to pay to Henry and his successors the yearly sum of 100,000 crowns, in the event of the said marriage between their children being solemnised, and the issue of that marriage seated on the English throne. To do away with the jealousy which had long existed between France and England on the subject of Scotland, he consented that the affairs of that country should be referred to the friendly arbitration of Cardinal Wolsey and his own mother, Louisa of Savoy. Henry, it appears, wished to have the Scots at his mercy; but Francis was not prepared to abandon, even upon paper, those old allies, who had lost their king and the flower of their nobility in making a generous diversion when France was invaded by the English and the Swiss.

When the business was over, Henry, apparelled in a garment of cloth of silver of damask, ribbed with cloth of gold, and riding on a courser caparisoned "in a marvellous vesture, the trapper being of fine gold in bullion, curiously wrought," and with all his nobles gaudily dressed and mounted, went forth to meet his brother of France. They met at last (on the 7th of June) in the valley of Andren, where a gorgeous tent had been pitched for the occasion. On their first approach Henry's retinue were somewhat disquieted by seeing that they were outnumbered by the suite of Francis, and there was a whisper that treachery might be in the wind. But these apprehensions were put to flight by the free and frank bearing of the French monarch. As had been previously arranged, in order to get over a delicate point of precedency, the two kings saluted and embraced on horseback. Francis spoke first, saying, "My dear brother and cousin, thus far to my pain have I travelled to see you personally. I think verily that you esteem me as I am, and that I am not unworthy to be your aid. The realms and seigniories in my possession demonstrate the extent of my power." To this, Henry graciously replied, "Neither your realms nor other the places of your power are a matter of my regard, but the steadfastness and loyal keeping of promises comprised in

* Hall.

charters between you and me. I never saw prince with my eyes that might of my heart be more beloved; and for your love have I passed the seas into the farthest frontier of my kingdoms to see you." The two monarchs dismounted together, and walked arm-in-arm into the tent, where they partook of a costly banquet. After they had ended, and spice and wine had been served up in the tent, "ipocras was chief drink, of plenty to all that would drink outside." The kings then came out of the tent, when Henry's favoured historian obtained a near view of the person and the clothes (which seemed to him of more importance) of the French monarch. "The said Francis," says he, "is a goodly prince, stately of countenance and merry of cheer; brown coloured, great eyes, high nosed, big lipped, fair breasted and shouldered, with small legs and long feet."*

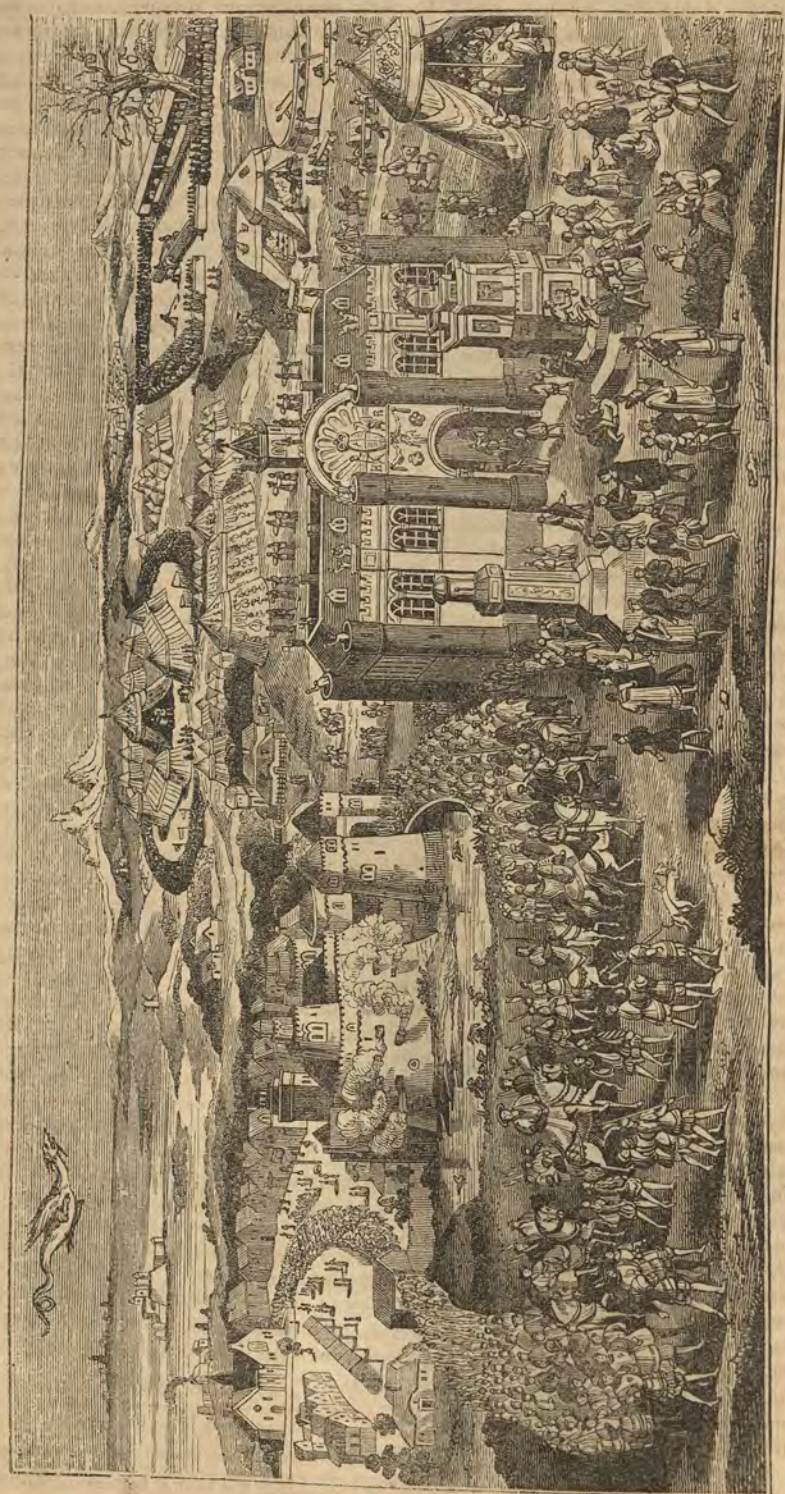
Several months before this meeting, it had been proclaimed, by sound of brazen trumpet, in all the principal cities of Europe, that the Kings of France and England, as brothers in arms, would hold solemn jousts and tournays, and defend the field against all knights. An inclosure, called the camp, had been prepared at great cost for these chivalrous conflicts. It was 900 feet long, and 320 feet broad, defended with broad moats, and partially surrounded with scaffolds and galleries for the accommodation of the two queens and the ladies of their courts. In the midst of the arena was an artificial mound, and on the mound were raised two artificial trees—a hawthorn for England, and a raspberry, symbolical of France—with their stems and branches lovingly interlaced. At the entrance to the camp were two tents, richly adorned, for the two kings, wherein they armed themselves, and took their ease after their martial exercises; and close at hand were two great cellars brim-full of wine, which was as free to all men as the water of the fountain. On the 11th of June the jousts were opened—the queens having taken their places. Catherine was most brilliantly equipped, her very foot-cloth being powdered with pearls. The kings rode together to the mound, Henry having for his aids Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, the Marquess of Dorset, Sir William Kingston, Sir Richard Jerningham, Sir Giles Capell, Mr. Nicholas Carew, and Mr. Anthony Knevitt; and Francis having for his aids the Lords of St. Pol, Montmorency, Biron, and other noble gentlemen. The shield of Henry, bearing the arms of England within the garter, was hung upon one tree; and the shield of Francis, bearing the arms of France within a collar of his order of St. Michael, was suspended on the other. Many illustrious knights from different countries entered the lists as challengers; and then the trumpets brayed, and the mock combats began. Such was the address of the two monarchs, or such the practical flattery of their opponents, that they fought five battles each day, and invariably came off victorious. Six days were spent in tilting with lances, two in tourneys with the broad sword on horseback, and the two last in fighting on foot at the barriers. The feats of the combatants were registered in a book, wherein the heralds were not likely to permit the exploits of kings to lose by their modesty of expression. The English being much given to wrestling, some of the meaner sort amused themselves in that manner; and Henry, who had cultivated all kinds of sports and exercises, one day challenged his brother of France to try a fall with him, and caught hold of his collar. Francis, who was very agile, threw his grace. Henry rose, and demanded his revenge, but the by-standers discreetly interfered.

No pageantry or outward show of friendship could reconcile the ancient jealousies of the two nations, or even remove their mutual suspicions. The English, as Comines has told us, had usually been very careless and confiding in matters of conference and interviews; but the court of Henry was certainly not so on the present occasion. Francis, on the contrary, who, with all his faults, had a certain generosity and nobleness of disposition, grew weary of these suspicions and cautions, and made a remarkable effort to put an end to them, and break through the barriers of etiquette. Early one morning, without saying a word to his courtiers, he rode to the English quarters attended only by a page and two gentlemen. He presented himself to Henry, who was still in bed, telling him, in a playful manner, that he was now his prisoner. Henry, touched by this mark of confidence, leaped out of bed, thanked him, and threw a splendid collar over his neck. Francis, in return, presented Henry with a rich bracelet. The French king, still further to testify his friendly humour, insisted upon helping his grace of England to put on his clothes; and he warmed his shirt, spread out his hose, and trussed his points. This done, he mounted his horse, and rode homewards. As he drew near Ardres he met some of his court and his brave and faithful friend Fleuranges, who did not hesitate to reprove him. "Sir," said he, "I am right glad to see you back again; but let me tell you, my master, that you were a fool to do the thing you have done; and ill luck betide those who advised you to it." "And that was nobody—the thought was all my own, and could have come from no other head," replied the light-hearted king.*

Henry could scarcely do less than return this visit in the like confiding and unceremonious manner; and, after this, the intercourse between the two courts was more familiar. There were banquets and balls, masking and mumming, in which the ladies and the two kings played their parts—Henry being especially fond of masquerades and fantastic disguisings of his person. "But," says

* Hall. Those who remember the spirited, intellectual-looking portrait of Francis, painted by Titian, will be inclined to think that this annalist has scarcely done the French king justice. But beyond pageants, and dresses, and feasts, Hall was wholly out of his depth. He was, notwithstanding, a proper historian for such a king as Henry VIII.; and there is no having a correct notion of the solemn trifles which filled up so large a part of this reign without referring to his ponderous sentences and elaborate descriptions.

* Memoires de Fleuranges.



The Field of the Cloth of Gold.

The Interview of Henry VIII. and the French King Francis I., between Guisnes and Ardres, June 1520. From the large Print published by the Royal Society of Antiquaries, engraved after the Original Picture preserved in Windsor Castle.

an old historian, who moralises his theme, "pleasures must have their intermission,—and kings, if not by their greatness, are by their affairs severed." After consuming a fortnight Henry returned to Calais, and Francis went towards Paris. The most lasting effect produced by the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," as the interview and the place where it was held were afterwards called, was the ruin of many of the nobility both English and French, who, in their insane rivalry, contracted enormous debts. Of the French it was said that many of them carried their entire estates on their backs.*

The first thing Henry did when the gaudy play was over was, to go to Gravelines, and pay a visit to the more sober-minded emperor, who had prevented his noble subjects from attending the meeting and ruining themselves in shows and tournaments. Charles accompanied him back to Calais, to pay, as was given out, his respects to his dear aunt Catherine, but, in reality, to concert measures with those who had so recently pledged themselves to his rival Francis. The French were most anxious to discover what passed, and employed spies, who got access to the royal palace in the disguise of maskers; but it does not appear that their ingenuity was rewarded with any important discovery. La Roche, the avowed ambassador of Francis, went to work in a more open manner, and obtained an audience of the king and emperor together; but Henry put him off with general expressions, and Charles eluded his demands with less ceremony. After spending three days at Calais, the emperor rode back to his Flemish dominions "mounted on a brave horse covered with a cloth of gold, richly beset with stones, which the king had given him. And he would often speak of his aunt Catherine's happiness, that was matched to so magnificent a prince." Before he departed he flattered the vanity of his dear uncle by appointing him umpire to settle every difference that might arise between himself and Francis;—a cheap appointment, for Charles could never intend to submit to the judgment of such an inferior mind, except in so far as his awards might be wholly favourable to himself. After spending a few more days at Calais, Henry and his court embarked for Dover, and then returned "all safe in body, but empty in purse," to London.†

Although, in these despotic times, it was dangerous to oppose or criticise the tastes of the king, there were not wanting men who expressed their disapprobation of the ruinous and useless expense into which the nobility of the kingdom had been led for the getting up of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Among these murmurers one of the loudest was Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, the son of that weak and vacillating duke who, after helping Richard III. to seize the crown, raised an insurrection against him, in which he lost his head, like a fool and coward.‡ But, though Buckingham was marked out for destruction immediately after Henry's return from the continent, it was not solely on account of his criticism, for he had long been an object of jealousy and suspicion, though the king pretended a great affection for him, and appointed him to several high offices about the court. The origin of the duke's misfortunes was his connexion with royalty, and his descent from the ancient line of the Plantagenets.* His next misfortune was his wealth, for he was one of the richest subjects in England. He kept a splendid and hospitable house,† and was exceedingly popular, not only with his servants and retainers, but with the nation at large. He had several of those virtues which it was customary to consider as peculiarly English: he was open-handed and open-hearted; frank and free spoken, almost to bluntness; and, unlike his father, he was bold and firm, and not destitute of talent. His credulity in matters of prophecy was a folly common to his age. About eight years before, when the king was preparing that expedition which was to conquer France, and which ended in the taking of two useless towns, the duke became acquainted with one Hopkins, a Carthusian friar, who had gained reputation as a fortune-teller. The friar, it is said, predicted to him (which, considering the caution of Henry, and the rashness of James, he might have done without consulting the stars) that the king of England would return home safe from France, and that the king of Scots would surely perish if he crossed the borders. The fulfilment of both prophecies raised the monk's fame, and with it the credulity of Buckingham, who, thereafter, had frequent and familiar intercourse with the prophet. The monk, seeing that the duke was mindful of his royal descent, and of the fact that the king had no sons, began to foresee that there was something wonderfully high in the destinies of young Stafford, the duke's heir. In other words, it seems he hinted that the duke's son would be Henry's successor on the throne. For so great an effect as the judicial murder of this popular noblemen people naturally sought a variety of causes. "Being yet a child," says the Bishop of Hereford, "I have heard ancient men say that by his bravery of apparel and sumptuous feasts, he exasperated the king, with whom, in these things, he seemed to contend." Another cause assigned was the enmity of Wolsey, without whose advice, it was believed, the king never undertook anything: and though the cardinal was not a man of blood, he *may* have contributed to the present execution, his dislike of the duke being notorious. "For he (Buckingham) could by no means bear with the intolerable pride of the cardinal, whose hatred not improbably proved fatal unto him, rather than did the king's

* Hall.—Du Bellay.—Polydore Virgil.—Godwin.
† Hall.—Godwin.—Du Bellay. ‡ See ante, p. 127.

* Buckingham sprang from Anne Plantagenet, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, a son of Edward III., and also traced through John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. He was hereditary High Constable of England.

† Henry, it appears, was at times his guest at his splendid seat of Penshurst. Richard Pace, in a letter to Wolsey, written from that place in 1519, says, "The Duke of Buckingham maketh unto the king, here, excellent cheer."—State Papers.

displeasure; for many times princes are with less danger offended than their minions. There goes a tale, that the duke once holding the basin to the king, the cardinal, when the king had done, presently dipped his hands in the same water: the duke, disdaining to debase himself to the service of a priest, shed the water in his shoes. The cardinal, therewith incensed, threatened him that *he would sit upon his skirts.*"*

One cause, however, is quite sufficient to account for what followed; and Henry, who, eight years before, had cut off the head of the Duke of Suffolk for no other crime than that of his royal birth, was not likely, now that he had become much more jealous and tyrannical, to be more scrupulous or tender with regard to Buckingham. He had also taken great offence at the duke's augmenting the number of his retainers, and, a short time before leaving England for the Field of the Cloth of Gold, he had summoned to that most arbitrary tribunal, the Star Chamber, Sir William Bulmer, who was taxed, as with a high crime and misdemeanor, with having deserted the king's household to take service in that of Buckingham. Sir William was made to confess his misdemeanor, and to beg pardon on his knees. Henry granted his pardon to the knight, but made use of certain ambiguous expressions, sounding very like a threat, against the duke.

A.D. 1521.—Buckingham, who was living quietly on his estate of Thornbury, in Gloucestershire, was now suddenly invited to court. The duke, suspecting no mischief, obeyed the summons, and started on his journey, not observing for some time that he was closely followed by three knights of the king's body-guard, "and a secret power of servants-at-arms." His suspicions were first awakened at Windsor, where he lodged for the night, and where he saw the "same three knights lying close by." He was also treated with marked disrespect by a creature of the court, one Thomas Ward, "who was gentleman harbinger to the king;" and the next morning, at breakfast, "his meat would not down." The whole management of the arrest is marked with a detestable treachery, worthy of the worst of times. Before inveigling the duke to court, Henry had thrown one Perk, that nobleman's chancellor, into the Tower, in the view of extorting from him confessions injurious to his master. From Windsor Buckingham rode slowly on to Westminster, where he took his barge in order to row down to Greenwich, where the court then was. He stopped on his way at my Lord Cardinal's bridge,† where he landed with four or five of his servants, and desired to speak with Wolsey: "but he was answered how my lord was diseased (indisposed)." "Well," said the duke, "yet will I drink of my lord's wine as I pass:" and then a gentleman of my Lord Cardinal's brought the duke with much reverence into the cellar, where the duke drank. But when he saw and perceived no cheer to him was made, he changed colour, and so departed."*

As he descended the Thames, and drew near the city, his barge was hailed and boarded by Sir Henry Marney, captain of the body-guard, and a company of yeomen of the guard, who attached him as a traitor in the king's name. The duke was carried on shore, and conveyed through Thames-street to the Tower, to the great astonishment and regret of the people. This was on the 16th of April. On the 13th of May he was put upon his trial as a peer, but not before a full house assembled in a parliamentary manner. Seventeen peers chosen by the king, and the Duke of Norfolk as High Steward, constituted the tribunal. He was charged with tempting Friar Hopkins to make traitorous prophecies, by means of messages and personal conferences; with having tampered with the king's servants and yeomen of the guard, by means of presents and promises; with having said, when he was reprimanded for retaining Sir William Bulmer, that if his arrest had been ordered he would have plunged his dagger into the king's heart; and with having declared his determination, in the event of the king's death, to cut off the heads of the Lord Cardinal and some others, and then to seize the government. At first Buckingham pleaded that nothing in the indictment amounted to an overt act, and that, therefore, even in the showing of the prosecution, there was no guilt of treason: but Fineux, the chief justice, laid it down as good law that there was treason in *imagining* the death of the king, and that words spoken without any overt act were evidence enough. The duke, then, with great force and eloquence, replied to the indictment charge by charge, denied his guilt in every particular, and boldly demanded to be confronted with the witnesses. Hopkins the prophet, De la Court his confessor, Perk his chancellor, and Sir Charles Knevitt *his own cousin, and formerly his steward*, were brought into court. All these individuals had been thrown into the Tower, where, according to the dark practices of those days, they may have been tortured, or threatened with torture, or corrupted by money and promises. They all persisted in their story; but the most determined evidence against him was that of his cousin Knevitt. The Duke of Norfolk rose to pronounce sentence, for the seventeen peers (as might have been expected) unanimously found him guilty; and the hardy soldier, the victor of Flodden Field, though he had not virtue enough to oppose a jealous tyrant, wept like a child as he spoke. Buckingham replied, with a manly voice, "My Lord of Norfolk, you have said to me as a traitor should be said unto; but I was never none. Still, my lords, I nothing malign you for that you have done unto me. May the eternal God forgive you my death, as I do. I shall never sue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him than I desire.

* Bishop Godwin.

† The quay, or jetty, at York House. The quays on the river side were called bridges.

I desire you, my lords, and all my fellows, to pray for me." The edge of the axe was then turned towards him, and he was led to his barge, where Sir Thomas Lovell, treating him with respect, requested him to take his usual seat on the cushions and the carpet prepared for him in the boat; but he declined, saying, "When I came to Westminster I was Duke of Buckingham, but now I am nothing but Edward Stafford, the poorest wretch alive." He persisted in his resolution not to implore the king's mercy, and on the 17th of May the sheriffs led him from his dungeon to the scaffold on Tower-hill. He was as undaunted in sight of the block as he had been before his judges; and he died as brave men die—firmly and meekly, without bravado. As his head fell on the scaffold the people groaned and lamented, for they were not yet brutalised by the frequent spectacle of such executions. "God have mercy on his soul!" exclaims one who reported his trial; "for he was a most wise and noble prince, and the mirror of all courtesy."*

It was while the blood of Buckingham was fresh upon him that Henry set himself up as the defender and champion of the holy (Roman) mother church. The history of the Reformation, which was begun by Luther in earnest in the year 1517, and which worked such an amazing change in the north of Europe, will be treated in its proper place. It is enough to state here that the doctrines of the great reformer had been eagerly received by many minds in England, where a respect for the Catholic clergy had long been on the decline, and where the seed, before scattered by Wycliffe, had never been entirely extirpated. On the 14th of May, 1521, Wolsey issued orders to all the bishops of England to seize all heretical books, or books containing Martin Luther's errors; to give notice in all the churches, at time of high mass, that any person having such books, and failing to deliver them up within fifteen days, would incur the pain of excommunication; and also to affix on the doors of their cathedrals, and of the parish churches in their several dioceses, a list of Luther's chief heresies, that people might have the opportunity of reading them and avoiding them. On the 20th of the same month, three days after Buckingham's execution, Henry wrote, with his own hand, a fiery letter to Louis of Bavaria, denouncing "this fire which hath been kindled by Luther, and fanned by the arts of the devil;" and calling upon Louis, as a good Christian, to exterminate Luther, and burn both him and his books. "To the accomplishment of which work," he adds, "at once so sacred and so acceptable to God, we most readily, and from the heart, offer you, of our royal favour, patronage, assistance, and even, if necessary, our blood. And so we bid you happily farewell."†

But, as Henry had not the power to burn the reformer, he took up the pen of controversy, being led thereto by a wish of showing his scholastic learning and of pleasing the court of Rome, which, on a former occasion, when Louis XII. was lying under ban, had threatened to deprive the French kings of their title of "Most Christian," and to give it to Henry and his successors, the kings of England. Another incentive was found in the fact that Luther had spoken disrespectfully of St. Thomas Aquinas, Henry's favourite author. Thus animated, and with plenty of priests and able scholars to supply fuel to his zeal and give polemical point to his pen, Henry wrote his celebrated defence of the Seven Sacraments, which, as he fondly conceived, smashed Luther and all his doctrines. In the month of October, Clark, the English ambassador at Rome, presented this book to the pope in full consistory; and Leo X., after giving himself leisure to read the treatise, was pleased to declare, in an express bull, that he found it sprinkled with the dew of ecclesiastical grace, and that he rendered thanks to God for having inspired the king to write it for the defence of the blessed faith. In the same bull he formally conferred upon Henry the title of "Defender of the Faith," as a glorious and christianly addition to his other styles.*

While Henry was thus seeking distinction by the pen, Francis and Charles were fighting for worldly dominion. The French king was the first to draw the sword. Encouraged by a formidable revolt of the Spaniards against the despotic government of Charles, he marched an army to the crest of the Pyrenees, and, in fifteen days, overran the kingdom of Navarre. Thus far the insurgents of Spain looked on with indifference; but when the French rashly crossed the frontiers of Castile the Spaniards of all parties flew to arms, and not only drove them back, but also recovered Navarre in less than a fortnight. At the same time Francis and his auxiliaries threatened the emperor with an invasion of the Netherlands. But the French king was not more successful in the north than in the south; and, to increase his embarrassments, Leo X. threw up his alliance and contracted a new one with the emperor. At this crisis Francis applied for the friendly mediation of Henry, who immediately engaged to act as a most impartial umpire, and then sent Wolsey, not to negotiate a peaceful and honourable arrangement, but to concert measures with Charles for the dismemberment of the French monarchy. The cardinal arbitrator,—for the whole business was intrusted to him,—embarked at Dover on the 30th of July, and landed on the same day at Calais with a magnificent train, including lords, bishops, doctors learned in the law, and knights and squires out of number. At Calais he was met by ambassadors from Charles and by ambassadors from Francis, and of course he found the pretensions of these diplomatists irreconcilable. Upon this, with the alleged design of disposing the emperor to more

* State Trials.—Herbert.—Hall.—Stow.—Holinshed.
† Geddes, Hist. Reform.

* Wilkins, Concilia.—Fiddes, Life of Wolsey.—Capefigue, Hist. de la Reforme.

pacific measures, but with the real intention of completing the hostile league against France, he repaired in all his pomp to the city of Bruges, where Charles received him with wonderful respect.* "And here," says a striking old writer, "perhaps it would not be amiss (in regard of these times) to let the reader know the pomp and state of this cardinal,—how many gentlemen attended him apparelled with velvet and adorned with gold chains; and then how many were clothed in scarlet coats, the skirts whereof were guarded with velvet the full breadth of a hand. But let the reader guess Hercules's stature by the length of his foot. Such was the bravery of his attendants that, in Christwiern,† King of Denmark, and other princes then residing at Bruges, it bred amazement. It was also reported that he was, by gentlemen of the first rank, served on the knee, a kind of state which Germany had yet never known. He spent a huge mass of money in that ambassage, not against his will; for he by all means sought the emperor's favour, hoping that Leo X., although much younger than he, either cut off by treachery or his own intemperance, might leave the world before him; and then were it no hard matter for him, being under-propped by the emperor and our king, to be advanced to the papacy."‡

On the 19th of August this impartial arbitrator wrote from Bruges to his master Henry, telling him that the emperor earnestly required his grace forthwith to declare war against France, and that he, Wolsey, had finally convinced the emperor, upon good reasons and grounds, that it would be better to defer the declaration of hostilities against France till Charles should pay Henry a visit in England. "And in the presence of my Lady," continues the cardinal, "he concluded perpetually to join with you above all princes, and that he would as effectually lean to mine advice therein as to his own council, adding, furthermore, that he would accept and take me as his father, with other many good and loving words, so that the said declaration is deferred till his coming to England, at which time both you and he may farther commune upon the same, so that convenient time may be had to put yourselves in good readiness for war."§ In the same letter Wolsey told his master that he had discussed and debated with the emperor the articles devised at Calais with the emperor's ambassadors for the marriage of the Princess Mary with Charles, and that he and Charles had finally concluded upon that marriage, and settled the date and all other particulars, all which treaties were to be kept strictly secret till such time as the emperor should speak with his grace in his realm of England.‖ This Princess Mary was Henry's infant daughter, who had been solemnly contracted to Francis or his son four years before. Henry instantly replied to the cardinal's letter, praising his singular diligence and high wisdom, and telling him that he was thoroughly satisfied with all that he had done, and that he could not tell "how his said affairs might have been better handled."*

Towards the end of August the Lord Cardinal returned to Calais and resumed the farce of the pacification with the French ministers. It would be doing great injustice to the diplomatic abilities of the French to suppose that they could be wholly blind to what was passing, or ignorant of the blandishments of Charles at Bruges. They, however, kept their countenances, and even received with respect a plan of pacification, which Wolsey drew up in a manner that he knew the pride of Francis would never accept. The cardinal affected to lament his obstinacy, and then, taking advantage of a good opportunity, he pronounced, as his award, that Francis had been the aggressor in the war, and that Henry was bound by treaty to assist his ally the emperor. The mask was now dropped, and the result of Wolsey's negotiations was disclosed in a league signed at Calais in the month of October between the pope, the emperor, and the King of England. It was agreed that, in order to check the wicked ambition of France, and to expedite a European crusade against the Turks, who were gaining ground beyond the Danube, each of these contracting powers should fall upon Francis from different quarters at the same time; and that, "for the common good of Christendom," the marriage between the Dauphin and the Princess Mary should be set aside, and that princess be married to the emperor.†

Hostilities had not been interrupted during Wolsey's negotiations, and the results of the campaign were most adverse to Francis. Beyond the Alps the Italian league, headed by the pope, and assisted by the emperor, had driven the French out of Milan and taken possession of nearly all their conquests. In the north of France the Imperialists had taken Tournay, for which Francis had recently paid so great a price to Henry; and all that the French had to set off against these losses was the capture of Hesdin and Fuente Rabia. The brilliant success of Leo X. was, however, closely followed by his death. The Italians rejoiced as much at the expulsion of the French as if they were never to return, and as if they had done something better than change masters or prepared the way for the dominion of the emperor with his Spaniards and Germans, who were scarcely better masters than the French. The pope, who was of a joyous disposition, ordered the event to be cele-

* Tytler.

† Christwiern II. of Denmark, who had married Isabella, the emperor's sister, was at this time on a visit to the emperor in the Netherlands.

‡ Bishop Godwin.

§ State Papers.

‖ One of Henry's reasons for wishing to keep this treaty secret was, that he might continue to draw his pension from Francis till the last moment. Even so late as the 28th of September we find Wolsey advising the king to send his ships and subjects to Bordeaux to load with wine as usual, "in order to exclude such suspicions and jealousies from the French king's mind as he might take by your keeping your subjects at home more this year than at any other vintage heretofore, whereby not *only the payment of your pension might be stopped*, but an inclination towards the wars might be in appearance on your part, whereof many inconveniences might ensue."—Letter from Wolsey to Henry in the Brit. Mus., and printed in State Papers.

* State Papers.

† State Papers.—Lord Herbert.—Hall.—Guicciardini.

brated with a *Te Deum*, with fire-works and public games; and on the day he heard of the conquest of Milan he went from his villa of Magliana into Rome, triumphing in the success of his arms and his policy. On that very night he was seized with a sudden indisposition, and he died within a few days (on the 1st of December), not without a strong suspicion of having been poisoned by Bernabo Malaspina, his favourite valet, who was thought to have drugged his drink at the instigation of the French party. This illustrious member of the great Medici family was only forty-six years old. He died at the height of glory and felicity, having freed himself, as was thought, by the victory of Milan, from all danger, and from those incalculable expenses which had exhausted his treasury, and forced him to adopt all sorts of measures to get money. A few days before his death he learned the acquisition of Piacenza, and the very day on which he died that of Parma, two cities which he so eagerly desired to possess that he told cardinal Medici, who had attempted to dissuade him from the war against the French, that he undertook it chiefly in the view of gaining Parma and Piacenza for the church, and that if that favour were granted to him he would die contented and without a pang.* "He was a prince," says the great Italian historian who knew him intimately, "in whom there was much to praise and much to blame."

Nobody was more interested in the death of Leo than Cardinal Wolsey, who was informed of the event in a wonderfully short space of time, and who instantly sent messengers to remind the emperor of his promises, and dispatched Secretary Pace to Rome to manage his interests with the conclave. As the conclave began its close sittings on the 27th of December, there was not much time for intrigue. Thirty-nine† cardinals deliberated for twenty-three days on the choice of the head of the Catholic world, and their deliberations were as stormy as if they had met to elect the captain of a band of robbers. The candidate that started with the most advantages was Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who had recently distinguished himself in the war in Lombardy; but some of the cardinals did not like the notion of electing a relation of the deceased pope, which might look like an example of giving the papacy by succession; some thought him too young; and *all* of the French party, and *some* of the Imperial party, opposed his election. Giulio, however, obtained more than a third part of the votes, and as nobody could be elected without having two-thirds of the suffrages, it was clear that he could exclude any rival if he could not secure his own election. He and his partisans tried hard to weary out the old cardinals, whose infirmities made them feel sensibly the close imprisonment and other privations attendant on a conclave; but the old men were not easily beaten, and, as they were resolved not to elect him, and as they could not agree among themselves in proposing another candidate—nearly every one of them hoping that he might be chosen himself, the affair was drawn out to such a length that Giulio became uneasy as to business out of doors, well knowing that the interests of his family required his presence with an army in Tuscany. One morning at the scrutiny, which, according to form, was made every day, the Medici party most unexpectedly proposed Adrian cardinal of Tortosa, a Fleming by birth, who had been tutor to the emperor, and who was now Charles's confidential minister, and viceroy of Spain. He was named without any notion of his being elected, and merely to consume time, but a vote or two were tendered for him, and then Cajetano, cardinal of San Sisto, made what seemed an interminable oration in his favour, lauding his great learning and his many virtues, upon which a few of the cardinals began to yield, and then the rest, with extraordinary rapidity, as if rather from impulse than from deliberation, voted on the same side; and, in fine, that same morning Adrian was unanimously elected supreme pontiff. Those who elected him seemed themselves astonished at what they had done, and not being able to give any other reason to the Italians, who murmured at this election of an unknown foreigner, they attributed the event to the sudden inspiration of the Holy Ghost, who, as they said, always acted directly upon the hearts of the cardinals in their elections of popes, "as if that pure spirit would deign to occupy souls full of ambition and incredible cupidity, and almost all the slaves of luxurious, not to say dishonest, pleasures."* The Italian historians do not intimate that the emperor had influenced this election of his preceptor; but when the thoughts of the conclave were once turned in that direction, there were no doubt many who paid respect to the growing power of the Imperialists in Italy; and as the name of Wolsey seems never to have been mentioned as that of a candidate, it is quite certain that Charles had not kept his promises with the English favourite. Wolsey, however, showed no ill humour at the time; and he, in common with several of his scarlet brothers, probably consoled himself for his present disappointment by the thought that Adrian was an infirm old man not likely to wear the tiara long. At his order Secretary Pace remained at Rome to await the arrival of the new pope, to congratulate the holy father in his name, and to solicit from him the necessary confirmation or renewal of his high authority as Legate of England.

Francis, who knew the volatile temper of the English cabinet, did not despair of making Henry turn once more. He administered the most copious doses to his vanity,—he humbled himself in a painful manner,—he spoke of paying more money; but, finding that all this had no effect, he stopped the payment of Henry's pension, laid an embargo on the English shipping in his ports, and seized the

* Guicciardini.

† The deceased pope had greatly augmented the Sacred College. At his own election only twenty-four cardinals had voted.

* Guicciardini.

goods of the English merchants.* This brought on a declaration of hostilities at an awkward time, and some two months sooner than Wolsey had calculated. As soon as Henry learned the seizure of his wine-ships he flew into a paroxysm of rage, as if Francis had betrayed him: he confined the French ambassador to his house, ordered the instant arrest of all Frenchmen in London, and sent his defiance to Francis by Clarenceux King-at-Arms. Henry was now in the humour which the emperor wished for; and on the 26th of May Charles landed at Dover, to pay his promised visit. Wolsey met him at the landing-place, and, after a loving embrace, conducted him by the arm to Dover Castle, where the king, in his usual state, soon waited upon him. In the war they were to make together the emperor counted much upon the naval forces of England; and Henry now took great pride in showing him over the fleet which lay in the Downs, and he extorted the admiration of Charles for his new ship, the "Henri Grace à Dieu,"—an immense vessel for those times, and which was considered as one of the wonders of his reign. On the following day the emperor proceeded to the palace of Greenwich, where he reverently asked a blessing of his aunt Catherine, and where he saw her infant daughter, his destined wife. "Henry, being a noble prince, and one that scorned money as much as any one breathing, was glad of the emperor's coming; yet was his treasury very bare, and so great a guest could not be entertained without a great expense." But not even the prospect of empty coffers and embarrassment could cure this gorgeous king of his passion for display, and finery, and feasting. By his orders the most expensive preparations were made in London, and he conducted the emperor into the city in triumph. Henry's favourite historian, who had a congenial spirit, gives a most elaborate account of this splendid pageant, but we trust that we have conveyed a sufficient notion of the king's doings in this way, and, passing over details which would require the technicalities of the tailor, the mercer, the herald, and the stage-manager, we will merely mention that Sir Thomas More welcomed the emperor in a choice oration, in which he congratulated the two mighty monarchs upon the love and amity which was between them. From London Henry conducted his guest to Windsor Castle, where Charles, with great pomp, was installed Knight of the Garter; and upon Corpus Christi day these two princes, having on the robes of the order, heard mass in their stalls, and then, after receiving the sacrament, solemnly swore, at the foot of the altar, to observe the conditions of their new league. Eight days were spent, more in pleasure than in business, at Windsor, and then the sovereigns went to Winchester, and from Winchester to Southampton, where the emperor's fleet of one hundred and eighty sail, of all sizes, had come to anchor. In every town which the emperor visited some costly pageant was exhibited, and for every day of the six weeks he spent in England some feast or other entertainment was devised. The business transacted lies in a very small compass: Charles still further pledged himself to marry the Lady Mary, the king's only child, and agreed to indemnify Henry for the loss of the pension from the French king; but, while he made this promise, he managed to procure a present payment or loan in hard cash from his impoverished and thoughtless ally; for Charles, with all his dominions, was poor at this time. It was mutually agreed that each power should begin a war with an army of forty thousand men; and that, while the English invaded the north of France, the emperor should fall upon the devoted kingdom both on the east and the south, where he promised to conquer the old English province of Guienne for his ally. On the 6th of July Charles embarked, and sailed for Spain.*

The Earl of Surrey had been for some time in Ireland, where his government was very popular among the Anglo-Irish. He was now recalled, and put in command of all the king's navy, as High-Admiral of England. Surrey escorted Charles to the coast of Spain,† and on his return ravaged the French coast, and burnt the town of Morlaix, in Brittany, together with "some right fair castles, goodly houses, and proper piles."‡ This was a paltry way of commencing what was intended to be such a great war; but, owing to the state of his treasury, which seems to have been completely drained by his improvident loan to the emperor, Henry encountered many difficulties in raising an army, and at last, instead of sending forty thousand men to France, he only sent fifteen or sixteen thousand. Now was Wolsey thrown upon those rocks which made a wreck of his remaining popularity. He raised a forced loan of twenty thousand pounds from the merchants of London, and after very short respite, in order to get more money, he called the citizens before him. On the 20th day of August the mayor, aldermen, and the most substantial commoners of the city of London, stood trembling before the lord cardinal, who declared to them that the king had appointed commissioners through the whole realm to make inquest into the state of men's private property, and "to swear every man of what value he was in moveables, the more to be in readiness *for the defence of this realm:*" — for it was impudently asserted that Francis was preparing to invade England. "Wherefore in convenient time," continued Wolsey to the Londoners, "certify to me the number of all such as be worth one hundred pounds and upwards, to the intent I may swear them of their values: for, first, the king asketh of you your loving hearts and due obedience, and, when the value is taken, he desireth only the tenth part of goods and lands, which is the least reason-

* All the ships which Henry, by Wolsey's advice, had sent or allowed to go to Bordeaux, were seized.

* Hall.—Lord Herbert.—Godwin.—Rymer.—State Papers.

† In compliment to his uncle Henry, the emperor had given Surrey the nominal command of his own fleet.

‡ State Papers published by Government.

able thing that you can aid your prince with. I think every one of you will offer no less. As for the spiritualty, every man is in the shires sworn, and shall gladly pay the fourth part to the king, and live on the three parts. Now to your part I am sure you will not grudge; therefore name me the men of substance, and for the meaner sort meaner commissioners shall be appointed."—"Sir," said a merchant, "if it please you, how shall this tenth part to the king be delivered?"—"In money, plate, or jewels," said the cardinal, "at a value."—"Oh, my lord," said the aldermen, "it is not two months since the king had of the city twenty thousand pounds in ready money, in loan, whereby the city is very bare of money: for God's sake remember this,—that merchants rich in ware may be bare in money."—"Well," said the cardinal, "the thing must be done, and therefore go about it." The aldermen returned to their wards, and named such as were esteemed merchants and dealers of substance, who thereupon waited on the lord cardinal, and humbly besought him not to exact an oath as to the amount of their property,—"because the true valuation to them was unknown, as many honest man's credit was better than his substance," and therefore they dreaded the peril of perjury. "Well," said the cardinal, "since you dread the crime of perjury, it is a sign of grace; and therefore I will, for you, borrow of the king a little. Make you your bills of your own value, according to what you esteem your credit, and then more business needeth not; for you see what two costly armies the king hath already both against France and Scotland; therefore, now show yourselves like loving subjects, for you be able enough. I dare swear the substance of London is no less worth than two millions of gold." "Then," said the citizens, "we would to God that it were so; and the city is sore afflicted by the great occupying of strangers." "Well," said the cardinal, "it shall be redressed, if I live: but, on Saturday next, I shall appoint one to receive your bills, and he that is of credit more than substance, let him come to me, and I will be secret and good to him." "Thus," concludes the chronicler, "the citizens departed in great agony, saying that, at the last loan, some lent the fifth part, and now, to have the tenth part taken, was too much. Great was the mourning of the common people, as it is ever in such cases of payments. But, in the end, one Dr. Tonnys, a secretary to the cardinal, came to the Chapter House of St. Paul's, and to him the citizens brought in their bills, and on their honesty they were received, which values afterwards turned them to displeasure. The spiritualty made suit to my lord cardinal, that no temporal man should sit to examine them, or be privy to their possessions and goods. Wherefore, bishops and abbots were appointed to take the value of their substance."* Wolsey, however, promised that the lenders of money should be paid soon, out of the first subsidy voted by parliament, which it was intended to summon.

* Hall.

At the end of August, Surrey put himself at the head of the army of invasion, which had been collected at Calais, and which consisted of about eleven thousand men paid by the king, three thousand volunteers, and one thousand horse, composed of Germans, Flemings, Wallons, and Spaniards. The season was far advanced, and the army was none of the best. They marched through Artois to the banks of the Somme, carefully avoiding the fortified towns, and burning all the defenceless places, villages, farm-houses, and cottages. The French, commanded by the Duke of Vendôme, would not hazard a battle, but they harassed the English incessantly, and frequently cut off their supplies. The weather fought for the French; incessant rains fell; and these, with cold, and bad provisions, brought a dysentery into Surrey's camp. Hereupon the foreign horse took their leave, and retired to Bethune; and about the middle of October the earl was compelled to retreat to Calais, having done worse than nothing.*

In the mean time Francis had not been idle, but had exerted himself to keep the English at home. He opened a correspondence in Ireland with the members of the powerful House of Desmond, who were still, in a great measure, independent of the English, and induced the earl to sign a treaty and to take up arms, under a promise of an annual pension and the assistance of a French army.† The earl kept his part of the engagement, and greatly embarrassed Henry's Irish government, but Francis failed in his, and, in the end, the Desmonds were left to the tender mercies of the English court. At the same time Francis negotiated with his old allies the Scots, whose last truce with England had recently expired, and who were incensed at the intermeddling in their affairs and the treacherous policy of Henry's ministers. Margaret, the queen-dowager and regent, had some good qualities, but she too closely resembled her brother Henry to make a wise ruler. Being, like him, of a very amorous disposition, she cast her eyes about her for a second husband immediately after the tragedy of Flodden Field; and as soon as she recovered from giving birth to a child of which James had left her enceinte, without consulting with her council, she married the Earl of Angus, who, by the recent deaths of his father and grandfather, was at the head of the powerful House of Douglas, but who was young, inexperienced, and weak-headed, with little to recommend him beyond a handsome, showy person, and a few courtly accomplishments. By the will of her late husband James—which provided for the case of her remarrying—Margaret now forfeited the post of

* Lord Herbert.—Hall.—State Papers.—Villaret.

† According to this wild treaty Ireland was to be divided between the Desmonds, and Richard de la Pole, brother to the unfortunate duke beheaded in the Tower in 1513, and male representative of the House of York. This Richard de la Pole was in the French service. In 1525, about three years after the Irish treaty, he was killed in Italy, fighting gallantly in the battle of Pavia, where Francis was taken prisoner.

regent; and a party of the nobility and clergy, opposed to her and the Earl of Angus, had the keeping of the young King James, and his infant brother, who was named Alexander, and created Duke of Ross. From this moment Scotland was split into two furious factions—the English party, at the head of which were Margaret and Angus; and the French party, which embraced the mass of the nobility, and was supported by the sympathies of the people.* The battle of Flodden rankled in all true Scottish hearts, and when it was discovered that Margaret was inclined to submit in all things to her brother, men hated her almost as much as Henry and the rest of the English. An irregular kind of civil war broke out, in which the queen-mother and her new husband Angus were hard pressed; and thus Margaret was compelled more than ever to consult with her brother, who, apparently caring very little for what befell her, made use of the favourable opportunity in acquiring, by the most crooked means, an influence over the whole kingdom of Scotland. Henry's principal agent in these dark transactions was Lord Dacre, one of the English heroes of Flodden, and a man of, at least, as much craft and cunning as bravery. This border lord, who had many Scottish spies in pay, on one occasion secretly proposed to Margaret that she should get possession of her two boys, the young king and his brother, and convey them to the English court, artfully giving out that her brother Henry had some thought of declaring her son heir-apparent to his throne. Margaret's fears alone prevented her from embarking in this treasonable enterprise, any failure in which, as she told Dacre, would cost her her liberty, and her servants their lives. The English earl, however, was not so unsuccessful in minor schemes; and he won over the daring and powerful Lord Home, who had never recovered in Scotland the popularity he had lost at Flodden—a circumstance which probably made him the more ready to join the English party.

At this crisis the Scottish nobility pressed for the immediate return from France of the Duke of Albany; and in the month of May, 1515, the duke arrived in the Clyde, to the great joy of the people, who looked up to him as the only person likely to tranquillise the country, and preserve its threatened independence.

Shortly after his arrival Albany, with the consent of a large majority of the nobility and clergy, took upon himself the trying office of regent. Albany soon showed that he was the heart and soul of the French party, and that he was ready to carry his devotion to France to an excess almost as dangerous as that with which the opposite faction prostrated themselves to England. Nor was he long in showing that he was deficient in talents for government—if not actually wanting in courage. It is but fair, however, to state that the difficulties of his position were tremendous, and such as might have baffled the skill of the greatest of statesmen and warriors. As the son of a man who had attempted to set aside the royal family as illegitimate, and to seize the crown for himself, he was liable to suspicions, always readily awakened in Scotland. Moreover, in many essentials he was rather French than Scotch; his mother was a French woman, and so was his wife; his chief estates were in France, where the greater part of his life had been spent, and he was almost ignorant of the laws and manners, and even of the language of Scotland. At the same time, every corner of the kingdom was filled with spies and agents in the pay of England, who penetrated, by means of money, all the secrets of the council-table; and the faction in the scale of which the Douglases and the Homes threw their entire weight was heavy enough to crush a king. Notwithstanding the decisions of the parliament, who knew in what dangerous keeping they were likely to be, Margaret had got possession of the young king and his brother; and one of Albany's first measures was to make sure of their not being carried off to England. He summoned a parliament, which met at Edinburgh, and named eight lords, out of which number four were to be chosen by lot; and from these four the queen-mother was to select three to have charge of the princes. It was quite certain that Margaret was not to be trusted; but it seemed an odious thing to separate the mother from her children; and though this was not, in strictness, the intention of the government, it was easy for the queen to assert that it was, and to take up a position where she was pretty sure to be backed, at least for a time, by the sympathy of the people. This Margaret did—and very dramatically. When the peers waited upon her at Edinburgh Castle, she was seen standing under the archway with the little king at her side grasping her hand, and with a nurse behind her, holding the infant Duke of Ross in her arms. With an air of dignity and a loud voice (the imperious voice of the Tudors), she made them declare what they wanted. The peers replied, that they came in the name of the parliament to take charge of their king and his brother. At a word or sign, given to the warder, the heavy portcullis was let fall in the face of the lords, and Margaret, addressing them through the strong iron grating, said, "I hold this castle by the gift of my late husband, your sovereign, nor shall I yield it to any person whatsoever; but I respect the parliament, and require six days to consider their mandate—for most important is my charge, and my councillors, alas, are so few."*

The queen, however, thinking it impossible to hold Edinburgh Castle, suddenly removed with her children to Stirling, where her party was strong. After some fruitless negotiations, the Regent Albany ordered Ruthven and Borthwick to blockade Stirling Castle. The powerful Lord Home now fled from the capital to Newark Castle,

* Pinkerton.—Tytler.

* Letter from Dacre to the council, first brought to light by Pinkerton.—Tytler.

upon the borders; and the Earl of Angus, Margaret's husband, retired within his estates and armed his vassals. Albany, accompanied by all the Scottish peers, with three or four exceptions, and by an army, proceeded in person to Stirling, where the queen was soon obliged to surrender; for none of her adherents seemed disposed to stand a siege for her sake. The regent was respectful and moderate; but he declared that Angus and Home were proved traitors, who had opened a correspondence with the enemies of the country, and were then actually in arms. Home presently threw himself openly into the arms of England, and concerted measures with Lord Dacre, who was employing money and all sorts of intrigues to keep up the dangerous ferment. Having committed the two princes to the safe keeping of the Earl Marshal and the Lords Fleming and Borthwick, Albany proceeded against the insurgents, and took the castle of Home. Margaret applied to Lord Dacre; and Home requested the assistance of an English army, telling the lord-warden that Scotland lay open to invasion, and that King Henry might easily destroy his enemies there, and remodel the government according to his own interests and wishes. Assured of speedy assistance, Home seized the strong tower of Blacater, situated a little within the Scottish frontier, at the distance of about five miles from Berwick, where the English had a strong garrison. The object of this move was presently seen—for Margaret absconded from Edinburgh, and threw herself into the border tower. The regent soon followed her with a considerable army, offering, however, liberal terms of accommodation, which Margaret arrogantly rejected. Meanwhile, though Dacre had strongly recommended an invasion, no English army made its appearance, and, after a few vicissitudes, the queen and her husband Angus, and her prime ally Home, were obliged to fly across the frontiers to seek refuge in the court of Henry. "The Queen of Scots, coming to London, May 3, 1516, was much welcomed by the king, the queen, and her sister Queen Mary, who all enjoyed therein a happiness rare for princes in that kind—which was, to see one another after they were once disposed of abroad."* The king, for honour of his sister, on the 19th and 20th of May, kept solemn jousts, wherein he himself, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Essex, and Nicholas Carew answered all comers. But Margaret, at the time, was sadly in want of money; and for this she applied to my lord cardinal in a very humble tone indeed.† Before her public reception in the English court, Angus, her husband, to whom she had recently borne a daughter,‡ deserted her, and returned into Scotland; and Home either accompanied him or followed soon after. They both made their peace with the Regent Albany, who restored them to all their estates and honours. Margaret now inveighed as bitterly against Angus as against Albany, whom, however, a short time before she had accused of poisoning her second son, the Duke of Ross, who appears to have died of one of the many diseases incident to childhood. Henry and Wolsey had been prevented from proceeding to extremities by the startling successes of Francis I. in Italy, which led them to enter into the war on the continent as allies to the emperor, and, therefore, to wish to preserve peace with Scotland. But things were now somewhat changed in this most changeable of cabinets; and Henry dictated an insolent letter to the three estates of Scotland, commanding rather than recommending them to drive the Regent Albany out of the kingdom, as one by nearness of blood suspicious and dangerous to the young king, his very dear nephew. The Scottish parliament told the arrogant dictator that they would do nothing of the sort,—that they themselves had appointed Albany to his high office, to which, moreover, he had a right as nearest relative to their infant king,—that, as regent, he had acted wisely and honestly,—that, as to the keeping of their sovereign, he was actually entrusted to three good lords, in whom his own mother, the Queen Margaret, had formerly placed the greatest confidence, —and, finally, that they were resolved manfully to resist any attempt to disturb the peace of their country, or to overthrow their existing government.* This passed in the month of July, 1516. But the English warden was at his dirty work, and his intrigues were but too successful in reanimating the spirit of faction. On the 23rd of August Dacre wrote from Kirkoswald to my lord cardinal, telling Wolsey of his great doings. "I labour and studies," says this noble lord, "all that I can, to make division and debate; . . . . and, for that intended purpose, in that behalf I have the master of Kilmaurs kept in my house secretly, which is one of the greatest parties in Scotland, as the queen can declare unto your grace; . . . . . and also I have secret messages from the Earl of Angus and others, which I trust shall be to the pleasure of the king's grace if the said duke submit not himself; and also I hath four hundred outlaws (and giveth them rewards) that burneth and destroyeth daily in Scotland; all being Scotsmen, which should be under the obedience of Scotland. And if the said duke will apply him to the king's pleasure, then shall all these practices be void and of none effect; and the said master of Kilmaurs to be put to his own fende at his liberty in secret manner."†

A new insurrection soon broke out, headed by the Earl of Arran, who was closely connected with the royal family, and by Lennox, Glencairn, and Mure of Caldwall; and Home, whom no kindness could conciliate, renewed his correspondence with Dacre, whose hired traitors—many of them Home's retainers—made continual forays across the English

* Lord Herbert.

† See her letter in Sir Henry Ellis's collection.

‡ She was delivered only seven days after her flight from Blacater into England, and was lying dangerously ill at Morpeth when Angus forsook her to return to Scotland. The child was the Lady Margaret Douglas, afterwards mother of Darnley, the husband of Mary Queen of Scots.

* Rymer. † Ellis.

border, committing unusual excesses. The regent Albany put down the rising of Arran, Lennox, and Glencairn, and pardoned those turbulent barons; but when he got possession of the persons of Home and his brother, he immediately brought them to trial as manifold traitors, and sent them to execution. On the 8th of October their heads were stuck above the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. No other great executions took place, and the regent then succeeded in tranquillising the borders. But seeing that Dacre continued his system, and that Henry was inclined to raise an army, Albany thought his case hopeless unless he could procure assistance from France; and being at the same time anxious to revisit his foreign estates, he requested the permission of parliament to go over to the French court for four months. This permission was reluctantly granted, and in the month of June, 1517, Albany embarked at Dumbarton, intrusting the government to a council consisting of the archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Angus, and Arran, and taking with him as hostages the eldest sons of many of the great barons. Previously to his departure it had been settled in parliament that the queen-mother should be allowed to return to Scotland upon the condition of submitting and enjoying her dower in tranquillity. As soon as Margaret heard of Albany's arrival in France, and not before, she set out for Edinburgh, where she arrived in a very poor condition. She had not been long in Scotland when she was suspected of a fresh attempt to carry off the young king; and when the borderers, the vassals of the late Earl of Home, surprised and murdered De la Bastie, a brave and accomplished French officer, to whom Albany had intrusted the command of the marches, Home of Wedderburn (whose wife was the sister of Margaret's husband, Angus) galloped into the town of Dunse with the head of the unfortunate Frenchman tied to his saddle-bow, and, after fixing it on the market-cross, threw himself into his strong castle. In this universal confusion the council of regency, divided among themselves, pursued no imposing or consistent course; and Albany, despairing, wrote to his old enemy Margaret, recommending her, if she could unite the factions, to take the regency once more into her own hands. But Margaret, who had been reconciled to her handsome husband, insisted that Angus should be regent; and, as this was resolutely opposed by a large majority of the nobles, who either hated his insolence or dreaded his weakness and vacillation, the government continued in the hands of the council. Angus, disappointed and irritated, soon quarrelled with his wife: he forsook the court, retiring with a mistress into Douglasdale, and giving himself up to what was called low company. Margaret set no bounds to her wrath; she added the high tone of a queen to the bitterness of a betrayed wife; she heaped reproach upon reproach, reminding him that she had pawned her jewels to support him in his misfortunes, and expressing her determination to sue for a divorce. Her brother Henry at this time had no taste for such proceedings, and knowing the great power possessed by the House of Douglas, and that Angus was a tool most likely to work for his purpose, he despatched a learned friar to bring Margaret to a more orthodox way of thinking, and to threaten her with the serious effects of his displeasure. The monk threatened her with punishment in the next world as well as in this; telling her that she was labouring under some damnable delusion, and hinting very broadly that her own conjugal behaviour had not been irreproachable, and that Angus might retort her charge of adultery. Margaret trembled, and, at the command of her brother, submitted to a hollow reconciliation with her husband in the summer of 1518. Angus, not satisfied with his share in the council of regency, soon attempted to monopolise the entire power, and hence arose a fierce contest between him and the Earl of Arran, in which blood was spilt, and nearly every kind of injustice committed. Archibald Douglas, one of the uncles of Angus, expelled Arran from his post of provost of Edinburgh, which was then considered a very important addition to the earl's other employments. When Arran attempted to enter Edinburgh he was set upon by an armed mob, who killed and wounded some of his attendants; and then Sir James Hamilton, commonly called the Bastard of Arran, slew one Gawin, a carpenter, a friend of Angus and a leader of the mob. About the same time Home of Wedderburn, who had recently killed De la Bastie, cut off the prior of Coldingham with six of his family; upon which his brother-in-law, William Douglas, the brother of Angus, took possession of the said priory. There was nothing in Scotland deserving of the name of a government; but in 1520 the Earl of Arran and Beaton, the Archbishop of Glasgow, made a bold attempt to restore the authority of the council of regency. At a moment when they fancied that Angus had not many of his partisans with him in Edinburgh, they assembled their friends in the church of the Black Friars. Gawin Douglas, the celebrated Bishop of Dunkeld, an uncle of Angus, presented himself at this meeting as a peace-maker, and remonstrated against their intention of arresting Angus,—for this, he soon saw, was the real object of the meeting. Beaton struck his breast with his right hand, declaring on his conscience that they had no evil intentions against the earl; but the archbishop wore armour under his rocquet, and the steel plates rattled as he struck his breast. "Ha! my lord!" cried the Bishop of Dunkeld, "your conscience is not sound —did you not hear it clatter?" While the meeting in the church of the Black Friars were deliberating, Angus appeared upon the causeway with a formidable body of four hundred spearmen, and a band of borderers led by his brother-in-law, the fierce Home of Wedderburn. At this sight Sir Patrick Hamilton, the brother of the Earl of Arran, rushed into the street, and, with an inconsiderable

number of retainers, fell like a madman upon the Douglases. Angus pressed forward, and slew Sir Patrick on the causeway with his own hand, intending also to have killed his brother, the earl. The party of Arran collected to the rescue, and, after many lives had been sacrificed, the earl was driven out of the city, and his friend Archbishop Beaton was fain to seek refuge behind the high altar of St. Giles's Church.*

Angus and his party now remained for a time absolute masters of the capital, where they speedily removed the heads of Lord Home and his brother from the Tolbooth. Arran and his friends, with the young king and the queen-mother, occupied Stirling Castle. In the following year (1521) Margaret, incensed almost as much against her overbearing brother Henry as against her husband Angus, wrote with her own hand to entreat Albany to return to Scotland, and to take upon himself the whole government. Albany, who was probably urged by the French court, which was most anxious to embarrass Henry, sailed from France, and landed in the Gairloch on the 19th of November. He proceeded forthwith to Stirling, where Margaret, who was very changeful in her affections, received him with transports of joy, and with such familiarity as excited scandalous rumours. The busy Lord Dacre told the king, his master, that, not satisfied with the day, she was closeted the greater part of the night with Albany, taking no heed of appearances.†

The restored regent summoned a parliament, and cited Angus and the Douglases before it; but the now discarded husband of Margaret, with several of his adherents, fled for refuge to the Kirk of Steyle, near the borders, whence they opened a negotiation with Henry by means of Angus's uncle, Bishop Gawain Douglas, who was a better poet than politician, and who had more genius than morality or patriotism. At the same time they raised a loud outcry against Margaret's immoralities, accusing her, among other things, of a design to put aside her son, to marry her lover Albany, and to make him king. Indeed they, as well as Dacre, hinted in the broadest terms that the life of the young king was now in danger, and that his own mother was capable of joining in his assassination. A great deal of this was the raving of a desperate faction, or the artful misrepresentation of the English agent; but there can be little doubt as to the nature of the intimacy between the regent and the queen-mother. In other respects the conduct of Albany was neither immoral nor imprudent: he tried to reconcile the factions, and to stop the dangerous venality of the nobles: and his feelings for France did not prevent him from seeking to secure peace with England. But the restoration of good order in Scotland would have been fatal to the projects of the English court; and Wolsey and Henry persisted in their plan of treachery and disorganisation, encouraging the Homes and all other rebels, and, by means of the indefatigable Lord Dacre, distributing money among the factions.* In fact, Dacre soon saw matters in such a state that he earnestly recommended Henry to invade Scotland. The king, however, was not prepared for this open hostility; and Angus, with the Homes and other rebels, were glad to fly into England from the growing power and vigour of Albany's government. Margaret wrote to her brother, denying every part of the exaggerated statements of Gawain Douglas, and telling him that, without my lord governor Albany, who ruled with the consent and advice of the parliament, there would be no safety either for the young king or for herself, and no peace in Scotland. But Henry did not wish that there should be peace: he openly accused his sister of living in shameful adultery† with the regent; and he offered to the Scottish estates the alternative of the immediate dismissal of Albany, or an immediate rupture with England. Many traitors as there were among the nobles, and base and bought as were many of its members, the Scottish parliament replied with proper spirit, telling the English king that they had themselves chosen Albany for the good of their king and country, and that they would never dismiss him, either at the request of his grace or of any other sovereign prince whatever. They wished for peace, but they would, rather than submit, run all the hazards of war, trusting to demean themselves as their ancestors had done before them in ancient times, when constrained to fight for the independence of their country.‡ Upon this Henry, with his usual moderation, ordered that all Scottish subjects found in England should be driven ignominiously across the borders on foot, and with a white cross marked on their backs; and shortly after (in the spring of 1522), without declaring war, he sent the Earl of Shrewsbury, with the forces of the northern counties, across the Tweed. Shrewsbury, whose movement was sudden and unexpected, penetrated as far as Kelso, and gave

* Lesly.—Pinkerton.—Tytler.—Letter from Wolsey to the Duke of Norfolk, quoted by Mr. Tytler.

Letter in the Brit. Mus., quoted by Mr. Tytler.

* We have the best of proofs. The following is an extract from a letter addressed to the king by the lord cardinal, who had sent some fresh instructions to Lord Dacre on learning the coming of the regent Albany:—"Nevertheless, to cause him not only to take a more vigilant eye to the demeanor of the Scots, as well within Scotland as without, and to be more diligent hereafter in writing to your grace and me, but also favourably to entertain the Homes and other rebels, after his accustomable manner, so that they may continue the divisions and sedition in Scotland, whereby the said Duke of Albany may, at his coming hither, be put in danger; and though some money be employed for the entertainment of the said Homes and rebels, it will quit the cost at length; wherein I have amply instructed the said Lord Dacre, from whom I doubt not but ye shall be shortly advertised of all things occurrent in those parts"—*State Papers.*

† Henry, who did not, as yet, foresee how he was shortly to vex the ear of Rome with a suit of that kind, felt or pretended great horror at his sister's applying for a divorce. The following passage from a letter of Wolsey's was meant to comfort him on this head:—"I signify unto your grace that I have not only written unto your orator (ambassador) at the court of Rome to impeche (oppose) and let (stop) the suit made in that court by the Queen of Scots, for a divorce betwixt her and her husband, the Earl of Anguishe (Angus) but also have caused the pope's orator, here being, to write in most effectual manner to his holiness, for stopping of the same: by means whereof the said divorce shall not proceed when the pope shall be informed that the same is procured only for marriage to be made betwixt the Duke of Albany and the queen there, whereby the destruction of the young king shall ensue."—*State Papers.*

‡ Rymer.

that beautiful district to the flames; but he was presently driven back into England with considerable loss by the borderers of Merse and Teviotdale.

The Duke of Albany, with consent of parliament, now declared war; and, in addition to a considerable army he had already on foot, he summoned the whole feudal force of the kingdom. Eighty thousand men joined his standard at Annan, and he was flattered with the hopes of assistance from France; but the fickle and unscrupulous Margaret had already grown tired of the regent, and she not only intrigued with a party of the Scottish nobles, but also betrayed his secrets and plans to Lord Dacre. There are doubts and contradictions in all the narratives of these transactions; but it appears that, without being fully aware of the double-dealing of the queen-mother, or of the determination of a large portion of the Scottish leaders (of whom some had Dacre's money in their pockets) not to prosecute the war with vigour, the regent, with his large army and forty-five pieces of brass ordnance, crossed the borders, and advanced upon Carlisle.* Henry's attention had been wholly drawn to the side of France; and Dacre, who was in the marches, had but few troops and an exhausted money-chest; but this lord-warden well knew the slackness and want of preparation in the Scottish camp, and he always had wit and cunning at command. When the invaders were within five miles of the city of Carlisle he opened communications with Albany. We can only guess at some of the arguments and arts employed, but the result was correctly and frankly told by Wolsey in a letter to the king, wherein, after mentioning the defenceless state of the northern counties, he says, that "by the great wisdom and policy of my Lord Dacre, and by means of the safe conduct lately sent at the desire and contemplation of the Queen of Scots," the Duke of Albany had consented to "an abstinence of war for one month," in order that ambassadors might treat for peace. "And the said Duke of Albany," continues the cardinal, "hath not only, our Lord be thanked, forborne his invasion, but also dissolved his army; which being dispersed, neither shall, nor can, for this year, be gathered or assembled again."† Nor did the reverend politician fail to show how the truce might be broken if found convenient; saying, in continuation, "and yet the said abstinence concluded by my Lord Dacre, *he* not having your authority for the same, *nothing bindeth* your grace; but at your liberty ye may pursue your wars against the said Scots, if it shall be thought to your highness convenable." The singular truce which put an end to this grand expedition was concluded on the 11th of September; and in the month of October Albany again went to France, leaving the earls of Huntley, Arran, and Argyle to manage affairs during his absence.

* Cardinal Wolsey says that Albany was also furnished with "one thousand hagbuschis carted upon tressels, with a marvellous great number of hand-guns, and was plenteously stored with victuals."—*State Papers.*

† State Papers.

Henry had now governed eight years without a parliament, following the precedent of his father; and, notwithstanding the obsequiousness displayed when they last met, it seems pretty certain that he would never have summoned the representatives of the people again had he not been forced to it by his poverty. It was the tendency of the age to exalt the royal power, not only above the ruins of feudality, but also above the ruins of better institutions; and Henry afterwards applauded the wise policy of his ally Charles, who gave the death-blow to the free Cortes of Spain, which his grandfather Ferdinand and the Cardinal Ximenes had left weakened, and sick, and languishing. But Henry had exhausted all other means of raising money, and so he met his parliament once more on the 15th of April, with Wolsey sitting as chancellor at his feet.* The Commons chose for their speaker the celebrated Sir Thomas More, who, against his inclination, had been drawn into the service of the court about four years before, and who was now thought to be devoted to the interests of the king, who courted his society, and took singular delight in his wit and humour. But More, though a somewhat timid, was an honest man. Upon his present election, when, according to an established practice rather ancient than useful, he expressed how unfit he was for the high honour, Wolsey praised—and not more than they deserved—the great abilities, wit, learning, and discretion of the speaker, who then took his place. The Commons presently showed infinitely more spirit than was expected; and, finding a ready echo out of doors, particularly among the merchants and citizens of London, their sayings and doings became the great subject of conversation. Henry testified his royal disdain "that people should talk about *his* affairs;" and Wolsey was heard to complain, that no sooner was anything said or done in the House of Commons, than it was blown abroad in every ale-house. The lord cardinal thought that he could overawe the members by presenting himself in person; and though this was a breach of privilege, he sent to tell the House that they must receive him, and hear from his lips what were the wishes of the king. Sir Thomas More, who entertained a contempt for Wolsey's parade, moved that it would not "be amiss" to receive him with all his pomp—with his maces, his pillars, his pole-axes, his cross, his hat, and the great seal too; and, this being carried, the cardinal went down to the house with a retinue which must nearly have filled it, lobbies, avenues, and all. His business was to tell them how necessary the war was, and what a fair opportunity was offered for the recovery of all the English had once held in France; provided only that the house had regard to the weakness of the sinews of war, and would instantly raise 800,000*l.*, by passing a property-tax, at the *moderate* rate of twenty per cent. The house, in agreeing to receive the cardinal, had also

* This parliament was not held at Westminster, the usual place, but at the Black Friars', London.

agreed among themselves not to commit their privileges by entering upon any debate in his presence; and this extraordinary demand was not likely to change their purpose. Every man remained as still and motionless as a statue, gazing on the glowing cardinal. Soon tired of this dramatic scene, Wolsey addressed one of the members by name: this gentleman, after rising from his seat, sate down again without speaking: he then turned to another member, but his authoritative tone elicited no answer. He then lost his temper, and exclaimed, "Masters, as I am sent here immediately from the king, it is not unreasonable to expect an answer; yet here is, without doubt, a surprising and most obstinate silence, unless, indeed, it may be the manner of your House to express your mind by your speaker only." More, upon whom the angry eyes of the cardinal were fixed, rose, and, after bending the knee, said, that the members were abashed at the sight of so great a personage, whose presence was sufficient to overwhelm the wisest and most learned men in the realm; but *that* presence, he observed, was neither expedient, nor in accordance with the ancient liberties of that House. He added, that they were not bound to return any answer; and that as to requiring a reply from him individually, the thing was simply impossible, for he, as speaker, could only act upon the instructions received from the House. The lord cardinal retired sorely disconcerted; and the debate on the supplies was adjourned day after day.* At length the Commons agreed to send a deputation to solicit a diminution of the tax. The cardinal, notwithstanding More's courteous reproof, again went to the House, and, after using a series of weighty arguments, endeavoured to draw them into debate, by asking what they had to say against his reasoning. But the Commons, as firm as ever, said that they would reason only among themselves, and not in his presence. He went away as he had come; but, soon after, the House agreed to a property-tax of about ten per cent., or half what Wolsey had asked. In his address to the mayor and aldermen of London he had boasted of the readiness of the spirituality, but he now found the clergy almost as refractory as the Commons; and, after being defeated in rather a humiliating manner in several of his manœuvres and high assumptions of authority over the church, as pope's legate, instead of succeeding in his enormous demand of fifty per cent., at once, he only obtained a grant of ten per cent. each year for five years. But even these votes of the Commons and of the convocation of the clergy were very unusual. "I have heard no man in my life," writes a member of the parliament, "that can remember that there was ever given to any one of the king's ancestors half so much at one grant; nor do I think there was ever such a precedent seen before this time. I beseech Almighty God it may be well and peaceably levied, and surely paid unto the king's grace, without grudge, and especially without losing the good wills and true hearts of his subjects, which I reckon a far greater treasure for a king than gold or silver; and the gentlemen which must take pains to levy this money among the king's subjects shall, I think, have no little business about the same. . . . . And I think, now that this matter is so far passed, that the parliament will soon be ended."*

This worthy member did not overrate the difficulty of levying the tax. During the debates the Londoners frequently caught the members of the Commons by the sleeve as they passed through the streets, and cried out to them, "Sirs, will ye grant four shillings in the pound? Do it, and take our threats and curses home with you to your households." But in many parts of the kingdom the people were dissatisfied even at the ten per cent.; and Wolsey, urged on by his master, who was now almost pennyless, made matters still worse by attempting to accelerate the mode of payment. In many places the poorer people, driven to desperation, refused to pay the tax-gatherers anything. "The county of Kent denied it to the Lord Cobham: Essex refused to commune with the commissioners about it; Huntingdonshire resisted; London would be taxed by none but their aldermen; and Suffolk rose up in arms, making poverty their captain."† The blame of all fell upon the cardinal; and Henry did not scruple at condemning the proceedings of his ministers, in order to recover his own popularity.

The money that was wrung from the people was immediately spent in re-inforcing the garrisons near the Scottish borders, in assistance lent to the allies in Italy, and in a new expedition into France. On the 24th of August (1523) the accomplished Duke of Suffolk took the command of the army at Calais; and on the 4th of September he commenced the campaign with about twelve thousand English troops, and nearly an equal number of Flemings and Germans under the imperial general, Count de Bure. The season again was late: the combined movements contemplated by the allies were difficult to execute with precision in point of time; and Charles Brandon was not the first to prove the fact, that a man might be endowed with all knightly accomplishments, and be expert in all military exercises, without having any of the qualities of a great general. This time, however, as plainly appears, from a letter of the lord cardinal,‡ and from the dark conspiracy which broke out in France, the commencement of the campaign had been purposely delayed. Francis, intent on the

* The following is an extract of a letter addressed at this moment by a member of parliament to the Earl of Surrey, who was in the north, looking after the Scots: "Since the beginning of this parliament there hath been the greatest and sorest hold in the Lower House for the payment of two shillings in the pound, that ever was seen, I think, in any parliament. This matter hath been debated and beaten fifteen or sixteen days together; the highest necessity being alleged on the king's behalf, to us, that ever was heard of; the highest poverty confessed as well by knights, squires, and gentlemen of every quarter, as by commoners, citizens, and burgesses. There hath been such hold, that the house was like to have been dissevered." *Ellis's Letters.*

* Ellis's Letters. † Speed. ‡ State Papers.

recovery of the duchy of Milan, had collected an army at Lyons, and was actually on the point of crossing the Alps, when he learned that his enemies, not relying wholly on their arms, had intrigued with the most powerful of his subjects, who had engaged to declare himself as soon as the king should be in Italy. The story of Prince Cha.les, Duke of Bourbon and Constable of France, is one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of the sixteenth century. By birth, wealth, connexions, ability, and bravery, he was the most distinguished subject in the kingdom; and his loyalty and affection to the king had never been doubted. But, in an evil season, Louisa of Savoy, the king's mother, became enamoured of his beautiful person, and proposed that he should marry her. The gallant Constable was not disposed to unite himself to a woman who was old enough to be his mother, and who, on former occasions, had been the declared enemy of his house; and in rejecting or evading the suit of the amorous matron he made use of some personal reflections, which a woman, and one who *had been* a beauty, was not likely to forgive. Louisa's revenge was as ample as were her means of gratifying it; and her influence over her affectionate son was almost boundless. Urged on by his mother, Francis first insulted the fiery Bourbon, and then employed the parliament to rob him of his property. He refused to pay him large sums which he had advanced for the war in Italy: he stopped his salaries, and took from him the baton of Constable, which he had wielded with great glory. These, and the indignities put upon him by the whole court, drove Bourbon almost to madness; and when the slavish parliament of Paris pronounced an iniquitous sentence, which virtually sequestrated all his fiefs and estates, he vowed revenge, and turned to the enemies of his country for an opportunity of gratifying this passion, and saving himself from beggary. Both the emperor and the King of England received his overtures with infinite satisfaction, and sent the Lord of Beaurain and Sir John Russell, as secret emissaries, to treat with him. Henry excused his conduct in this particular, by saying that it was only a just retaliation for the alliance which Francis had contracted with his Irish subject, the Earl of Desmond. We are not informed whether Charles pleaded any such excuse. A private treaty was soon concluded: the principal articles were—that Provence and Dauphiny should be united with his appanage the Bourbonais and Auvergne, and erected into a separate kingdom for the Constable; that the Constable should marry Eleanor, sister of the emperor; that the emperor should occupy Languedoc, Burgundy, Champaigne, and Picardy, while the King of England overran the rest of France; and that the Constable should hold himself ready with a thousand horse and six thousand foot, to co-operate with the allies as soon as the French king should be on the other side of the Alps.*

* Du Bellay.—Henault.—Guicciardini.—State Papers.

Either Bourbon betrayed himself by too open preparations or the secret was betrayed by some of the agents engaged in the business. Of a sudden Francis presented himself at his castle and commanded him to join the army of Italy. The Constable, who had taken to his bed at the king's approach, pretended to be dangerously ill; but Francis, who understood this feint, left spies to watch him, and almost made him a prisoner in his own house. This strange interview took place about the time that the Duke of Suffolk landed in France. The French king, instead of marching into Italy, stopped at Lyons for the defence of his own dominions; but so confident was he, that he sent the army he had raised across the Alps, under the command of the Admiral de Bonnivet, and then applied himself to the raising of fresh forces for the defence of his kingdom, which was threatened on three of its frontiers,—by the English in Picardy, by an army of Germans in Burgundy, and by a Spanish army in Guienne. The Constable eluded the vigilance of the spies, and, by pursuing bye-roads and travelling in disguise, he traversed Auvergne and Dauphiny, and, after many dangers, got safely out of France and joined the emperor's army in Italy. Many of his friends were arrested, and no insurrection, such as the allies counted upon, broke out in the centre of France. This was one of the great causes of the failure of the whole campaign; and another cause was, that the combined movement of the allies was even more faultily executed than usual.

Instead of advancing at once, when the country was comparatively open, to form a junction with the German army of the emperor which invaded Burgundy, the Duke of Suffolk and De Bure lost nearly a whole month under the walls of St. Omer, debating what they should do. Then, giving up the absurd notion of besieging Boulogne, they marched in the direction of Burgundy. But they had thrown away their chance, and even now they stopped to besiege Bray, Montdidier, and one or two other insignificant places. Having crossed the Somme and the Oise, they pitched their tents within twenty miles of Paris, expecting, as it appears, that the Germans would join them there. But by this time these Germans were in full retreat before the Duke of Guise, whom Francis had had time to reinforce: and now the Duke of Vendôme advanced in front of the English, while Tremoille manœuvred on their flank, and threatened their rear by drawing out troops from the garrisons in Picardy. At length the position of the Duke of Suffolk became most critical, for though the French declined a pitched battle they kept constantly gathering round him, and throwing themselves in force between him and his supplies, which all came from Calais. The weather, also, was dreadful, and this, with scanty or bad provisions, brought sickness into the army. Thus situated he ordered a retreat. The French even now respected the valour of the English troops, and would not risk an engagement; but the men perished daily, and in

great numbers, of sickness; the Flemish auxiliaries, as they drew near their own country, deserted in troops, and Suffolk had but the shadow of an army when he reached Calais. This failure nearly cost Brandon his head.* In the south the Spanish army, commanded by the emperor in person, instead of conquering Guienne, merely recovered from the French their own town of Fuente-Rabia.

On the 14th of September, while Suffolk was advancing towards Paris, an event occurred in Italy which revived the former high hopes of Wolsey: this was the death of Pope Adrian, whose severe economy was so distasteful to the Romans that they styled the physician who had attended him in his last sickness—"The Saviour of his Country." His pontificate had lasted only twenty months and six days. As soon as the English cardinal got the news he wrote a curious letter to Henry, telling him how reluctant he was to quit the service of so good a master,—how unfit to assume the high responsibility of head of the Christian world. The king, who knew what this meant, applied to the Emperor Charles for the fulfilment of the promises which he had made to his favourite, and instructed his ministers at Rome to spare no money and no exertion to secure the election of Wolsey.† At this vacancy of the holy see there was plenty of time for management and intrigue, for the conclave did not assemble until the beginning of October, and it continued its sittings through six long weeks,‡ the see being thus left vacant for above two months. This time Wolsey was not only named among the candidates, who were rather numerous, —he even obtained a considerable number of votes; but the turbulent people of Rome, and the Italians generally, were furious at the notion of having any more ultramontane (they called them *barbarian*) popes; the French interest in the conclave was considerable and wholly opposed to Wolsey, the great enemy of Francis; and the interest of the emperor—if exercised at all—was not for him, but against him, notwithstanding the long promises of Charles. But it should appear that the personal interests and passions of the Italian cardinals decided the contest more than any other cause. When the conclave had debated and voted for many days, and some of the ancients were worn out with the long confinement, it was seen that the chance lay between Jacovaccio Romano and Giulio dei Medici, who had so nearly obtained the tiara at the death of Leo X., and who had decided the last election in favour of Adrian. The hand that trimmed the scales was that of the Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, who was a most bitter enemy of the Medici, and who was inclined to give his whole weight to Cardinal Jacovaccio, who belonged to the same political faction as himself, and who was in a manner a dependent of the great House of Colonna. But, irritated at the opposition he encountered from some members of the Sacred College, he set aside his old animosities and suddenly engaged to support the Cardinal Medici upon condition of receiving the lucrative post of Vice-Chancellor and the sumptuous palace of San Giorgio at Rome.* After making this bargain Colonna induced Cornaro and two other cardinals to second him, and then unexpectedly proposed his old enemy. That very night Giulio dei Medici was unanimously saluted and adored as pontiff, and, on the following morning, the 19th of November, the anniversary of his entrance as a conqueror into Milan, his election was publicly announced, to the great joy of the Italians. He wished to retain his name of Giulio, but, being reminded by some of the cardinals that no pope who had kept his original name had lived a year after his election, he took the name and style of Clement VII.†

Again to all appearance Wolsey bore his disappointment with wonderful equanimity, though this time he could hardly flatter himself with another chance, for the successful candidate was both young and vigorous. Henry's agents at Rome were instructed to press for the election of Giulio in case that of Wolsey should be found impracticable; and now, while they felicitated him on his elevation, they bespoke his active cooperation with the emperor and the King of England, and requested that he would renew Wolsey's legatine commission. The new pope immediately appointed the cardinal legate for life, enlarged his authority, and gave him a commission to reform and suppress certain religious houses in England. The latter was an unusual concession, tending to establish a dangerous precedent with a needy sovereign. Wolsey, however, is said to have

* For his sanguine master had expected nothing less from the expedition than the absolute conquest of a great part of France. At the opening of the campaign Sir Thomas More wrote to Wolsey, telling him that his grace took great pleasure in the cardinal's "wise and substantial council and advice concerning the siege of Boulogne to be let off at this present time, and his army, with proclamations of liberty and forbearing to burn, to proceed and march forward into the places devised by the Duke of Bourbon, the constable." "Which places," continues More, "as your grace upon credible report from all parties is informed, shall easily be taken without any resistance, wherein your grace perceiveth great appearance of winning some great part of France, or, at the leastwise, all that is on this side the water of Somme, which should be as honourable and beneficial unto his grace, and also more tenable, than all Normandy, Gascony, and Guienne." More and the king, however, express their doubts as to the propriety of Suffolk's advancing at so late a season by reason of wet weather and rotten ways, and the great difficulty in the victualing.—*State Papers.* The original letter, dated 20th September, is preserved in the British Museum.

† Wolsey thus writes to Dr. Clark, ambassador at Rome,—"Ye be wise, and ye wot what I mean: trust yourself best, and be not seduced by fair words, and specially of those which (say what they will) desire more their own preferment than mine. Howbeit great dexterity is to be used; and the king thinketh that all the Imperials shall be clearly with you if faith be in the emperor. The young men for the most part being needy will give good ears to fair offers, which shall be undoubtedly performed. The king willeth you to spare neither his authority nor his good money or substance. You may be assured whatever you promise shall be performed, and the Lord send you good speed."—This letter, he tells the ambassador, is written at the express desire of the king.—*Fiddes.*

‡ In a letter to the king, dated 26th of November, Wolsey complains of "the great pertinacity wherein the cardinals continue, *with the appearance of a schism to ensue,*" "which (he adds with great unction) is to my *great heaviness,* considering how expedient it were, that those which *should comfort and relieve the present discords of Christendom* were now in perfect amity."—*State Papers.*

* Paolo Giovio, however, assigns another reason for the sudden change of the Cardinal Colonna. He says that Pompeo's uncle, Prospero Colonna, who was in the interests of Charles, implored him to secure the election of Giulio dei Medici as a thing that would be highly serviceable and welcome to the emperor. He also states that the Cardinal Colonna had some fear that, by a new turn in the conclave, the election might fall upon the Cardinal Franciotto Orsino, an hereditary enemy whom he hated more than the Medici.

† Guicciardini.

acted conscientiously in this matter, for when he suppressed certain monasteries (which he did early in the year 1525) he employed the money thus gained for ecclesiastical purposes, particularly for the foundation of colleges, in which—as both he and his master Henry asserted—learned divines were to be reared and fostered for the better combating of the pernicious and fast-spreading heresies of that "monster" Martin Luther.

A.D. 1524.—Bonnivet, who took the command of the Italian war in lieu of his master Francis, was at first very successful. From the foot of Mont Cenis he overran Piedmont and the Milanese, taking Asti, Alessandria, and Novara in the course of the preceding autumn. If he had presented himself when he ought to have done before Milan he might have taken that city also, for the fortifications were in a miserable condition, and the place was weakly garrisoned, but he lost time manœuvring on the river Tesino, and when he made his approach Milan had been put into so good a state of defence by Prospero Colonna that he durst not assault it, and, after making a vain attempt to reduce it by famine, he was obliged, in the month of November, to seek winter-quarters, where he and his troops were half starved. Towards the close of the year the emperor appointed the constable Bourbon his lieutenant in Italy, and gave him the command of his army in that Peninsula. It was soon found that Bonnivet was no match for this bold and skilful general, who took the field early in the spring, and, by the month of May, drove his countrymen the French across the Alps and recovered all the places they had taken. The loss of the French in this short campaign was dreadful; and the death of the gallant and loyal Bayard, the knight *sans peur et sans reproche*, who was killed on the banks of the Sesia in protecting the rear of the retreating army, was a great national calamity. Bourbon, still inflamed with vengeance, and bent on the acquisition of the kingdom which had been promised him by the allies out of the dismemberment of his native country, now prevailed upon Charles to invade France with his army of Italy. Henry was applied to in the hope that he would keep his promise and make a diversion by invading the north of France from Calais; but the English king excused himself, and merely promised to assist with some money, which it appears was never paid. In the month of July the constable descended from the Alps into France, but the command of the Imperial army was divided between him and the Marquess of Pescara, who had different views, and who had received conflicting instructions from the emperor. Bourbon would have pushed forward at once to Lyons, expecting that as soon as he crossed the Rhone he should be joined by his former friends and dependents; but the marquess insisted upon turning into Provence and laying siege to Marseilles, for Charles had conceived the plan of making that city what Calais was in the north in the hands of the English. Accordingly, on the 19th of August, this army of invasion, amounting to little more than 16,000 men, sate down before Marseilles. The city was not only defended by a brave garrison, but by all the citizens, who were much attached to their king, and who detested the Spaniards, who formed the mass of the besieging force. After spending forty days in mining and bombarding, Pescara and Bourbon were obliged to beat a rapid retreat, for Francis had collected an army at Avignon, and Henry, instead of sending money, betrayed an inclination to abandon the league altogether. In an unlucky hour Francis determined to carry the war once more into Italy, and, while Bourbon retreated by the maritime Alps, he made a dash across the Graian Alps, in the hope of descending from Mont Cenis, traversing the plains of Piedmont and Lombardy, and reaching Milan before the Imperialists. Being instructed as to this movement, Bourbon and Pescara redoubled their speed in order to reach Lombardy, which was almost defenceless, before him. These operations form a brilliant military episode, but their details scarcely belong to our history. On the very day that Francis arrived at Vercelli on the borders of the Milanese, Pescara, with the cavalry and the Spanish infantry, arrived at Alba, while Bourbon with the rear, consisting of German infantry, was only a short day's march behind. Pescara with his Spaniards (then the best infantry in the world), after a few hours' halt, moved from Alba, and, marching forty miles in one day, reached the important fortress of Voghiera. Having strengthened the garrison of Voghiera, he marched on the following day to Pavia, where he formed a junction with Lannoy, Charles's viceroy of Naples, who had marched from the south with a few troops which were principally thrown into Alessandria for the defence of that important place. Leaving a strong garrison in Pavia, under the command of Don Antonio Leyva, Pescara made a rapid march upon Milan, which the French were approaching by a more direct road. The Imperialists got there first; but a dreadful enemy was there before them, for the plague was in Milan, and the citizens were reduced to a frightful state of despair and recklessness. Still hoping to save the castle, Pescara threw some troops into it and then left the city by one gate as Francis entered it by another. If the French had followed up their enemy it is thought that they would have had an easy victory, for even those first-rate marchers, the Spaniards, were worn out with the fatigues they had undergone, and the road to Lodi, by which Pescara retreated, was soon covered with his exhausted horses. There was no other Imperial army in Lombardy, and the fate of that rich country seemed to hang on a single battle. But Francis, after losing some days in taking measures for the reduction of the castle of Milan, went and laid siege to Pavia, a city strongly posted on the deep and rapid river Ticino, and which was celebrated for the long resistance it had made to the Lombards and afterwards to the Franks under Charlemagne. When

Pescara heard of this false move he joyfully exclaimed that he was safe. Lannoy, the viceroy of Naples, proceeded to raise money, of which the Imperialists were greatly in want, by mortgaging the revenues of Naples; the Constable Bourbon crossed the Alps into Germany, having pawned his jewels, and hastened the levying of 6000 men; and every effort was made to collect a powerful army between the Adda and the Ticino. For three whole months Francis lay before the well-defended walls of Pavia, and in the interval he detached the Duke of Albany, the late regent of Scotland, with 6000 men, to march through nearly the whole of Italy, in order to threaten the kingdom of Naples; calculating that this movement would force the viceroy to quit Lombardy, if it failed in securing him the Italian kingdom.*

A.D. 1525.—Early in February Francis was roused by news that the Imperialists were concentrating in great force; but even then, out of a ridiculous point of honour, he would not relinquish the siege which he had begun. On the 24th of February he was attacked in his intrenchments by Pescara, Bourbon, and Lannoy, the viceroy, and thoroughly defeated. After fighting most valiantly, Francis attempted to save himself by making a rush across the Ticino, but he found the bridge broken down, and the Spaniards closed upon him on the steep bank. His horse was killed under him; his bravest captains and dearest friends had fallen around him; he himself had received three wounds, but still he would not surrender to the Spaniards, who would have killed him had he not been recognised by Pomperant, a French gentleman in the service of the Constable Bourbon. This Frenchman rode up to the Viceroy of Naples, and told him what was passing. Lannoy calmed the fury of the Spanish soldiery, threw himself upon his knees before Francis, kissed his royal hand, and, at last, received his sword in token of surrender. James d'Avila then took off the captive king's helmet, and the Spanish soldiers, who respected his valour and royal quality, crowded about him, tearing the plumes out of his crest, and cutting pieces off his coat, to carry away as memorials of their having fought with him hand to hand; so that, at last, Francis was left standing in his jerkin and hose. All this, though rough, was honour; and the light-hearted king, whom misfortune did not depress, laughed at the eagerness of the brave Spaniards. But a frown and a deadly paleness came over his countenance when the Constable presented himself with his sword in his hand covered with the blood of his countrymen. Pescara, perceiving the king's agitation, demanded the sword, which Bourbon gave him; and then, falling on his knees, the Constable entreated permission to kiss his sovereign's hand. Francis turned away his head in anger and disgust. "Ah! Sire," exclaimed the Constable, bursting into tears, "if you had followed my advice in some things, you would not now be in this condition, nor would the plains of Italy be thus deluged with the blood of the noblest and bravest of France!" The king merely said, looking towards heaven, "Patience, since fortune has failed me." Then mounting a horse, he rode away with Pescara and Lannoy, without taking any further notice of the Constable. To his mother, Louisa, whom he had left Regent of France in his absence, he wrote that he had lost everything except his honour.* The day after the battle of Pavia he was conveyed to the strong fortress of Pizzichitone, where he was most vigilantly guarded, but otherwise treated with kindness and respect.†

The news of this great victory, which, at first sight, seemed to lay France as well as Italy at the feet of the emperor, was received in the English court with demonstrations of joy. The king ordered a day of public thanksgiving; and Wolsey officiated at St. Paul's in the presence of the court and the ambassadors of the emperor and of the other allies. Some months before, both the king and the cardinal had thought seriously of a reconciliation with France, and had treated secretly with Giovanni Giovachino Passano, a Genoese merchant, who had undertaken a mission from Louisa, the mother of Francis, in the view of making Henry break altogether with the emperor. It is matter of debate, and will probably for ever remain so, whether Wolsey's irritation against Charles, on account of the affair of the popedom, was the first disposing cause of this vacillation; but there is no doubt whatever as to the facts, that Henry treated with the Italian agent, and avoided sending the money he had promised to the emperor. But now turning again—hoping to be allowed a present share of the victor's spoils, and careless of the future—he dispatched Tunstal, Bishop of London, and Wyngfield, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, to the emperor's court, to propose that he and Charles should invade France instantly, from different points, and that they should meet at Paris, there amicably to divide the French kingdom between them. Henry had the conscience to propose that *he*, by right of lawful inheritance, should ascend the French throne, and that Charles should rest satisfied with the provinces he claimed in France as the representative of the House of Burgundy—as if no objection could be started on the part of his ally, who had learned all his secret dealings with the court of the French regent! Henry forthwith set his ministers to work to raise money. As he was determined not to assemble a parliament, ministers could only proceed by stretching the royal prerogative; and, with Wolsey still at their head, they demanded a fourth from the clergy, and a sixth from the laity. To levy this money, they appointed commissioners in the different counties of England, and resorted to all the means which seemed likely to win or terrify people into a ready parting with their cash without

* Guicciardini.—Giannone.—Du Bellay.

* The well-known words were, "Tout est perdu hors l'honneur."
† Guicciardini.—La Guerra di Pavia.—Du Bellay.

authority of parliament. But clergy and laity—people of all classes and conditions—most firmly opposed this most illegal attempt. "How the great men took it, was marvel; the poor cursed; the rich repugned; the lighter sort railed; and, in conclusion, all men execrated the cardinal as subverter of the laws and liberty of England. For, they said, if men should give their goods by a commission, then were it worse than the taxes of France; and so England would be bond, and not free."* Archbishop Warham, the old minister of Henry VII., and formerly chancellor to his son, addressed a striking letter to Wolsey at this crisis: "I have heard," says the primate, "that when the people *be commanded* to make fires and tokens of joy for the taking of the French king, divers of them have spoken that they have more cause to weep than to rejoice thereat. And divers, as it hath been shown me secretly, have wished openly that the French king were at his liberty again, so as there were a good peace, and the king should not attempt again to win France—the winning whereof should be more chargeable to England than profitable, and the keeping thereof much more chargeful than the winning."†

At the same time handbills containing bitter reflections on the king and his government were printed and circulated in London and other places; the churchmen protested that they would only pay money when voted by the convocation; and the people began to take up arms against the commissioners. The priests even encouraged the people in their discourses from the pulpit. The king took the alarm, recalled the commissioners, and declared, by proclamation, that he wanted nothing from his subjects but "by way of benevolence." But the people, who abhorred the name of benevolence, in this sense, said that the thing was as illegal as the arbitrary commission; and a lawyer in the city quoted the statute passed under Richard III., by which benevolences were for ever abolished. Upon this, Henry consulted the judges, who did not blush to affirm that the king might tax his people by commission, or by any other way which seemed to him best; and they agreed with the privy council in holding that, as Richard III. was a usurper, and his parliament a factious assembly, the laws passed by them were not binding on a legitimate and *absolute* king, who held the crown by hereditary right, and needed not to court the favour of a licentious populace. It was in vain, however, that Wolsey endeavoured to impress these maxims on the mayor and aldermen of London; and in the country the odious doctrine encountered a still sterner opposition. In Kent the people expelled all the tax-gatherers and fiscal agents of the court; and in Suffolk four thousand men flew to arms, and threatened Charles Brandon, their duke, who was on the commission, with death. The insurrection was checked by the wise moderation of Surrey, son of the Duke of Norfolk; but Henry, who was always bolder in words than in deeds, was so much alarmed, that he issued a fresh proclamation to set aside and annul all the demands he had made. A report (whether true or false is doubtful) was industriously circulated, that Wolsey had never consented to the original demands of a fourth and a sixth, and that it was at his intercession that the king had consented to remit the benevolence. "But the people took all this for a mock, and said, God save the king—for the cardinal, he is known well enough."*

We do not believe that so wild a scheme of conquest and partition, and one in which such volatile characters as Henry and Wolsey were to be principal actors, could, under any circumstances, have been successful; but still it was fortunate for France, at this crisis, that the emperor was as poor as the King of England, and that the seeds of discord were sown between the two unscrupulous sovereigns. Such, indeed, was the state of Charles's finances, that he could not pay the long arrears due to his army in Italy; and the victorious troops mutinied, seized and kept the city of Pavia, and even threatened to take forcible possession of the person of the French king, to hold as security for the money due to them. As the emperor had counted upon Henry for large subsidies, he seems to have considered him as the principal cause of these troubles, which at one moment were most alarming. We believe that it was from this consideration, and from irritation at the secret negotiations with France, and not from any feeling of conceit and inflation, that Charles changed his tone with Henry after the battle of Pavia. He no longer wrote to his loving uncle with his own hand, nor lavished his expressions of reverence and submission; and his letters to the English king were thenceforth merely signed "Charles,"†—a trifle that was likely to produce a great effect on the vain-glorious king. Before the arrival of the English ambassadors, the council of Charles had decided (or rather poverty decided for them) that the invasion of France was not to be thought of. They had even consented to a truce for six months, hoping to turn the captive Francis to good account, and to make their profits by negotiation. They treated Henry's envoys with respect, and requested that they might be empowered to act with the ministers of Charles in settling the conditions upon which Francis might be restored to liberty. There was a great deal of diplomatising, which deceived neither party; and Henry presently adopted the course which was most likely to bring him in an immediate supply of money. He renewed his separate negotiation with France, concluded a truce for four months, and then an alliance offensive and defensive. The price paid by France was

* Hall. † Letter quoted by Hallam, Const. Hist.

* Hall.

† Guicciardini.—This great writer adds that Charles was already averse to the marriage with the Princess Mary of England, and was in treaty for the hand of the Princess Isabella of Portugal, whom he married in March, 1526. It appears, however, that even in this matter Henry's sincerity was equal to that of Charles, and that he had secretly offered his daughter Mary in marriage both to the King of Scotland and the King of France!

high: Henry got for himself the sum of two millions of crowns, to be paid by half-yearly instalments of fifty thousand crowns each; and, after liquidation of this, an annual pension of a hundred thousand crowns. The cardinal got thirty thousand crowns on account of his former resignation of the bishopric of Tournay, and a hundred thousand more for his kind services to the royal family of France; the whole to be paid by instalments in the course of seven years and a half. The French court also agreed to allow to Mary, their queen-dowager, Henry's sister, and now Duchess of Suffolk, the enjoyment of her dower, with the discharge of all arrears thereon. The only clause which was not a money one was an engagement that they would never permit Henry's enemy, the Duke of Albany, to return into Scotland during the minority of the present king, James V. The English court was not more suspicious than were the French unscrupulous as to the means by which they lulled its suspicions. Louisa, the regent, swore to the articles; Francis ratified them; and the principal of the French nobility, with the great cities of Toulouse, Lyons, Amiens, Rheims, Paris, Bordeaux, Tours, and Rouen, bound themselves, under the penalty of forfeiting all their property, to observe the treaty themselves, and compel their king to observe it. At the same time, however, the attorney and solicitor general of the parliament of Paris secretly entered a solemn protest against the whole treaty, in order that Francis, who was rather delicate on the point of honour, might found thereon a reason for not fulfilling these onerous engagements.* But, notwithstanding the treaty with England, Francis encountered great difficulties in freeing himself from the hands of the emperor, and was obliged himself to step deep in perjury. At his own earnest request he was transferred from the castle of Pizzighitone to the Alcazar of Madrid; but, as the ministers insisted that Charles ought not to trust his feelings in a personal interview with the gallant and engaging prisoner, he never obtained the advantages he had counted upon from a personal interview with the young emperor. Negotiations were opened by cool-headed and cunning diplomatists,—men who could never be suspected of yielding to generous or romantic impulses. Francis offered to give up all his pretensions to Milan, Naples, and Flanders,—to restore the Constable Bourbon,—and to pay a large sum of money for the possession of Burgundy, which he said he could not dissever from his kingdom without ruining the monarchy for ever. It was replied, for Charles, that Burgundy had been robbed from his family, and that Francis must either restore it or remain a prisoner for life. The royal captive then signed an act of abdication in favour of the dauphin, and neglected his health until it was feared that his death would deprive the emperor of nearly all the advantages expected from his capture. At last, on the 14th of January, 1526, the treaty, or, as it was called, the concord of Madrid, was concluded and signed. As the price of his liberty Francis agreed to surrender Burgundy to Charles within six weeks after his return to France,—to place his two eldest sons as hostages in the hands of Charles,—to resign all claims to the Italian states, and to the suzerainty of Flanders,—to marry Eleanora, the sister of Charles, who had been promised by treaty to the Constable Bourbon,—to replace the said Constable in all his honours and states in France,—and to guarantee the emperor against certain pecuniary demands of the king. An article was inserted binding Francis to place himself again as a captive if he should find himself unable to fulfil his agreements. On the very morning on which he made up his mind to sign these hard conditions, he caused a secret protest against the validity of the act to be prepared, and then he swore and signed. He set foot in France a little more than a year after the battle of Pavia; and the instant he was on his own territory he mounted a Turkish horse, set off at a gallop, and, waving his hand over his head, exclaimed, with rapture, "I am yet a king!" He scarcely stopped till he reached the strong city of Bayonne, where his subjects received him with enthusiastic joy.

Henry immediately despatched Sir Thomas Cheney and Dr. Taylor, a jurist of high repute, to congratulate him on his delivery, and to urge him to break every article of his treaty with the emperor,—the latter being a most unnecessary precaution, for Francis never intended to do otherwise. The French king received the two ambassadors at Bayonne with the most flattering speeches, telling them that, after God, he thanked his kind brother of England for his liberty, and that Henry had done an act by which he had got eternal memory of glory, and bounden him ever, and all his, to do him service: and a few days after Francis fully ratified the engagements which his mother, as regent, had contracted with Henry. In so doing, he told Dr. Taylor that, having true and faithful amity with the king's grace, he cared not for all the world beside. And the learned doctor, who knew his business and the character of his employers, wrote to Wolsey that the fame of his master was wondrously great on the continent,—that he had conversed with Sicilians, Neapolitans, Germans, and Italians, who all prayed to God that the king of England might be their lord and king.* Francis presently told Charles that the surrender of Burgundy was impossible, it being contrary to the solemn oaths administered to him at his coronation, and equally contrary to the will of the people of Burgundy, which was quite true; and he offered money in compensation, which he knew Charles would refuse. He then prepared for war; and he and his new ally Henry pledged their honour never to make peace with Charles except by mutual consent. The pope was soon

* Rymer.—Pere d'Orleans.

* Ellis's Letters, second series.—Dr. Taylor adds, "And, doubtless, if there were as much money in the coffers as hath been, the king's highness might facilely be lord of all the world!"

induced to absolve Francis from the oaths he had taken at Madrid; and Clement, Sforza the Duke of Milan, the Florentines, the Venetians, and some minor Italian states, entered into the league with the kings of France and England.

In the preceding year, 1525, the first misunderstanding occurred between Henry and Wolsey. According to the cardinal's showing, the subject of this difference was a mere trifle, "consisting in two things,—the one concerning the office of clerk of the market within the liberties of the monastery of St. Alban's; and the other touching certain misorder supposed to be used by Dr. Allen, and other his (the cardinal's) officers," in the suppression of certain small monasteries, "wherein neither God was served nor religion kept;" which he intended, "with the gracious aid and assistance of the king," to convert to a far better use, by annexing their revenues to the new college intended to be founded at Oxford "for the increase of good letters and virtue." But a contemporary writer takes a more serious view of Wolsey's proceedings in these matters, which were, however, as we have previously remarked, sanctioned by the high authority of the pope. "He entered suddenly," says Lord Herbert, "by his commissioners, into the said houses, put out the religious and took all their goods, and scarcely gave to the poor wretches anything, except it were to the heads of the houses; and then he caused the escheator to sit, and to find the houses void as relinquished, and found the king founder where other men were the founders; and with these lands he endowed his colleges, which he began so sumptuous, and the scholars were so proud, that every person judged the end would not be good." Martin Luther, who, in the ardent pursuit of his object, did not disdain any means that promised to aid in working out his religious reforms, chose this moment for addressing Henry, whom he fancied to be wholly estranged from Wolsey,—"the monster,"—"the nuisance to God and man,"—"the pest of the kingdom and caterpillar of England." He said he understood that his grace had now begun to loath that wicked sort of men, and in his mind to favour the true doctrine. The Reformer, in excuse for the violence of the language he had used in replying to the king's book in defence of the Romish church, averred that he had believed the said book was not in reality the production of the royal pen, as indeed he may very well have done, for certainly, as an acute modern critic has observed, the style of no other composition that is known to have been written by Henry has any "analogy to his polemic divinity."* Besides, Luther had before taken this very ground in his answer to the book, and, as the same critic remarks, appears to have thereby given more offence than by anything else that he said against it. In his present attempt, however, Luther was premature; the quarrel between king and cardinal was made up; and Henry told the Reformer that "that reverend father," Wolsey, was the best, the most faithful, the most religious of men; that, whereas he loved him very well before, he would now, in consequence of Luther's impious railing, favour him more than ever; that he would never cease to reckon it amongst his good deeds that none that were infected with German leprosy, contagion, and heresies, could cleave to his kingdom or take root in it. The royal controversialist did not forget Luther's marrying a nun; and, by an odd reference to pagan law and religion, he told the Reformer that, had he lived under the ancient Roman government, the *vestal*, whom he had so sacrilegiously espoused, would have been buried alive, and he himself cut to pieces with stripes.*

* Walpole, Royal and Noble Authors.

A.D. 1526, 1527.—Though flattered by the pope with the offer of the title of "Protector" of the new league against the emperor, the main object of which was to preserve the independence of Italy, Henry made no exertion in its favour, nor did Francis keep any of his liberal promises to the pope. Beset on all sides,—by the Spaniards from the kingdom of Naples, and by the Germans and Spaniards from Lombardy, Parma, and Piacenza, —Clement was obliged to throw himself on the emperor's mercy, and implore for peace. Moncada, the Spanish governor of Naples, signed a treaty, and a month after, in alliance with the great Roman family of Colonna, advanced secretly to the eternal city, surprised one of the gates, plundered the rich palace of the Vatican, and obliged the pope to take refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo. A day or two after this exploit (on the 21st of September, 1526) Clement obtained a new treaty of peace, and the Colonnesi left Rome, and Moncada returned to Naples. As soon as the pope was freed from these foes he resolved not to observe any of the articles which had been extorted from him with so much perfidy and violence; and the more effectually to disturb the emperor's possession of Naples, he invited from France the Count of Vaudemont, who, as heir of the House of Anjou, advanced claims to that kingdom, in which there was a powerful faction quite ready to take up arms against the Spaniards. The viceroy Lannoy heard of this invitation, and, in the month of December, marched out of the kingdom of Naples, and fell upon the Roman states with a considerable army. But Clement was not unprovided with troops: his Italian allies had sent him reinforcements; and the Romans, the Florentines, and the Venetians not only kept in check the veteran forces of Lannoy, but gained some brilliant advantages over them. Six thousand of the confederates invaded the Neapolitan state, and made themselves masters of a great part of Abruzzi and of the city of Aquila, the capital of that mountainous province. But this was only a gleam of success for Italy, and the year 1527 came on,—a year full of most atrocious, and, for many centuries, unheard-of incidents,—a year marked with changes of states and of religions, with the imprisonment of the pontiff, the sack of Rome, famine, and the plague, which ravaged that

* Bishop Godwin.—Herbert.

beautiful peninsula from the foot of the Alps to the Faro of the Messina.*

In the still wretched state of his finances the Emperor Charles could raise no regular army, and, in order to keep his grasp on Italy, he employed all sorts of mercenaries and partisan leaders, who undertook the war with the tacit understanding that they were to make the invaded country pay its expenses, or, in other words, that they were to live and enrich themselves on the plunder of the poor Italians, whether friends, or enemies, or neutrals in the pending contest. Their ranks were swelled by the vagabonds and marauders of nearly every country in Europe, but the more numerous divisions were Spaniards, Germans, and Swiss. Freundsberg, a German partisan, and thorough-paced soldier of fortune, was at the head of fourteen thousand of these adventurers; and the Constable Bourbon, who had been ill-used by all parties until he was utterly reckless and ferocious, led another body of ten thousand. The two desperate hordes formed a junction at Fiorenzuola, whence they marched to plunder the rich and beautiful city of Florence. The Italian Athens was saved by the rapid advance of the confederate army; but this movement exposed Rome, and the robbers precipitated their march in that direction. At the same time Lannoy, the viceroy, hemmed in the capital of the Christian world on the south. Reduced to despair, Pope Clement, in the end of March, submitted to a fresh peace, the articles of which were dictated by the viceroy, who, on his side, however, bound himself to stop the march of Bourbon and Freundsberg. Clement dismissed his troops, and Lannoy went northward to meet the invaders. Freundsberg had fallen sick, and lay with the rear at Ferrara, and Bourbon could not be prevailed upon to return, telling the viceroy that it was out of his power to control the troops, as he owed them money, and had no means of paying them except by sacking Rome. It has been said that when Lannoy announced his treaty with the pope to the soldiers, and endeavoured to stop their march, they rose upon him, and threatened to murder him; but there is good ground for believing that this viceroy was not likely to run any very great risk either on account of the pontiff or for the saving of his own honour.

On the 5th of May Bourbon encamped in the meadows on the north of Rome, and, with military insolence, sent a trumpeter to the pope to demand a free passage. On the following morning, at early dawn, he led his ferocious rabble to the assault, and he was among the first to mount the walls. While his foot was still on the scaling-ladder he was struck by a ball from an arquebuse, and fell dead at the foot of the wall. The loss of their daring leader only increased the fury of the soldiery, who, after two hours' hard fighting, hand-to-hand (for they had no artillery), carried the borgo or suburbs, having lost about a thousand men in the attack. In the afternoon they crossed the Sistine bridge and entered the city, which, for the five following days, was abandoned to pillage, massacre, and all the atrocious excesses of which human nature is capable. Nothing was heard in the streets of the Christian city but the cries of "Blood! blood!" "Bourbon! Bourbon!" The pope escaped in time into the Castle of St. Angelo; but some of the cardinals were not so fortunate, and these, with a number of bishops, were treated with infamous barbarity. The high-wrought description of Guicciardini, one of the noblest passages in the historic eloquence of modern times, is too long for quotation; but all the contemporary Italian writers agree in describing the horrors of this sack of the capital of the Christian world, by a Christian army, as surpassing anything of the sort upon record, and in stating that the Eternal City suffered more than it had ever done from pagan barbarians, from the Goths down to the Lombards. In spite of the manifold corruptions of Rome, and the long-standing vices and debaucheries of the Roman hierarchy, a thrill of horror and indignation was felt from one extremity of Europe to the other. The news reached England at the end of May. On the 2nd of June Wolsey wrote a letter to Henry to inform him of the "most detestable, cruel, and mauldict tyranny of the imperials, committed at Rome;" and calling upon him, as "Defender of the Faith," to relieve and succour the pope and the cardinals who were pressed by siege in the castle of St. Angelo.* But Henry, who was engaged in certain amorous matters, which were soon to work an entire change in his devotion to Rome, did not respond to the zeal of the cardinal; and though he and his ally, the French king, had contributed to place the pope in these straits, they both left him to his fate, or only made a faint demonstration in his favour when it was too late.

Although Henry had long been a most inconstant husband, setting no bounds to his intrigues, he had hitherto treated Queen Catherine with that respect to which she appears to have been entitled by her many excellent qualities. But at last he encountered—what seems to have been a rarity in his court—a beauty so moral or so proud, that she would not listen to the illicit suit even of a great sovereign. This was Anne Boleyn. Thomas Boleyn, or Bullen, the father of this important beauty, descended from a lord mayor of London; but the family of traders had been aggrandised by intermarriages with the high nobility; and the wife of this Thomas, and the mother of Anne, was Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. Sir Thomas Boleyn had long been employed about Henry's court, and had executed several important missions and embassies to foreign powers, greatly to the satisfaction of the king and the lord cardinal. Anne was born in or about the year 1507; and in 1514, when only seven years old, she was appointed maid of honour to the king's sister, who had just been married to Louis

* Guicciardini.—Summonte.—Giannone.

* State Papers.

XII. We have seen her appearing in France with the Princess Mary, who was allowed to retain her when the other English attendants were so unceremoniously sent out of the country. Mary, on the occasion of her second marriage with Charles Brandon, was glad to leave the young Anne under the powerful protection of the new Queen of France—Claude, wife of Francis I. Anne was brought up in the French court—then, as at later periods, a good place for acquiring certain accomplishments and graces of manner, but certainly not the best school for morality. The time of her return to England is rather doubtful. Apparently, however, she must have quitted France either in 1524, when Queen Claude died, or in the following year, when the Duchess of Alençon, another of her protectors, left the court and married the titular King of Navarre. On the 18th of June, 1525, Sir Thomas Boleyn was created Viscount Rochford, at the same time that Henry Fitzroy, the king's natural son by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Blount, and widow of Sir Gilbert Tailbois, was created Earl of Nottingham and Duke of Richmond. In 1527 Anne was certainly resident in the English court, as maid of honour to Queen Catherine—a post which she probably occupied from her first return to England. A letter of the king seems, however, to fix the year 1527 as the date of his first passion for her. She was then in her twentieth year, and not only more beautiful and more graceful, but more witty, gay, and accomplished than any of the young court ladies. She soon attracted many admirers, but seems to have preferred Lord Percy, the eldest son of the Duke of Northumberland, who made her an offer of marriage. It is said that both Percy's father and the lord cardinal, in whose splendid household the young nobleman had been brought up, were blind to this passion, and that it was first detected by the keen eye of the amorous and jealous king, who thereupon charged Wolsey to separate the lovers. Percy was dismissed from court, and, after being chided for his great presumption by his father, was forced into a marriage with a daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury. A rich present of jewels was probably intended to console Anne, whose grief does not appear to have been of a very obstinate nature; but when Henry followed up his presents some time after by certain declarations, she is said to have replied, that though she might be happy to be his lawful wife, she would never be his mistress.*

At this time Anne associated daily with Henry's wife, and partook in all the honours and pleasures of the court. "Indeed, all this time there is no doubt but good Queen Catherine both heard by report, and perceived with her eyes, how the matter was framed against her, although she showed neither to Mistress Anne nor to the king any spark or kind of grudge, or displeasure, but took and accepted all things in good part, and with wisdom and great patience dissembled the same."

The king now began to talk of religious scruples regarding his marriage with Catherine, the widow of his own brother. Nor were there wanting other grounds of complaint. Though she had been his wife seventeen years, Catherine had only one child living, and this was a daughter—the Princess Mary. Besides, she was now in the forty-third year of her age, and retained little of her former beauty. There was still something of a political prejudice against female reigns, and many men regretted, upon public grounds, that there should be no heir male to the crown. There were other circumstances strongly tending to encourage the king in a plan wherein his own main, if not sole object, was the gratification of his passions: notwithstanding Henry's recent boast that the Lutheran doctrine could not cleave to his kingdom of England, that doctrine had already struck its roots deep into the soil; and while those who secretly favoured its growth knew that Catherine was a devout Catholic, they had reasons for believing that Anne Boleyn inclined to the Reformation. At the same time Wolsey, upon very different motives, was ready to promote the divorce from Catherine, for he was now incensed against her nephew, the emperor, and he ardently wished to strengthen the new alliance with France, by marrying his master to Renée, daughter of the late king Louis XII. It is said, indeed, that the cardinal, who, during many years, had professed the greatest friendship and devotion to Catherine, first suggested the divorce; but this point, though probable, is not proved, and Wolsey sometimes denied it, and at others admitted it, as best suited the purposes he had in hand at the time. It appears certain, however, that the cardinal never for a moment contemplated the possibility of the king's marrying Anne Boleyn. The usage of such marriages—though once common enough—between sovereign and subject was now generally exploded, and the cardinal promised many advantages to himself from the French alliance. The Bishop of Tarbes, who was in England settling the other marriage proposed in the late treaty, between Henry's daughter Mary and Francis, or the Duke of Orleans, the son of Francis (a delicate specimen of royal matrimonial negotiation!), suddenly asked whether the legitimacy of the Princess Mary, as daughter of Catherine, was beyond the reach of all legal and canonical doubt. It was generally believed that this question was put at the suggestion of Wolsey, as a pretext for the king, and as something likely to make a great impression on the public mind.* But both the Bishop of Tarbes

* According to one account, which is supported by a high contemporary authority, Anne Boleyn had derived a useful lesson from the fate of her own sister Mary, who had succeeded to the daughter of Sir John Blount as royal mistress; and, after being passionately loved for a season, had been in her turn abandoned by Henry. Dr. Lingard adopts the revolting story without hesitation; but it should be remembered, that though Cardinal Pole inserts it in a letter addressed to Henry himself, this falls far short of a proof. It is true, however, on the other side, that certain precautions taken by Henry in his applications to the pope for a divorce, go somewhat to confirm the notion that the king had had an amour with some near relative of Anne Boleyn.

* Cardinal Pole, Apologia.—Hist. Divorce de Henri VIII. par Le Grand, who quotes original letters.

and his brother ambassador, the Viscount of Turenne, must have seen good proofs of Henry's new passion. In the pleasant month of May they were splendidly entertained at Greenwich, where three hundred lances were gallantly broken in the lists. The tournaying and fighting at the barriers were succeeded by orations, songs, and a ball, at which Queen Catherine was present with all her ladies, who, according to an admiring contemporary, "seemed to all men to be rather celestial angels descended from heaven than flesh and bone." At a late hour the King and Turenne suddenly withdrew from the hall into a tiring room, where, with six others, they disguised themselves after the Venetian fashion, putting on masking apparel of cloth of gold, and purple satin, and visards upon their faces with beards of gold. Then, with much minstrelsy, they returned to the hall, and took out each a lady to dance. Anne Boleyn was the partner selected by the disguised king; and the fantastic and costly pleasures of that day and night seem to have been intended rather for her than for the diplomatists. In the course of the summer Wolsey went over to France to negotiate in person. The cardinal was received as if he had been a king. Upon reaching Boulogne the artillery fired a royal salute; but hereby an accident well nigh befell the gorgeous churchman, "through the obstinacy of his mule," which took fright at the noise of the great guns. The civic part of the reception went off more safely: the mayor of Boulogne and his brethren presented him with conies and capons, and entertained him with pageants. In the other great towns the cardinal, who travelled with a suite as numerous and as splendid as that of Thomas à Becket in his profane days, was welcomed and entertained in a splendid manner—the king and the whole nation of France being, as he says himself, very glad and joyous at his coming, "for the good expectation and hope they had of the effect of the same." By the French king's orders, he was permitted, in all such places as he passed through on his journey, "to release, pardon, and put at liberty, all such transgressors as be detained in prison, of whatsoever quality their offence." On the 4th of August Francis himself welcomed the cardinal, having advanced a mile and a half from the city of Amiens to meet him on the road. The French king came riding upon a grey jennet, "appareled in a coat of black velvet, cut in divers places for showing of the lining thereof, which was white satin." He was accompanied by Henry d'Albret King of Navarre, the Cardinal of Bourbon, Charles of Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme, the Duke of Guise, with other of the greatest lords, together with divers archbishops and other noble men. The king was discovered with his bonnet in his hand, and, with most hearty, kind, loving countenance and manner he embraced the favourite of his *majesty* of England.*

The great ostensible object of Wolsey's splendid embassy was, to concert measures with Francis for the rescue of the pope, who was still besieged in the castle of St. Angelo by the Germans and Spaniards. This object, indeed, was loudly proclaimed on the journey; and where the cardinal stopped for divine worship the Litany which was chanted included a "Santa Maria, ora pro Papa nostro Clemente."* On one of these occasions Cavendish, the attached servant and minute biographer of Wolsey, says, "I saw the lord cardinal weep very tenderly, which was, as we supposed, for heaviness that the pope was at that present time in such calamity and great danger of the lance-knights." But, in the consultations which now took place, the pope and the interests of the Catholic church were secondary subjects, the primary ones being the treaties of close alliance and intermarriages between the courts of England and France, and the establishing of Wolsey as a sort of pro-pope during the restraint of Clement. The emperor, by means of his ambassador, remonstrated with Wolsey on his master's divorce from Queen Catherine, whispers of which had already got abroad, and which was considered by Charles as a grievous family insult, to obviate which he was ready to make many concessions. The emperor was also alarmed at the prospect of the close alliance between Henry and Francis; and he did his best to outbid the French king, offering, among other things, to give the hand of the Princess of Portugal, his wife's sister, to the Duke of Richmond, Henry's natural son, now a boy about eight or nine years old. Wolsey, by his master's orders, listened to all these proposals, and even treated the report of the divorce as an idle rumour, merely resting on some thoughtless words which had happened to fall from the Bishop of Tarbes during his embassy in England. The cardinal, however, concluded four separate treaties with Francis. The first confirmed the recent engagement of perpetual alliance between England and France; the second stipulated that Henry's daughter should be married to the Duke of Orleans, the son, if she were not married to Francis, the father; the third fixed the subsidies to be furnished by England for the war in Italy, that was to be conducted by Francis in aid of the pope; and the last declared that, till the pope should resume the government of the church, whatever should be determined in France by the clergy of the Gallican church, and in England by the cardinal legate (Wolsey) and the principal members of the English church, called together by the king's authority, should be held good

* Letters from Wolsey to the king, in State Papers, published by order of government. The learned and accurate editor of this invaluable collection of historical materials remarks, that this appears to be the first occasion of Wolsey's adopting the style of "majesty," in addressing Henry VIII. Our kings had, till now, been satisfied with "your highness," or "your grace." Charles V., after his election as emperor, assumed the title of "majesty" even in the public writs which he issued as King of Spain; which was the first instance of the assumption of that style by any mere *king*, although the example was very soon followed by the rest of the European sovereigns. (See Robertson's Charles V., book i.) The title of "your majesty" (vestra majestas), however, had been wont, from a very early period, to be given to the emperors. (See Lyttleton's Henry II., Appendix to book v. p. 12, note, vol. iv. of 4to edit. 1767.)

* "Santa Maria, pray for Clement our pope!"

and valid, even as if the pope had decreed and spoken it. It has been plausibly supposed—and the supposition is in much seeming accordance with extracts from letters written by Wolsey, at the time, to his master—that the object of the last clause was to invest the cardinal with full power to manage "the great and secret affair," or the divorce of Catherine. But this throwing open of ecclesiastical authority had another effect, which Wolsey probably did not foresee: "for here," says a noble contemporary, "*began the relish our king took of governing the church himself!*"*

When the treaties were signed, Henry expressed his entire satisfaction at them; and Wolsey told Louisa, the mother of Francis, that within a year she would see a princess of her own blood queen of England, and wife of his master, in lieu of the emperor's aunt Catherine. The cardinal returned to England rejoicing in his success; but, while he had been engaging for a French princess, Henry had been assiduously courting his fair English subject—Mistress Anne Boleyn.

Some people will be disposed to make large allowances for poor human nature and the weakness of a girl of twenty, acted upon by the mighty temptations of a crown and the estate royal; but most thinking persons will agree that, in encouraging the addresses of a married man (which she notoriously *did*), and in entering into schemes of self-aggrandisement, which could only be achieved by degrading Catherine, and wounding to the heart a kind and indulgent mistress and patroness, Anne Boleyn was guilty of crimes of a still deeper die than that of which she would have been guilty in becoming the king's concubine.† It is a quibble, rather than any valid excuse, to urge that she had persuaded herself the marriage with Catherine was illegal and null. She was hardly either an impartial or in any other respect a fit judge of this nice and much disputed question; and even if the canonical objections to the marriage had been as clear as they were the reverse, that would make no difference either to the delicacy or the morality of her conduct.

The times were not very refined; but there is a mixture of coarse sensuality and indecency, religious cant and scholastic pedantry, in Henry's love-letters to this chaste maiden, which could hardly have been tolerated generally even in that age. Not satisfied with the learning and ingenuity of certain divines whom he had called into his secret councils to prove the unlawfulness and unholiness of his marriage with Catherine, Henry took up the pen himself, and, while he sought for arguments in Leviticus and in the writings of his old favourite St. Thomas Aquinas—which task he complains gave him some pain in the head—his new love Anne encouraged him in his labours, and sent him pretty jewels and toys of an emblematical description. When his precious treatise was finished, Henry told Anne, whom he calls "mine own sweet heart," that his book made substantially for his purpose, and that he had laboured upon it above eleven hours in one day; and the royal penman seems as proud of his success as an author as of his qualifications as a lover.

As soon as Wolsey returned from France, Henry announced to him his fixed determination of making Anne Boleyn his wife and Queen of England. The astounded cardinal fell upon his knees and implored the king to renounce this project, but, soon seeing in Henry's wrath that opposition and remonstrance would only be dangerous to himself, he adroitly changed his tack, fell in with the hard-set current, and soon engaged to perform whatever service the king might require of him in this matter. By Henry's orders his treatise on the divorce was submitted to the consideration of the learned Sir Thomas More, who, feeling the danger of acting as a reviewer in such a case, tried to excuse himself by saying that he was not a theologian. But Henry urged him to confer with some of the bishops, and so get up an approval of his writing. Sir Thomas, who was himself against the divorce, found but few ready to embrace the royal doctrines, and, in an ingenious speech, he recommended Henry to see what St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and the other fathers of the church, had said upon such subjects. When Wolsey attempted to win over the bishops and great divines, they said they thought it a matter to be referred to the supreme arbitrament of the pope. Some of them allowed that, considering the relationship of Catherine's first husband, Prince Arthur, there were certainly grounds of scruple. A misgiving of this kind had been felt by the people, but the pope's dispensation had satisfied most minds, and it seemed hard in the extreme that Catherine should be repudiated after so many years of matrimony, during which not a single doubt had been started either by Henry or by any of his court. At the same time the people respected the virtues of the queen, disliked the French alliance from old antipathies, and hated Wolsey, with whom they supposed the project had originated.

After long hesitation Henry's agents in Italy were instructed to refer the cause to the pope. But this application was provided against by the emperor. Long before it was definitively made, or any succour sent to his holiness, Clement had been obliged by famine to capitulate and deliver up the castle of St. Angelo to the Imperialists, who continued to keep him and some thirteen of the cardinals in a kind of imprisonment at Rome; and in settling a treaty with the pontiff, who was made to pay four hundred thousand ducats, Charles did not neglect to bind him to oppose the divorce of his aunt Catherine. Clement, however, escaped from Rome, disguised as a gardener, and took refuge in the strong town of Orvieto; and a French army, under the command of Lautrec, which at last crossed the Alps, advanced through Lombardy to his relief. But Lautrec loitered at Piacenza,

* Lord Herbert.—Letters quoted in Burnet's History of the Reformation.—Le Grand.—Guicciardini.—Dr. Lingard.
† Bayle.

and, instead of his army, the first who waited upon the pope were Henry's matrimonial agents, who had been recently reinforced by the arrival of Dr. Knight, the king's secretary. The pope was in a distressing dilemma: if he refused to grant what Henry required he had to apprehend that the French army, partly supported by English money, would do nothing for him, and if he complied he drew down upon himself the vengeance of the Imperialists, who were still masters of Rome, and likely for some time to remain so, seeing the dilatory movements of Lautrec. He seems naturally to have wished to gain time, but the envoys, knowing the amorous impatience of their master, induced him to sign two papers which had been drawn up in England, empowering Wolsey to decide the divorce, and granting Henry a dispensation to marry any other woman whatsoever, without regard to certain canonical restrictions. He hoped that these papers might be kept secret, at least till the French army was near enough to support him, and this, it should appear, was promised to him by the English diplomatists; but scarcely had Clement signed the two authorisations when Gregorio Cassali, a friend of Wolsey, who seems to have dreaded the responsibility of acting alone, "presented himself, and requested that an Italian cardinal, a legate from Rome, should be sent into England and joined in the delicate commission with the English cardinal." Clement remarked that this was likely to lengthen and embarrass the proceedings; but he complied with this request also, and offered Henry his choice of any one out of six cardinals whom he named. These transactions with the pope took place at the end of the year 1527.

A.D. 1528.—As yet neither Henry nor Francis had openly declared war against Charles, but now, in the month of January, Clarenceux and Guienne, kings-at-arms, defied him, in the forms of chivalry, upon the same day. To the Frenchman Charles merely said that his defiance was uncalled for, as he and Francis had long been engaged in hostilities; but to Clarenceux he justified his conduct, protested he had done nothing to merit the resentment of his master, and delivered a long and well-written paper, which cast the whole blame upon Henry. The affair of Queen Catherine was made very prominent. "Can I," said the emperor, "overlook the indignity with which he threatens my aunt by applying for a divorce, or the insult which he has offered to me by soliciting me to marry his daughter Mary, whom he now pronounces a bastard? . . . . But I well know who has suggested all this. I would not gratify the rapacity of the Cardinal of York nor employ my armies to make him pope, and he has sworn vengeance against me, and now seeks to work out his purposes."* It is not very likely that this document was made public in England by the court, but to his Flemish subjects and to others Charles might easily proclaim its contents; nor did the English people want his assurance to make them believe that Wolsey was at the bottom of the mischief, though the courtiers and ministers must have been well acquainted with the impetuous passions of the king and the other causes of the rupture. The merchants were enraged at the interruption of their trade with Flanders, and so serious was this evil considered to be that the lord cardinal was obliged to follow up his master's declaration of war by requesting a truce with the Flemish dominions of the emperor; and, after some curious negotiations, an armistice, to last eight months, was concluded between England and the Netherlands,—the war to continue as before between England and Spain. But in reality there was no war at all, except what was carried on by the French in Italy, Henry having neither money nor time to spare from his other grand pursuit. He had not thought it wise to make his selection of a second legate, and he doubted whether the pope might not consider himself at liberty to revise any sentence of divorce pronounced by Wolsey or by any other delegate; and he now dispatched Dr. Gardiner and Dr. Edward Fox to demand a fresh and more ample dispensation, and a new instrument called a decretal bull, in which the pope was not only to promise an entire confirmation of the judgment which Wolsey and his other legate might pronounce, but also to declare that the prohibition in Leviticus, notwithstanding the permission in Deuteronomy, was imperative, and a fundamental law of the Christian church, and consequently that Henry's treatise upon the divorce was a correct piece of polemical reasoning. The two learned English doctors were instructed not to rely wholly upon their own eloquence, but to promise the pope possession of Ravenna and Cervia, which by some means or other he, Henry, was to obtain from the Venetians, a people by no means remarkable for a lack of tenacity in keeping what they had got. Clement readily enough signed the dispensation in the form prescribed, but he was more scrupulous as to granting the decretal bull, which went to destroy the dogma of infallibility, as his predecessor, Julius II., had fully sanctioned the marriage of Catherine, notwithstanding the fact of her previous union with Henry's own brother. But the doctor's reasoning and the flattering promises made to him shook the resolution of Clement, who consented to refer the original dispensation of Julius, which allowed the marriage, to a commission, and to authorise Wolsey, with the aid of any one of the English bishops, to pronounce thereon, and to dissolve the marriage, *if* the instrument had been obtained unfairly. In consideration to the Princess Mary, a clause was added to legitimatise her in case of her mother being divorced. The compliance of the pope filled Henry with joy and Wolsey with misgiving, for the cardinal saw that Clement was throwing the responsibility upon him. He sent to implore that Cardinal Campeggio should be joined with him in the commission, and he explained to the king some doubts and dif-

* Le Grand

ficulties which he had encountered among the English canonists. Henry answered him with "terrible terms," forgetting the long services of his minister in his absorbing passion. He probably saw that, since Wolsey had been disappointed in his expectations of marrying him to the French princess, he was not over eager for the divorce; and there was already a feud between the cardinal and the family and friends of Anne Boleyn. But the fury of Henry now made him tremble, and in great haste he supplicated the pope to sign the decretal bull, which he considered as the only security that his judgment would never be revoked, and that the court of Rome would never listen to any appeal on the part of the divorced queen. Clement at last signed the instrument, and appointed Campeggio to act with the English cardinal, instructing him not to let the said bull out of his hands, but merely to show it in the English court, if absolutely obliged thereto.*

In the month of May the city of London and the court were thrown into great consternation by the sudden appearance of the sweating, sickness. The disease soon showed itself among the female servants of Anne Boleyn. By the orders of the anxious lover Anne was instantly conducted into Kent, to the seat of her father, Lord Rochford; but she carried the infection with her, and communicated it to her parent. Both father and daughter, however, were soon out of danger. Some noble retainers of the lord cardinal died in his palace, and several gentlemen of the privy chamber were in great danger. Upon this, the king, who, like most bullies, was a great coward, fled, and sought to escape the contagion by locking himself up and frequently changing his place of residence.† His love was all forgotten, and he thought very seriously about his soul, confessing himself every day, and taking the sacrament, in company with his wife Catherine every Sunday and every saint's day. People began to think that he would give up the project of the divorce, and lead a chaste and religious life; but, as soon as the sweating-sickness was over, he recalled his mistress to court, and ordered the degraded nobles to attend her levees as if she were their queen. The French ambassador, the Bishop of Bayonne, who seems to have had more wit and humour than devotion, was among those who had believed that Henry's contrition would be lasting, but now he was obliged to confess that in this matter he had been no prophet, and that, in his fancy, the king had gone so far in his folly that nothing but God could turn him from it. Soon after this Cardinal Campeggio, who had loitered as long as he could on his journey, arrived at the English court, where he was received by Henry with exceeding great joy, and with tempting offers of bishoprics for himself and lay honours for his son,—by the unfortunate Queen Catherine with tears and remonstrances. Campeggio exhorted her in the name of the pope, and for the sake of peace, to retire into a convent. The queen replied that it was not for herself, but for her child, that she would struggle; and protested that she would never do anything to prejudice the rights of the Princess Mary, the presumptive heir to the throne of England. The king now expected that the legates would proceed with their commission, but such was not the intention of Campeggio, who consulted the interests of his superior the pope, and who saw that the Emperor Charles was again acquiring that ascendency in Italy which would enable him to wreak his vengeance on the pontiff if he should concur in degrading his aunt. We may believe that Clement would in no circumstances have been anxious for dispatch in this unpleasant business; but it is certain that the unmarrying and remarrying of the English king were made to depend upon the chances of war beyond the Alps. When Pope Clement signed the decretal bull, and commissioned Campeggio to go to England, the Imperialists seemed defeated at all points; and Lautrec, the French general, after victoriously traversing nearly the whole of Italy, was laying siege to the city of Naples, with the good hope that the people within the walls would soon rise upon the Spaniards and open the gates to the French. Nor could Lautrec have failed in this enterprise, even by force of arms, had he been properly seconded by his master; but Francis was as busily engaged with many mistresses as his brother Henry was with one, and he neither sent money nor reinforcements into Italy. He had also the lamentable imprudence to quarrel with the great family of the Dorias, upon which Andrea joined the Emperor Charles with the whole power of Genoa; and Filippino Doria, who was cooperating in the siege by sea, sailed away with all the Genoese galleys, leaving Lautrec to take Naples by himself. But Doria had scarcely sailed out of the gulf when a malaria fever broke out in the French camp, and this was soon accompanied by that more fearful scourge the plague, the infection being communicated by some persons who were purposely sent out of the city where the disorder was raging. Men and officers died by heaps; and from besiegers the French became besieged in their intrenchments between Mount Vesuvius and Naples. Lautrec fell a victim to disease and grief on the 15th of August; and, having fought their way with great loss as far as the town of Aversa, only six miles off, the wretched remnant of his army capitulated to the Imperialists in the beginning of September.* From this moment the pope, finding himself at the mercy of Charles, began to negotiate for a peace without informing Francis or Henry, who had both proved themselves bad allies. Henry discovered these secret dealings, and, knowing that they boded no good to his plan, he sent to make splendid offers of support to Rome; but Clement had learned to his cost that

* Letters of the Bishop of Bayonne, quoted by Le Grand.—Lord Herbert.—Burnet.

† Wolsey was not more courageous than the king;—he fled from his own sumptuous palace, and for some days concealed himself from everybody in the country.

* Giannone.—Guicciardini.

Henry's promises were not to be relied upon; and he saw at the same time that Charles was disposed to be moderate and even friendly,—upon the conditions, no doubt, that he should break with England and France, and oppose the divorce with all his spiritual power. Campeggio, therefore, contrived to gain time, and nothing was done.

A.D. 1529.—A bright gleam of hope now broke both upon the king and Wolsey, for, in the month of February, Clement was not only dangerously ill, but reported to be dead. Francis engaged to make Wolsey pope in his stead; and in this elevation Henry saw the removal of all difficulties. But Clement recovered; and, shortly after, Henry learned to his unspeakable wrath that Francis himself was negotiating for peace with the emperor. As his imprecations could have no effect in changing the policy either of the French or of the papal court, he determined to hurry on the process as best he could, without waiting for any further concessions from Rome, whence he had recalled his learned ambassador Gardiner to be his leading counsel; and, on the 30th of May, Henry issued a licence under the broad seal to the two cardinal legates, who were requested to proceed with all dispatch. But Campeggio, though he had been already nearly eight months in England, was in no hurry; and, not being able to prevent the assembling of the court, he resolved to prolong its deliberations as much as possible, and then, in the end (unless the affairs of Italy took a very different turn), to render them nugatory.

The court met on the 31st of May in the great hall of the Black Friars, where Wolsey and Campeggio took their seats with much solemnity, and summoned the king and queen to appear before them. Henry appeared by proxy; the queen in person, and, protesting at once against the judgment of the two cardinals, appealed to the pope. Campeggio then adjourned the court, nor did they meet again till the 21st of June. On that day Henry sat in state on the right hand of the cardinals, and, when his name was called, he answered "here!" Catherine, who sat on the left hand of the cardinals, attended by four friendly bishops, would not answer to her name or plead in any way. On the citation being repeated she rose from her chair, crossed herself very devoutly, and then, throwing herself at the king's feet, thus addressed him:—"Sir, I beseech you, for all the loves that hath been between us, and for the love of God, let me have justice and right: take of me some pity and compassion, for I am a poor woman and a stranger, born out of your dominions. I have here no assured friend, much less impartial counsel, and I flee to you as to the head of justice within this realm. Alas, Sir! wherein have I offended you, or on what occasion given you displeasure? Have I ever designed against your will and pleasure, that you should put me from you? I take God and all the world to witness that I have been to you a true, humble, and obedient wife; ever conformable to your will and pleasure. Never have I said or done aught contrary thereto, being always well pleased and contented with all things wherein you had delight or dalliance, whether it were in little or much; neither did I ever grudge in word or countenance, or show a visage or spark of discontent. I loved all those whom you loved only for your sake, whether I had cause or no, whether they were my friends or mine enemies." After reminding him that she had been his true wife these twenty years, and had borne him divers children, although it had pleased God to call them out of the world; denying that her previous marriage with his brother had been more than a form, on which point she appealed to his own conscience whether she spoke true or no; and declaring that, if there were any just cause why their marriage should be dissolved, she was contented to depart, "albeit in great shame and dishonour:" she continued,—"The king, your father, was, in the time of his reign, of such estimation through the world for his excellent wisdom, that he was accounted and called of all men the second Solomon; and my father Ferdinand, king of Spain, was esteemed one of the wisest princes: both, indeed, were excellent princes, full of wisdom and princely behaviour. . . . Also, as me seemeth, there were in those days as wise, as learned, and as judicious men as be at the present, who thought then the marriage good and lawful; therefore it is a wonder to hear what new inventions are brought up against me. . . . . Ye cause me to stand to the order and judgment of this new court, wherein ye may do me much wrong; for ye may condemn me for lack of sufficient answer, having no impartial advisers, but only such as ye assign me. . . . . Ye must consider that they who be your subjects cannot be impartial counsellors for me: they have been chosen out of your own council, and they dare not, for fear of you, disobey your will or frustrate your intentions. Therefore, most humbly do I require you, in the way of charity, and for the love of God, who is the just Judge, to spare me the extremity of this new court until I be advertised what way my friends in Spain may advise me to take; and if ye will not extend to me so much impartial favour, your will then be fulfilled,—unto God I commit my cause."*

She then rose; and after a low obeisance to the king, and when every one expected she would return to her seat, she walked hastily out of the court, in which she would never again be persuaded to make her appearance either personally or by proxy. To counteract the effect of her eloquent appeal Henry made a most hypocritical speech, telling all present that, in truth, she had always been a dutiful and loving wife, and that his present proceedings arose solely from the delicacy of his own conscience and his Christian fear of God's wrath. He asserted that Wolsey had not suggested the suit, but, on the contrary, had endeavoured to dissuade him from it; and that the Bishop of

* Cavendish.

Trial of Queen Catherine. Smirke.

Lincoln, his confessor, and several others of the bishops, had approved of his applying to the pope.*

As Catherine would not appear in court she was pronounced contumacious, and the trial was carried on without her. The king's counsel, who had it all their own way, maintained the three following points as justifying and imperiously calling for the divorce :—1st. That the marriage between her and Prince Arthur had been consummated; which fact made her subsequent marriage with Henry unlawful and unnatural ;—2nd. That the dispensatory bull of Pope Julius II. had been obtained under false pretences and a concealment of facts ;—and, 3rd. That a papal breve which had been procured to prop the bull was a manifest forgery. Holding all this to be proved (which in law it was not), Henry urged Wolsey, and Wolsey urged Campeggio, to pronounce judgment. But the Italian legate had no such intention : his master, the pope, had concluded his favourable treaty with the Emperor Charles on the 29th of June, and no longer stood in dread of the wrath of Henry. On the 23rd of July Henry's counsel called for judgment in peremptory language. Campeggio said, "I have not come so far to please any man for fear, meed, or favour, be he king or any other potentate. I am an old man, sick, decayed, and looking daily for death. What should it, then, avail me to put my soul in the danger of God's displeasure, to my utter damnation, for the favour of any prince or high estate in this world? Forasmuch, then, that I understand the truth in this case is very difficult to be known, that the defendant will make no answer thereunto, but hath appealed from our judgment; therefore, to avoid

* Cavendish.

all injustice and obscure doubts, I intend to proceed no further in this matter until I have the opinion of the pope and such others of his council as have more experience and learning. For this purpose (he concluded, rising from his chair) I adjourn the cause till the commencement of the next term, in the beginning of October."*

As Campeggio finished speaking, Henry's brother-in-law, the Duke of Suffolk, struck the table with his fist, and exclaimed, in real or affected rage, that the old proverb was verified,—"Never did cardinal bring good to England." The blow was especially meant for Wolsey, who rose with great dignity, and replied,—"Sir, of all men within this realm, ye have the least cause to dispraise or be offended with cardinals; for, but for me, simple cardinal as I am, you at this moment would have no head upon your shoulders, and no tongue therein to make so rude a report against us, who intend you no manner of displeasure. Know you, then, proud lord, that I and my brother, here, will give place neither to you nor to any other in honourable intentions to the king, and a desire to accomplish his lawful wishes. But, bethink ye, my lord, were ye the king's commissioner in a foreign country, having a weighty matter to treat upon, would ye not advertise his majesty or ever ye went through the same? Doubtless that ye would, right carefully; and, therefore, I advise you to banish all hasty malice, and consider that we here be nothing but commissioners for a time, and dare not proceed to judgment without the knowledge of our supreme head. It is for this cause we do not more or less than our commission alloweth. Therefore, my lord, take my counsel: hold your peace, pacify yourself, and frame your words like a man of honour and of wisdom. Ye know best what friendship ye have received at my hands, and which I never before this time revealed to any one alive, either to my own glory or to your dishonour."† The court did not meet again; and in a few days after it was known in London that the pope had revoked the legatine commission on the 15th of July, or eight days before this scene took place, and had entertained the appeal of Queen Catherine. Campeggio, who had skilfully drawn out the business to the proper moment, now took his leave of the English court. Henry, who could check the violence of his temper when he thought it expedient, behaved decently with the Italian cardinal, and even gave him some presents, as usual on such occasions; but as Campeggio lay at Dover, previous to his embarkation, his chamber was broken open by armed men, who searched his trunks, pretending that he was carrying out of the kingdom a great treasure belonging to Wolsey. The real object of this rough usage seems to have been to get possession of the decretal bull, though others think that the men were in search of Henry's letters to Anne Boleyn, which the cardinal had cautiously dispatched beforehand to Rome.

But the English cardinal was more at the mercy of a vindictive court; and Wolsey soon found that "Mistress Anne," who had often expressed her gratitude and affection, and in the preceding year had vowed an eternal friendship to him, was bent heart and soul on his destruction. Suffolk, whom Wolsey had stung at the trial, and the great Duke of Norfolk and others of the highest nobility made common cause with her who was plainly about to become their queen. They represented that the cardinal had never wished for the divorce except in favour of his French scheme; that he had constantly been bribed and bought by France. Henry turned a ready ear to all this, and to more; and already, in conceit, devoured Wolsey's immense wealth; and his courtiers began to talk at dinner-time, that, when once the cardinal was dead or ruined, they would relieve the church of its superfluous wealth.* The amorous king set out on a progress: Anne Boleyn was with him, and Wolsey was not. The cardinal, however, soon rode after the court, and joined it at Grafton, in Northamptonshire, where, to the great dismay of Anne and her party, the king received him with his old familiarity and affection. But either Henry was acting at the time, or Anne made a good use of the intervening night: on the morrow Wolsey was ordered back to London, and he never saw his master's face again.†

A few weeks after the commencement of the Michaelmas term, when Wolsey proceeded to the Court of Chancery, it was observed that none of the king's servants paid him any honour; and on the same day Hales, the attorney-general, filed two bills against him in the Court of King's Bench, charging him with having transgressed the law of the land in exercising the functions of pope's legate. One of the old statutes of præmunire, indeed, passed in the time of Richard II., might, in some respects, be made to bear against him; but the provisions in question had fallen into desuetude, and Wolsey, moreover, had been authorised to sit as legate both by the king and parliament. All this, however, signified little to such law-makers and law-breakers as Henry; and the cardinal knew better than any man, that, with or without the ordinary forms of justice, he would be destroyed. Wolsey's long courtier life seems to have deprived him of the spirit of a man, and the sudden loss of the royal favour was to him like the removal of the bright sun from the heavens. The gorgeous creature fell prostrate at once, and crawled in the dirt like a vile worm. Without an effort he submitted himself to the scourge, and, ordering his counsel to admit his guilt, where he was innocent, he threw himself on the king's mercy, like a whipped schoolboy, saying he did not know how he had offended. On condition of being allowed to retain his rank and property in the church, he drew up a deed, transferring his

* Cavendish. † Cavendish.—Herbert.

* Letters written at the moment from the English court by the French ambassador, the Bishop of Bayonne.
† Cavendish.—Bishop of Bayonne.—Hall.

entire personal estate to his gracious master, from whose bounty he said he had derived it all. The property thus surrendered was valued at half a million of crowns—an immense sum; but Henry had need of it all, and of more, and the cardinal's promptitude could not disarm persecution. Shortly afterwards the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk waited upon him at York Place, to tell him, from the king, who meant to live there himself, that he must quit that splendid palace, and confine himself to his house at Esher. Wolsey submissively prepared to depart. But he showed some little spirit when his sworn enemies, with an air of triumph, requested him to deliver the great seal. "My lords," said he, "the great seal of England was delivered to me by the hands of my sovereign; I hold it by his majesty's letters patent, which, along with it, have conferred on me the office of chancellor, to be enjoyed during my life; and I may not deliver it at the simple word of any lord, unless you can show me your commission." The *great* lords were mean enough to taunt and insult the fallen minister; and the next day, when Wolsey was ready for a short journey to Esher, they returned to him with an order under the sign manual. The cardinal read the paper, immediately resigned the seal, and gave an inventory of his jewels, plate, cloth of gold, silks, satins, velvets, tapestries, and all other precious commodities. "Sir," said his treasurer (Sir William Gascoyne), whom he charged to deliver this paper to the king, "I am heartily sorry for your grace, as I understand you shall go to the Tower." "It is a false and a blasphemous statement," exclaimed the cardinal. "I thank God that I have never done aught to bring me under arrest; albeit it hath pleased the king to take to himself my house ready furnished at this time." He then issued from his most sumptuous palace, and entered his barge. The news had got wing, and the Thames was covered with boats full of men and women, who hooted and shouted, and told him how happy they were to see him sent to the Tower. They were fools for their pains; for the words of Wolsey's faithful attendant were fully verified, and there came "another hungry and lean officer in his place, that bit nearer the bone than the old one." They were also disappointed as to the lord cardinal's present journey, for, instead of descending the river to the Tower, he ascended it to Putney.

As he was travelling by land from Putney to Esher, one of the royal chamberlains (Sir John Norris) spurred after him, and, overtaking him on the rise of a hill, presented him with a ring which the king, who had taken it from his own finger, sent him, with a very comfortable message. "Therefore," added Sir John, "take patience, for I trust to see you yet in better estate than ever." Hereupon the lord cardinal alighted from his mule, fell upon his knees, pulled off his cap, and humbly thanked God for such happy intelligence from his lord the king. He told the chamberlain that his tidings were worth half a kingdom; but, as he had nothing left except the clothes on his back, he could make him no suitable reward. He, however, gave Sir John a small gold chain and crucifix. "As for my sovereign," he added, "sorry am I that I have no worthy token to send him; but stay, here is my fool that rides beside me. I beseech thee take him to court, and give him to his majesty. I assure you, for any nobleman's pleasure, he is worth a thousand pounds."*

But the beautiful solitudes of Esher were gloomy and horrid without the smiles of the king, and Wolsey soon sank in despondency and sickness. "I have been to visit the cardinal in his misfortunes," writes the French ambassador, "and have seen the most striking change of fortune. He explained to me his hard case in the worst rhetoric that was ever heard. Both his tongue and his heart failed him. He recommended himself to the pity of the king and madame (Francis and his mother) with sighs and tears; and, at last, left me without having said anything near so moving as his appearance. His face is dwindled to one half of its natural size. In truth his misery is such, that his enemies, Englishmen as they are, cannot help pitying him; still they will carry things to extremities. As for his legation, the seals, his authority, &c., he thinks no more of them. He is willing to give up everything, even the shirt from his back, and to live in a hermitage, if the king would but desist from his displeasure."†

The cardinal wrote the most abject letters to his "most gracious, and merciful, and most pious sovereign lord," calling himself a poor, heavy, and wretched priest, that was dying for want of the light of his countenance; but Henry gave him no further comfort till he heard that a slow fever had fixed upon him, and that it was generally believed he was dying. Then the king somewhat relented towards the man who had been his dearest friend for almost twenty years; and he not only said that he would lose twenty thousand pounds rather than he should die, but he also sent his physicians, and some presents and tokens of friendship, to the cardinal. This seems to have had a wonderful effect upon Wolsey. And when the Court of King's Bench pronounced sentence against him, the king took him into his protection. At this crisis the king had thought fit once more to summon a parliament. On the 1st of December a bill of impeachment, containing forty-four articles, mostly of a vague and ridiculous description, and signed by fourteen peers and all the law officers, was presented to the Commons, who, after an eloquent speech from Thomas Cromwell, formerly secretary to Wolsey, but now in the king's service, threw it out. The cardinal now mended rapidly. If he had been allowed to retain his numerous church preferments he would still have been a very

* Cavendish. The fool, it appears, was so much attached to his old master, the cardinal, that he would not leave him until forcibly carried off by six stout yeomen, who delivered him to the king. But other men, besides his poor buffoon, loved Wolsey dearly.

† Letter of the Bishop of Bayonne, given by Le Grand.

rich man; but he soon found that Henry had no intention of keeping this promise. In the beginning of the following year he was deprived of everything except the bishoprics of York and Winchester, and the far greater part of the revenue of the latter was appropriated by the king, who divided it among the Viscount Rochford, Anne Boleyn's father, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Sandis, Sir John Russell, and other laymen. In return, however, Wolsey received a free pardon and some plate, furniture, and a little money for present expenses; for it appears that, for a time, the lord cardinal was left at Esher without the means of procuring the simple necessaries of life. He was now permitted to come nearer to the court, and he removed from Esher to Richmond. But Anne and her party took the alarm, and he was presently ordered to reside in the north of England within his archbishopric. Lingering at every stage, in the fond hope of being recalled to court, Wolsey travelled to York. Yet, when once there, his mind seemed reconciled to the change, and he devoted himself with wonderful zeal to his ecclesiastical duties. At the same time, casting off his courtly pride and arrogance, he became meek and mild as a primitive apostle—courteous and affable to all men. The gentlemen of Yorkshire he entertained at a plain but hospitable table; to the poor he gave liberal alms and (what was better) abundant employment to three hundred of them in repairing the churches and houses of the see. His popularity in the course of a few months waxed great all over that county. "Who," says Cavendish, "was less beloved in the north than my lord cardinal—God have his soul!—before he was among them? Who better beloved after he had been there awhile? We hate oft-times whom we have cause to love. It is a wonder to see how they were turned,—how of utter enemies they became his dear friends. He gave bishops a right good example how they might win men's hearts." But this winning of men's hearts did not suit the party who now ruled at court, and who were alarmed, not only at the cardinal's popularity, but also at a correspondence he was carrying on with the French king and with the pope. How they discovered this correspondence, or what was the real nature of it, is not very clear; but they made Henry believe that it was of a treasonable nature, and for the thwarting of his marriage with Anne Boleyn.

The clergy of York, delighted with their metropolitan, waited upon Wolsey in a body, and begged that he would be installed in his cathedral according to the custom of his predecessors, which he had not hitherto observed. Wolsey consented, on condition that the thing should be done with as little pomp as possible; and the first Monday after All-Saints was fixed for the ceremony. As soon as it was known that he had consented, the neighbouring nobility and gentry sent into York great store of venison, wine, and other things needful. On the 4th of November, three days before that fixed for the ceremony, as the lord cardinal was sitting at dinner in his house at Cawood, near York, he was told that the Earl of Northumberland had arrived from court, and was dismounting in the yard. He expressed regret that he had not arrived before dinner began, for the earl had been brought up in his household, and he did not doubt that he had been chosen as the bearer of good news from the king. He arose with a cheerful countenance to welcome him as he came into the hall. Upon seeing that the earl was rather numerously attended, and that most of those with him were old servants of the family, he said, "Ah! my lord, I perceive that you observe the precepts and instructions which I gave you when you were abiding with me in your youth—to cherish your father's old servants." And he then took the earl affectionately by the hand, and led him into a bedchamber. Northumberland, according to an eyewitness, was much affected, and hesitated for a while, but at length he laid a trembling hand on the old man's shoulder, and said, in a faltering voice, "My lord, I arrest you of high treason." For a season Wolsey stood rooted to the ground, mute as well as motionless; and, when he recovered speech, it was only to utter unmanly and unavailing lamentations, accompanied by wretched tears. The people showed a lively sympathy for him, and might, no doubt, have been easily induced to rescue him and convey him to the coast; but he was as passive as a doomed victim of an Eastern sultan, and followed Northumberland without an effort. When he reached Sheffield Park, the seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, steward of the king's household, he was sick and faint, and soon after his arrival he was seized with a dysentery, which confined him to his bed for a fortnight. On resuming his slow journey he was so weak as scarcely to be able to sit on his mule without support. On the third evening he reached Leicester Abbey, where he was received at the gate by the monks, holding lighted torches, the hour being late. "Father," said he to the abbot, as he dismounted, "I am come to lay my bones among you." The monks carried him to his bed, from which he never rose again. In the course of the following day and night he swooned repeatedly; and on the second morning his servants, whose warm affection proves that there must have been good and amiable qualities in him, saw that he was dying. He called to him Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, who had been sent down to take charge of his person, and said, "Master Kingston, I pray you have me commended most humbly to his majesty, and beseech him, on my behalf, to call to his gracious remembrance all matters that have passed between us from the beginning, especially respecting Queen Catherine and himself, and then shall his conscience know whether I have offended him or not. He is a prince of most royal courage, and hath a princely heart—for, rather than miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger one half of his kingdom.

Ruins of Leicester Abbey.

And I do assure you, I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber, sometimes for three hours together, to persuade him from his appetite, and could not prevail. And, Master Kingston, this I will say—had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. Howbeit this is my just reward for my pains and diligence, not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my prince." The cardinal expired as the clock was striking eight, on the morning of the 29th of November, in the sixtieth year of his age; and was at midnight, without any solemnity, buried in our Lady's Chapel, in the church of the monastery.*

The faithful Cavendish, his chamberlain, who witnessed his last moments, went on from Leicester, to announce the event at court. He found the king amusing himself with archery in the park of Hampton, that stately pile, which Wolsey had built, and richly furnished, and had presented to his sovereign. When his sport was done Henry listened to the mournful messenger. At first he showed some feeling, but this lasted a very little while, and then, with great eagerness, he questioned Cavendish touching a sum of fifteen hundred pounds which, as he had been told, the cardinal had concealed in some secret place. He was assured more than once (for a single assertion did not satisfy him) that the money had been delivered to a certain priest. "Then," said he, "keep this gear secret between yourself and me; three may keep counsel if two be away; if I thought my cap knew my mind, I would cast it into the fire and burn it. If I hear any more of this, I shall know by whom it has been revealed." And, so saying, Henry praised his truth and honesty to his old master, and dismissed him.* Such was the manner in which this prince, of most royal courage and princely heart, received the news of the death of his favourite, who had sacrificed soul and conscience in his service, and whose worst deeds had certainly been done for his selfish gratification.

Nearly a year before the cardinal's death, and immediately after his surrender of the great seal, Henry had formed a new cabinet, from which churchmen were carefully excluded. The Duke of Norfolk, Anne Boleyn's uncle, became president of the council; but a still greater share of power fell to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and Lord Marshal, and to the father of Anne Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, who soon afterwards was created Earl of Wiltshire. But a chancellor was still wanting, and this honour was thrust upon the unwilling shoulders of Sir Thomas More; he was conducted to his seat by the Duke of Norfolk, who pronounced, at the same time, a well-merited eulogium on his great learning and abilities. More was a conscientious and zealous Catholic, who showed that he could face the scaffold for his religious opinions; but, a little before this time, chance had introduced into the councils of the king one who was equally zealous for the doctrines of the Reformation. It chanced that Dr. Gardiner, then secretary to Henry, and Dr. Fox, supped with a gentleman of good family, named Cressy, at

* Cavendish.—Godwin.—Fiddes.

* Cavendish was afterwards taken into the king's service.

a time when the grand topic of conversation was the divorce of Queen Catherine. During supper a grave and learned man, who was tutor in the family, ventured to say, that the proper way of settling that tedious matter would be to have it discussed and determined by learned and holy doctors, upon the sole authority of the word of God, without any further reference to the pope. When this conversation was reported to Henry, he said "that the man who spoke thus had the right sow by the ear."* This man was Thomas Cranmer, who was immediately summoned to court, and ordered to draw up his opinions in writing. He was soon named chaplain to the king, and sent to reside in the house of the Earl of Wiltshire, Anne Boleyn's father, where a stimulus to exertion could hardly be wanting. But Cranmer had already a higher incentive; and there can be little doubt that many of his friends and associates, as well as he himself, saw the vantage ground they might gain for the new doctrines. His main argument was sufficiently simple—it was, that the laws of God, as laid down in the Bible, and confirmed by the ancient fathers, did not permit a man to marry his brother's widow; and his treatise was soon finished and committed to the press, that mighty instrument whose infant activity was stimulated by this controversy. By the advice of Wolsey, Henry had already sent agents to consult some of the foreign universities, but without any notion of making their decision final, or subversive of the pope's authority. He now consulted Oxford and Cambridge, judging that his own universities would not dare to offer any opposition to his absolute will; but he was mistaken. At Oxford the subject was debated with the utmost violence, and a convocation dissolved in confusion and uproar, without coming to any conclusion. The doctors and seniors, "in hopes of reward, or out of fear, gave their opinions concerning the matter such as they thought would please the king; but the juniors disputed it very eagerly, and could not be drawn to their minds." Upon this the king addressed a remonstrance to Oxford, recommending the more discreet and aged men to bring their juniors to greater order and conformity; and, admonishing the young gentlemen, that if they went on to play the masters as they were beginning to do, they would find that it is not good to provoke hornets.† "The wise men," as they are called by the historian of Oxford, did their best, but still they encountered "long tarryance and much difficulty."‡ On the 5th of April, 1530, Bishop Longland, Dr. Fox, and Dr. Bell, writing from Oxford, told the king, that since the receipt of his grace's letters, containing his royal will and pleasure, for the ordering of their doings in the university, they had, according to their bounden duty, laboured hard for the achieving of his highness's purpose; but yet had they for some time been in doubt, without any certain knowledge of what might ensue. After this, they went on more cheerfully to say, that they had settled that day, that the decision of the said doctors and bachelors who had been *chosen* to decide the king's cause, should be reputed and taken as the *difinition* and determination of the whole university. "For the attaining whereof it may like your highness to understand that, after the election being perfected, according to the instrument which I, Master Fox, this day sent unto Mr. Secretary, and three public disputations had and kept solemnly in the divinity schools, which we considered to be a very honourable cause of deferring of the act, and *most convenient way to entertain the multitude*, until such time as we might obtain their said consent; yesterday we, Master Bell and Master Fox, taking with us Dr. Cox and the warden of All Souls College, first called before us the regents, in whom we thought all the doubt consisted; purporting unto them how much it should confer to the redubbing* of all such displeasures and inconveniences as might ensue unto them, upon your grace's indignation, conceived most worthily against them for their ungoodly behaviour, if now at the least wise they would show and declare their good conformity in submitting themselves and their whole opinions to such order as had been devised by the most sage and wise doctors of the university; desired them, as of ourselves, for as much as we would be very sorry to have cause to make such report of them as might hereafter be occasion of their no little hinderance and utter confusion, being sure, nevertheless, that the determination, maugre their wills, should take and have good effect and expedition, that they would be content the determination of the doctors should be taken and reputed as the determination of the whole university. Whereunto divers of them answered us very frowardly. Albeit finally, causing them to divide themselves into two parties, we had of our opinion twenty-seven, and of the contrary party there were but twenty-two. After which experience had of the good will of the major party, this morning, first we called your grace's friends unto us, and making overture unto them of our purpose, wherein we found them all very agreeable, it was concluded among us, to call a convocation at afternoon; in which convocation, first calling apart the faculty of divinity, and, after them, the faculty of canon law; and thirdly the faculty of civil law; and fourthly the faculty of physic; and, after them, the bachelors of divinity and non-regents, and causing them, one by one, openly to show their minds; we found them all, except eight or ten, very conformable, and desirous to fulfil our said desire; so that then the only let and impediment was in the regents; and for as much as practising with the presidents of the colleges here, all the morning before, how to attain the said regents' good wills, it was devised we should call the company of every house singularly, one by one, to show and give their voices in a

* Todd's Life of Cranmer.—Le Bass.—Brog, Brit., Art. Cranmer.

† *Irritare crabrones* is the royal expression, borrowed from the Amphitruo of Plautus, Act ii. sc. 2. v. 77.

‡ Anthony à Wood.

* Remedying, from old French, *redouber*, to remedy, to redress.

secret scrutiny, setting always the master of the college by me, the Bishop of Lincoln, the commissary, and proctors, to know if they did with us or not, which had before promised us, and their masters, so to do. And so, finally, we had for our part seven-and-thirty; our adversaries having on their side but five-and-twenty. Whereupon, desiring the commissary to publish the said scrutinies, we caused also, there and then, immediately to make a decree thereupon, according to such form as we send here unto your grace. And so, all things now having good success, we intend, tomorrow, to call all the judges together, and, after a mass of the Holy Ghost, which I, the Bishop of Lincoln, purpose to celebrate, God willing, to proceed to the determination, which, bringing to good effect, and, as we trust, to your grace's own desire, at afternoon we purpose to have their said determination read openly, in a great convocation; where also, eight must be chosen by the commissary and the proctors, to oversee and correct the instrument so made before it be sealed; which eight, forsomuch the commissary and the proctors will choose such as we shall think good, there is no doubt but the same shall be by them approved. And if we may have the instrument well written and clean, we doubt not but it shall be sealed in the same convocation, or else the next morrow, without fail; which things done, we intend to give them leave here to proceed unto the act of commencement, and so to repair to your highness with all diligence, unless your grace shall command us the contrary. At which our coming, we shall declare unto your highness, more amply, the whole circumstance of all our proceedings here. Thus we pray Almighty God, to preserve your most noble and royal estate."*

John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, the person who makes the principal figure in this letter, was a prelate after the king's own heart. The letter itself, which was unknown to earlier historians, completely upsets the assertion that the University of Oxford was allowed to manage the question in their own way, and to decide impartially. Lord Herbert, a contemporary, and the minute Anthony à Wood, both stated the facts correctly, but their evidence has been overlooked by our historians.

At Cambridge the same kind of opposition was overcome by the same arts and threats, and the seal of each university was affixed to a long paper declaring the marriage of Queen Catherine to be illegal.

The foreign universities, which could not be threatened, were bribed; and Henry's active agents, who were now numerous, scattered money in all directions. In Italy the faculties of Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara, and some hundreds of learned men, declared for Henry. In Germany the power of the emperor was more prevalent than English money, and not a single university would justify the divorce. Whether Protestants or Catholics, all the German doctors, with a few exceptions, loudly condemned the project. Luther himself told Barnes, one of the agents in those parts, that it would be more lawful for Henry to have two wives at the same time, than to divorce Catherine for the purpose of marrying another woman; and the mild Melancthon seems to have entertained the same opinion. In France it was determined by the court to make a good bargain. Francis represented how dangerous it would be at that moment to irritate Charles, who still held his two sons as hostages; but, upon Henry munificently giving up a claim of five hundred thousand crowns and the lily of diamonds, and advancing the sum of fifty thousand crowns, he consented that his universities should entertain the great subject. But still the learned of France were very dilatory in the cause, and the leading churchmen kept their eyes fixed upon the proceedings of the pope.

In the month of March, Clement, yielding to the personal application of Charles, who was then in Italy, published a breve forbidding Henry to contract a new marriage under pain of excommunication. A few days after this the Earl of Wiltshire arrived at the head of a new embassy, which was instructed to use all kinds of means to prevail upon both pope and emperor to consent to the divorce, which, they were to say, was rather the anxious wish of the nobility and clergy and commons of England, than of the king. Clement received them in a mild, conciliating manner, but Charles was disgusted and irritated at the sight of the father of Anne Boleyn, whose employment in this mission showed a want both of tact and of delicacy. "Stop, Sir," said the emperor to the Earl of Wiltshire, "let your colleagues speak;—you are a party in this cause." The earl replied, smartly, that he was there as the representative of his sovereign, not as father of Anne Boleyn: but neither his self-possession, nor his liberal promises of money, produced any favourable effect upon Charles, who said that he would never sell the honour of his good aunt Catherine. Cranmer remained at Rome to convince the pope; the Earl of Wiltshire and the rest returned homeward through France, where the earl remained some time to urge on the unwilling universities. After many intrigues, the universities of Paris, Orleans, Toulouse, Angers, and Bourges voted that the marriage of Catherine was contrary to the laws of God: the other French universities were not consulted, or, if they were, their answers were suppressed, as unfavourable to Henry. But all these opinions rested upon the supposition that the marriage between Prince Arthur and Catherine had been consummated. The queen persisted in her solemn assertion that it had not, and the king could not prove the contrary.*

It would be insufferably tedious to follow out all the details of this business, or to describe the various measures adopted to win over the pope. Cranmer, finding that he could do no good at Rome, went into Germany, where, some time after,

* State Papers.

* Le Grand.—Herbert.—Hall.—Godwin.

he committed himself to the reformed doctrines, by the decided step of marrying the niece of his friend Osiander, the Protestant pastor of Nuremburg. He kept the match a secret, however, for the time was not yet come in which he could advantageously break with the Church of Rome. There was wanting, to carry forward in England the important changes that had already begun on the continent, a spirit more resolute than that of Cranmer, and this spirit had been already found in Thomas Cromwell.

Cromwell was the son of a blacksmith at Putney. As his father rose in wealth or condition, and became a brewer or a fuller, he was enabled to give his son a tolerable education, including a little Latin. In his youth Thomas went to the continent, where he learned several foreign languages. His first occupation seems to have been that of a clerk in the English factory at Antwerp: he afterwards served as a trooper under the Constable Bourbon, and followed that desperate leader to the sack of Rome. When peace was restored to Italy he returned to his commercial pursuits, and worked in the counting-house of a merchant of Venice. After this strange career, in which he acquired a deep knowledge of the world, he bent his steps towards England, where he took up the study and profession of the law. He soon attracted the notice of the great Wolsey, who took him into his household, appointed him his solicitor, and employed him in the dissolution of the monasteries, and as chief agent in the foundation of his colleges. In these offices he acquired wealth, and the hatred of the monastic bodies. He was soon returned as a member to the House of Commons, where his ready address and talent for business were conspicuous. As far as comported with an ambitious nature, he seems to have been attached to his old master, and, when Wolsey was disgraced, he followed him to Esher. This retirement was ill suited to such a mind. "It chanced me," says Cavendish, "upon Alhallows-day, to come there into the great chamber at Esher, in the morning, to give mine attendance, where I found Master Cromwell leaning in the great window with a primer in his hand, saying Our Lady Matins, which since had been a strange sight. He prayed not more earnestly than the tears distilled from his eyes. Whom I bade good morrow, and with that I perceived the tears upon his cheeks. To whom I said, 'Why, Master Cromwell, what meaneth all this your sorrow? Is my lord in any danger, for whom ye lament thus; or is it for any loss ye have sustained by any misadventure?' 'Nay, nay,' quoth he, 'it is my unhappy adventure, which am like to lose all that I have travailed for all the days of my life, for doing my master true and diligent service.'" Cavendish endeavoured to comfort him; but he said that an ill name once gotten was not lightly to be put away. Presently, however, he added, in a more cheerful tone, "But I intend, God willing, this afternoon, when my lord cardinal hath dined, to ride to London, and so to the court, where I will either make or mar." It is quite certain, however, that Wolsey, who had a great reliance upon his talents and his fidelity, and who, a few days after, wrote to implore him to "employ all his wit, good will, and policy, in all places where he should think good might be done for his unfortunate friend,"* did not consider that Cromwell was deserting him, but saw his departure for court with pleasure and with hope. Indeed, it was at this juncture, and a very few days after his leaving his patron, that Cromwell made the eloquent speech in parliament in his defence. It is assumed, and very reasonably, that both Cromwell and the parliament, in rejecting the bill of impeachment, had received orders from the king to that effect, but it is not quite so fair to assume that Cromwell, who showed a grateful heart in other respects, did not use his newly acquired influence over Henry's mind to the advantage of his old master. Cromwell played his part so well at court, that he was confirmed in the stewardship of the lands of the monasteries which had been dissolved under Wolsey, and was admitted frequently to personal conference with the king. At the critical moment when the weaker minds of Henry and his courtiers were wavering and half alarmed at the firm opposition of the pope, he asked for an audience, in which, after some necessary circumlocution, he said that the chief embarrassment was owing to the timidity of the king's ministers, who stood too much in awe of vulgar opinion, and that the best way to decide the question of the divorce was, to deny the authority of the pope altogether,—to rest upon the opinions already received from the universities, and the confirmation of the English parliament, which it was easy to obtain. Going further than this, Cromwell even recommended the king to follow the example of the German princes who had received the new religion, and declare himself the supreme head of his own church. He demonstrated that, by the present division of the spiritual and temporal powers, Henry was only half a king; and that, to have the full exercise of authority, the bishops and clergy ought to be made wholly dependent upon the crown, nor allowed to hold anything from the pope. No doctrine could be more palatable to the king, whose greedy imagination already fattened on the wealth of the ecclesiastical estate; and, without pretending to turn Protestant (which he never did), he resolved to follow the advice of Cromwell, who was forthwith sworn of his privy council.

It was not likely that the great churchmen would concur in this grand project, but it was presently seen that the clergy of England were now powerless. By the advice of Cromwell the whole body were involved in a præmunire, or accused as fautors and abettors of Wolsey, in having acknowledged his authority as legate, which authority, as

* Letter from Wolsey to Cromwell, dated Esher, 18th December, 1529, published in State Papers. The original holograph is in the Cottonian Collection of MSS., Brit. Mus.

we have mentioned, had been confirmed by the king himself. At the same time, Henry and Cromwell took care to hint to the clergy, who, in great alarm, had assembled in convocation, that the royal wrath might be assuaged by a round sum of money. The convocation offered a present of one hundred thousand pounds. The king did not complain of the amount, but he refused to accept it or give any pardon unless, in the preamble to their grant, they formally acknowledged him to be "the protector and only supreme head of the church and clergy of England." For three whole days the clergy debated on this unexpected proposition. Many were averse to any such clause, but the majority, dreading the king's violence of temper, inclined to admit it, with the limitation, *quantum per legem Christi liceat* (as far as may be by the law of Christ). "Mother of God!" roared Henry to Cromwell and the others whom he had appointed to manage this matter, "you have played me a shrewd turn. I thought to have made fools of those prelates, and now you have so ordered the business that they are likely to make a fool of me, as they have done of you already. Go to them again, and let me have the business passed without any quantums or tantums: I will have no quantum nor no tantum in the matter, but let it be done out of hand."* In the end, however, Henry yielded, pocketed the one hundred thousand pounds, to which were added eighteen hundred and forty pounds from the clergy of the north, and let the limitation stand. Shortly after Sir Thomas More, as chancellor, attended by twelve peers, spiritual and temporal, went down to the House of Commons, where the chancellor declared all that the king had done touching his marriage with Catherine, "who before time had been wedded and bedded to his own brother;" and showed how the king, like a virtuous prince, for the safety of his conscience and for the peace of his kingdom, had consulted divers universities, not only at home but also abroad, even in the pope's dominions. Then Sir Bryan Tuke took out of a box twelve writings sealed (the answers of the universities), and read them to the House word by word. He also produced many other papers, and divers books written by doctors of foreign nations, but, as they were long, and the day was already spent, they were not read; and, after a severe trial of patience, the members were dismissed, with strict orders to tell all their neighbours in the country how just and righteous was the king's cause.†

In the month of May, soon after prorogation of parliament, the king sent several lords of his council to Queen Catherine, at Greenwich, to terrify her into submission, and to make her agree to abide by the decision of four of the bishops and four of the lay peers of England. The high-minded Spaniard was still firm, upon which she was removed to Windsor. In the month of July she was ordered to quit that royal residence. "I go," said she; "but, go where I may, I shall still be his lawful wife." She went to the Moor in Hertfordshire, a beautiful manor with a park well stocked with red deer, which had belonged to the see of York, and which had been the scene of a memorable event in the time of Edward IV.* From the Moor she soon went to Easthamstead, and thence to Ampthill, where she finally fixed her residence. About the same time, to prove the orthodoxy of the king and court, Thomas Bilney, a learned and amiable man, was burned at Smithfield as an accursed heretic, for having attempted to expose the errors of popery. This was a beginning to the atrocious system pursued during the rest of this reign, in which the Catholic clergy were plundered and hanged on the one side, and the professors of the reformed religion were burned on the other, in pretty equal proportions; the Protestant fires being made to blaze with greater fury whenever any terrible blow was struck by Henry at the established church. Sir Thomas More, whose great learning and wit did not exempt him from the persecuting spirit of the times,† took a melancholy part in some of the prosecutions against Protestants, but he had no taste for those instituted against his own church: he disapproved of the plan pursued with regard to the unfortunate queen; and, in other respects, seeing nothing but danger and disgrace in the retaining of office, he represented to the king that he was growing old and had need of repose. After making many efforts to retain him, Henry accepted his resignation; and More, happier than he had been for a long time, withdrew to solitude and poverty on the 16th of May, 1532; and, on the 4th of June following, the seals were given to Sir Thomas Audley.‡

Notwithstanding all that had passed, the pope, much affected, it is said, by a letter he had received from Catherine, made overtures for a reconciliation; but Henry, acting upon the grand plan of Cromwell, who was now the most influential person in his council, rejected the proposals with wrath and disgust; for an indispensable condition was that he should take back his wife and put away a certain Lady Anne. Under the absolute guidance of Cromwell, the parliament—which was now frequently assembled, because in all matters, except money-bills, it did precisely what the court wished—passed an act for the abolition of the annates or first-fruits, which formed a very considerable item in the fees or taxes paid yearly to the pope; and at the same time they abrogated the authority of the clergy in convocation, and annexed that authority to the crown. On the 15th of November Clement signed a breve, declaring both Henry and Anne

* Bailey, Life of Bishop Fisher.

† Herbert.—Hall.—Stowe.—During this session of parliament one Richard Rose, cook to Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, put poison into the soup, with the intent of killing his master. The bishop escaped, but no fewer than sixteen of his servants were poisoned. The cook was thrown into a cauldron of hot water, and boiled alive at Smithfield!

* See ante, p. 104.

† More, however, denied that he had ever been cruel to the heretics. We believe that *willingly* he never was.

‡ Roper.

QUEEN ANNE BOLEYN. From a Painting by Holbein.

Boleyn excommunicated unless they should separate; but this deed was laid by for some time.*

Henry was now exceedingly anxious to strengthen his alliance with the French king, and, in the course of the summer, he had induced Francis to agree to a meeting. His grace of England, who could move nowhere without Mistress Anne, whom he had recently created Marchioness of Pembroke, proposed, as an equable arrangement, that his grace of France should also bring his favourite lady to the meeting; but Francis, though no great moralist, declined this proposal. But this circumstance did not make the Marchioness of Pembroke stay at home, and she went with the king and a most splendid retinue to Calais. On the 21st of October Henry went to Boulogne, where Francis received him and entertained him for four days. The two kings then repaired lovingly together to Calais, where Francis was lodged in an apartment all hung with cloth of gold and tissue and tinsel. On the Sunday evening Anne got up a little masque for the delectation of the French guests. "After supper came in the Marchioness of Pembroke with seven ladies, in masking apparel of strange fashion, made of cloth of gold, slashed with crimson, tinsel, and satin; these ladies were brought into the chamber with four damsels, appareled in crimson satin, with tabards of fine Cipres (cloth of Cyprus): and the Lady Marchioness took out the French king, and the Countess of Derby took the King of Navarre, and every lady took a lord; and, in dancing, the King of England took away the ladies' visors, so that there the ladies' beauties were showed, and after they had danced awhile they ceased, and the French king talked with the Marchioness of Pembroke a space."*

According to a French authority, the gallant Francis on the following morning sent Anne a jewel worth fifteen thousand crowns. There was an idle talk of a coalition to oppose the victorious Turks on the frontiers of Christendom; but the only business done was, the making of an agreement by which Francis bound himself to invite the pope to a conference at Marseilles, and to take part with Henry in case Clement should not cease his opposition. After passing four days at Calais, Francis took leave of his ally with great demonstrations of affection.

It was altogether improbable that Francis should carry his point with the pope; but Henry did not wait the result of his application. "Much about St. Paul's Day," that is, either the 4th, or more probably the 25th, of January, 1533, between night and morning, Dr. Lee, one of the royal chaplains, was summoned to celebrate mass in a remote garret of the palace of Whitehall. On going there the astounded priest found the king attended only by Norris and Heneage, two of the grooms of his bed-chamber, and Anne Boleyn, with her train-bearer, Mrs. Savage, afterwards the Lady Berkley,†

* Herbert.—Le Grand.—Burnet, Hist. Reform

* Hall.—Du Bellay.—Herbert.—Godwin.

† Another account makes her father and mother, and her uncle the Duke of Norfolk, to have been present.

from which he understood that more was meant than a mass. A court chaplain—and in such a court—was not likely to have many scruples or the courage necessary to face the wrath of such a king; but it is said that Lee did not perform the marriage ceremony until Henry told him that the church of Rome had at length decided in his favour, and that he had the pope's instrument under lock and key in his closet. This strange marriage party separated in silence and secrecy before it was daylight; and some of Henry's most confidential advisers knew not what had passed until several weeks after. Feeling, however, that this clandestine measure would embarrass the French, who had sent ambassadors to the pope, he dispatched Anne's father to explain matters to Francis, and to request the immediate presence in England of a confidential French agent. To this agent Henry promised that he would keep the marriage a secret till the month of May, by which time it was calculated the interview between Francis and Clement would be over. If the French king prevailed over the obstinacy of the pope then the proceeding would be legitimated by the church of Rome, and if the pope remained obdurate then the marriage would be declared lawful by a tribunal of his own making in England.

In the mean time Cranmer had returned from Germany and again taken up his residence with the family of Anne Boleyn. The see of Canterbury had been vacant several months by the death of Archbishop Warham, and the king now offered it to Cranmer, who, notwithstanding his being privately a married man and now an entire convert to the doctrines of Luther, agreed to accept it as a Catholic. Those Protestant writers, who will not see that the merits of their religion do not rest upon the merits of the men who were the instruments of promoting its establishment, take great pains to defend all the proceedings of Cranmer; but certainly his conduct in some respects is at best only to be palliated by the very inadequate apology, that his eagerness to accomplish what he believed to be an important end, led him to overlook the character of the means of which he was sometimes tempted to avail himself. As Henry had still a lurking respect for the church of Rome in spiritual matters, he insisted, notwithstanding his assumption of supremacy, that Cranmer should obtain the bull and pallium from the pope, and take the usual oaths. How Clement agreed to ratify the election is difficult to understand; but, taking less than the ordinary fees, he signed the bull on the 22nd of February, and Cranmer was consecrated in the usual manner on the 30th of March, taking the oaths of canonical obedience to the pope, whom he was resolved to disobey, and having been named to the vacant see by his master upon the express understanding that he should so act. The mental reservation—the previous protest meant to mend the matter—only makes it worse. When we have condemned such measures in kings and ministers—even in unfortunate princes who took their oaths with the knife at their throat—we cannot surely commend it in a pious priest. Before swearing, Cranmer *protested* that he did not intend by these oaths to the pope to restrain himself from anything that he was bound to, either by his duty to God or his king.* His obedience to the king was soon put to the test,—he was immediately ordered to proceed with "the great cause of matrimony." On the 11th of April he wrote a letter to the king containing a formal request that, for the good of the realm and the security of the succession, that matter might be proceeded with. This letter, which was intended by them both to be submitted to the privy council, was not quite to Henry's taste; it was therefore sent back, and the archbishop wrote a second letter, on the same day, in which he styled himself "a poor wretch and much unworthy," and pressed on the royal mind the necessity of stopping the tongues of the rude and ignorant people, and of licensing him, the archbishop, to proceed to the examination, final determination, and judgment of the great cause. This second letter, which fully admitted the king's rightful superiority to all law, whether ecclesiastical or civil, gave entire satisfaction to Henry, who forthwith submitted it to the council, and wrote a loving answer to the archbishop, authorising him to proceed—always in due subordination and submission. "For we," said this incarnation of despotism, "being your king and sovereign, do recognise no superior on earth, but only God, and not being subject to the laws of any other earthly creature; yet because ye be under us, by God's calling and ours, the most principal minister of our spiritual jurisdiction, to which laws we, as a Christian king, have always heretofore and shall ever most obediently submit ourselves, will not therefore refuse (our pre-eminent power and authority to us and our successors in this behalf nevertheless saved) your humble request, offer, and towardness; that is, to mean to make an end, according to the will and pleasure of Almighty God, in our said great cause of matrimony."†

This said cause now proceeded roundly. Parliament, receiving their impulse from Cromwell, passed an act prohibiting for ever all appeals to the court of Rome; and another, declaring that Queen Catherine should no longer be called Queen, but Princess Dowager of Wales, as widow to Prince Arthur, her first and only lawful husband. Thus backed by the authority of parliament, and by a fresh decision of the intimidated clergy assembled in convocation, who voted, by a large majority, that there was canonical proof of the consummation of Catherine's first marriage, Cranmer, on the 8th of May, travelled to Dunstable, about four miles from Ampthill, where the discarded queen was then residing. Having constituted a court, in which the Bishop of Lincoln acted as assessor, and Gardiner, Bishop of Win-

* There was, besides, the vow of chastity,—and Cranmer was a married man!

† State Papers. The original letters are preserved in the British Museum and in the State Paper Office.

chester, the bishops of London, Bath, and Lincoln, and three others, as counsel for the king, Cranmer sent Dr. Lee, who had so recently married Henry to Anne, to cite Catherine to appear. The queen refused; but great pains were taken to conceal from her the fact that this court intended to proceed to a final judgment. Cranmer and the rest wrote every day to the king or to Cromwell, to report progress.* On the 12th of May Cranmer, under his own hand, informed Henry that he had pronounced Catherine *contumax* on the preceding Saturday, and that, upon the day of his writing, he had pronounced her *vere et manifeste contumax*. The citation having been repeated fifteen times in as many days, and Catherine not appearing, judgment was given against her on the 23rd of May by Cranmer, who pronounced her marriage to be null and invalid; and on the same day the archbishop joyfully announced his sentence to the king, asking for further instructions concerning the "second matrimony;" adding, "for the time of the coronation is so near at hand that the matter requireth good expedition."† Having received the royal orders to that effect, Cranmer hurried from Dunstable back to Lambeth, where he held another ecclesiastical court; and on the 28th of May, to complete his job, he declared that his master had already been lawfully married to the Lady Anne; that their marriage was and had been public and manifest; and that he now confirmed it by his judicial and pastoral authority. This stating of the marriage to have been public and manifest could not allude to any ceremony of the sort performed subsequently to his pronouncing the divorce, which he had only done five days before; nor, though it is believed that Henry and Anne were privately married *again*, does it appear that the king considered such a form essential, for he pleaded a heavenly inspiration for his first marriage with Anne, four months before Cranmer's sentence of divorce. He said, at least, that he had examined the matter in "the court of his own conscience, which was enlightened and directed by the spirit of God, who possesseth and directeth the hearts of princes." On the 1st of June, 1533, only four days after the confirmation of her marriage at Lambeth, Anne, "being somewhat big with child," was crowned and anointed at Westminster, "with as great pomp and solemnity as ever was queen," Cranmer officiating and setting the crown upon her head.‡

These doings were soon noised all over Europe, and on the 11th of July the pope annulled the judgment given by Cranmer, and published his bull of excommunication against Henry and Anne. A few days before this was done at Rome, Lord Mountjoy made a report to Henry's council of a conference he had had on the 3rd of July with the princess-dowager (Catherine) in her residence at Ampthill. He had found her grace there, "lying upon her pallet, because she had pricked her foot with a spyne (thorn), so that she might not well stand nor go, and also sore annoyed with a cough." But her spirit was as resolute as ever; she would not submit to be called princess-dowager, saying that she was still a queen, and the king's true wife; that she came to the king "a clean maid, and thereupon was crowned and anointed queen, and had by the king lawful issue, and no bastard; wherefore the name of queen she would vindicate, challenge, and so call herself during her life." When Mountjoy told her that she had been separated and divorced, and that, by consent of all the lords spiritual and temporal, and of all the commons of the realm, the Lady Anne was anointed and crowned Queen of England, she replied that bribery and unfair means had been used; that universities, and convocations, and parliaments had no faculty to divorce; and that she still appealed to the court of Rome, the only proper tribunal, and submitted her case to the pope. When it was represented to her that her obstinacy might cause popular commotions in the kingdom, she said that she would never consent to injure her daughter's rights and the health of her own soul by compliance; that she trusted that there should be no dissension within the realm on her account, which she never contemplated, nor ever would; that if she should be so unfortunate as to lose the favour of the people, still she "trusted to go to heaven, *cum fama et infamia;* for it was not for the favour of the people, nor yet for any trouble or adversity that might be devised for her, that she would lose the favour of her God."*

But, whatever danger there might be of popular commotion, there seemed to be none of Catherine's losing the favour of the people. Popular opinion (whatever was its worth) set full on her side, and nothing was heard from one end of the kingdom to the other but virulent abuse of "Nan Bullen." The monastic orders, who were smarting under past grievances, and who foresaw more serious ones, set no limits to their clamour, and some of them were bold enough to reprehend the king to his face. According to an old writer, the first to do this was one Friar Peto, a simple man, but very devout, of the order of Observants. "He

* Dr. Thomas Bedyll, who was clerk of the council, in writing to Cromwell on the 12th of May, says, "And my lord of Canterbury handleth himself very well, and *very uprightly*, without any evident cause of suspicion to be noted in him by the counsel of the said Lady Catherine, *if she had any present here*. But, surely, as far as I could see or understand, there came no servant of hers into Dunstable since our coming hither, *but only such as this day be brought in as witness against her*."—State Papers.

† State Papers.

‡ State Papers.—Sir Henry Ellis's Collection of Original Letters.—Burnet, Hist. Reform.—Le Grand.—Herbert.—Stow.—Godwin.—Sir Henry Ellis publishes a very interesting letter written by Cranmer to the English ambassador at the emperor's court, and giving his own account of pronouncing sentence on Catherine, and of the coronation of Anne.

* State Papers.—There are two other very long letters on the same harrowing subject, written within a few weeks by the same Lord Mountjoy, who was or had been chamberlain to Catherine. In his first report, which is preserved in the British Museum, the words *princess-dowager* are scratched out with pen and ink. This was done by Catherine's own hand. In his second letter Mountjoy says, "on showing her the report, she called for pen and ink, and carefully struck out the words *princess-dowager* wherever they occurred." Every part of Mountjoy's letters is full of interest. In one of them he says that Catherine rested on the unfairness of pretending to try her cause "within the king's own realm, *before a man of his own making*, the Bishop of Canterbury, *whom she thinketh to be no person indifferent* (impartial) *in that behalf*."

preached before the king at Greenwich, upon the latter part of the story of Ahab, saying, 'Even where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth, even there shall the dogs lick thy blood also, O king;'* and therewithal spoke of the lying prophets which abused the king." . . . . . "I am (quoth he) Micheas (Micaiah), whom thou wilt hate, because I must tell thée truly that this marriage is unlawful; and I know I shall eat the bread of affliction and drink the water of sorrow; yet, because our Lord hath put it into my mouth, I must speak of it." The king, being thus reproved, endured it patiently; "but the next Sunday, being the 8th of May, Dr. Curwen preached in the same place, who most sharply reprehended Peto and his preaching, and called him dog, slanderer, base, beggarly friar, close man, rebel, and traitor; saying that no subject should speak so audaciously to princes: and having spoke much to that effect, and in commendation of the king's marriage, thereby to establish his seed in his seat for ever, he, supposing to have utterly suppressed Peto and his partakers, lifted up his voice, and said, 'I speak to thee, Peto, which makest thyself Micheas, that thou mayest speak evil of kings; but now thou art not to be found, being fled for fear and shame, as being unable to answer my arguments.'"† But the courtly chaplain was too bold; one Elstow, a friar of the same house as Peto, accepted his challenge. Standing up "in the rood-loft," the monk said, with a bold voice, "Good sir, you know well that Father Peto, as he was commanded, is gone to a provincial council holden at Canterbury, and not fled for fear of you, for to-morrow he will return again. In the mean time I am here, as another Micheas, and will lay down my life to prove all those things true which he hath taught out of the Holy Scriptures; and to this combat I challenge thee before God and all equal judges: even unto thee, Curwen, I say it, which art one of the four hundred prophets into whom the spirit of lying is entered, and seekest by adultery to establish succession, betraying the king unto endless perdition, more for thine own vainglory and hope of promotion than for the discharge of thy clogged conscience and the king's salvation." The friar continued in the same vehement strain, nor would he be silenced until Henry himself, with his voice of thunder, bade him hold his peace. On the following day both Peto and Elstow were brought before the council, and severely rebuked. The Earl of Essex told them that they deserved to be put into a sack, and thrown into the Thames. Elstow, smiling, said, "Threaten these things to rich and dainty folk, which are clothed in purple, and fare deliciously, and have their chiefest hope in this world; for *we* heed them not, but are joyful that, for the discharge of our duties, we are driven hence; and, thanks to God, we know the way to heaven to be as ready by water as by land, and therefore care not which way we go." These friars, and all of their order, were banished shortly after; but the old annalist is not quite correct in saying that thenceforward none durst openly oppose the king's loves. Dr. Curwen, of course, became a bishop.*

* 1 Kings, c. 22. † Stow.

In the mean time Henry, at intervals, showed an earnest desire to be reconciled to the pope; and Francis, who had his own views of political advantage† therein, more constantly laboured to bring this about. He sent the French fleet to convey his holiness, and, after many delays, Clement kept his appointment, and arrived in the city of Marseilles in the month of October. When the meeting took place Henry regretted his having promoted it, and did what he could to render it of no effect; for he now feared a friendly union between the French court and the court of Rome. He even attempted to persuade Francis to break his appointment, as also to establish a patriarch over his church wholly independent of Rome, offering him a large subsidy in case of compliance. Francis, however, was proof against both the arguments and the money: he met Clement at Marseilles. The Duke of Norfolk, who was a zealous Catholic, and seems to have hoped for a reconciliation with the church, was suddenly recalled from France, and the Bishop of Winchester and Bryan were left to attend the conference at Marseilles. Francis refused to proceed with any other business until the pope had promised him to stretch his authority to the utmost in order to satisfy the King of England: but the surprise and displeasure of both were great upon learning that the two English ambassadors had no authority from their court to treat or to enter into any definitive arrangement. Apparently at the suggestion of Francis, they spoke of referring the matter to a consistory, from which all the cardinals holding preferments under the emperor were to be excluded as partial judges; but early in November, before Clement could give an answer to this proposition, Bonner arrived from England, and appealed, in the name of his master, from the pope to a general council of the church. This was rudely putting an end to the solemn conference at Marseilles, and the pope returned into Italy; but, before he went, he arranged a marriage (which afterwards proved a great curse to France) between his niece, Catherine of Medici, and the Duke of Orleans, the second son of the French monarch. The young lady had no money, and the unlucky match was otherwise considered very unequal. Francis told Henry that he had consented to it *solely* on his account, and to make up his quarrel with Rome; but this was not quite true, though such considerations may have had some weight. Such, however, was the power of England, that the French king and the pope were alike eager to overlook the insults they had received from Henry, and to renew negotiations with him. The witty Bishop of Bayonne,

* Stow.

† The French king had a project of forming a grand coalition against the emperor. Henry was to be a principal member, and the pope was to give it his sanction, and to co-operate *vi et armis* in Italy.

now Bishop of Paris, who had resided so long at the English court, was sent from Paris to London, from London to Paris, whence, in the middle of winter, he was hurried to Rome with letters and verbal messages to the pope from Henry, who appears to have been once more disposed to return to the obedience of the apostolic see, upon condition that Clement should approve of and solemnly sanction all that he had done. The vivacious bishop wrote to England to say that all was going on well, and to implore Henry to stop all proceedings in parliament of a religious nature. But Henry was vacillating and impatient, and Cromwell and others of his council had fully made up their minds to prevent any reconciliation with Rome; some of them acting from a sincere conviction of a spiritual kind, and some, it must be admitted, from a mere longing after the property and power of the church.*

On the 7th of September, while the pope was preparing for his voyage to Marseilles, Anne Boleyn was brought to bed. Whether it was that the king pretended to some knowledge in these occult matters, or whether it was that he had consulted the astrologers, he had made quite certain that the child would be a son and heir; and not only his disappointment, but also his wrath, was great when it proved to be a girl. Yet this ill-received child,—the lion-hearted Elizabeth,—showed herself to be worth many men. Soon after this event the persecution of Queen Catherine was carried on more keenly than ever, that unfortunate woman (to use the language of the courtiers) "still persisting in her great stomach and obstinacy." The highest in rank, the most martial and chivalrous in reputation, durst not refuse themselves to the vile office of insulting a helpless woman. The Duke of Suffolk, the gentle Charles Brandon, waited upon her at Ampthill to explain her grievous misconduct in calling herself queen, and to tell her that she must instantly remove from that manor to Somersham, there to live with a reduced establishment, and with such servants alone as the king should be pleased to appoint.† The queen said that they might hew her in pieces, but she would still style herself wife and queen until the court of Rome should decide to the contrary; that they might bind her with ropes, and violently enforce her thereunto, but that, of her own will, she would never go from Ampthill, or take upon herself the state and condition of princess-dowager of Wales. After a violent scene, the Duke of Suffolk and his noble and worshipful mates (for he was accompanied by the Earl of Sussex, Sir William Poulet, and Dean Sampson) locked up the queen's chaplains, who maintained that she was right both in law and in religion, and then wrote to the king for further instructions, "trusting, by God's help," to make a comfortable end of the matter.* Two days after, the duke, and the earl, and the doctors were followed by Archbishop Lee and Bishop Tunstall, who told her, among other things, that his highness, after being discharged of the marriage made with her, had contracted a new marriage with his dearest wife Queen Anne; and that for so much as, thanked be God, fair issue had already sprung, and more was likely to follow, by God's grace, the whole body of the realm, gathered together in parliament, had, for the establishment of this issue, made acts and ordinances to which she and all others must submit. The two prelates, however, reported to their master that her obstinacy was undiminished, and that Catherine repeated that she would in no wise, nor for any peril, or loss of her life, or goods, relinquish the name of a queen. It appears that some money was sent down to pay her debts, that she was removed by force, and that all persons that persisted in calling her queen were thrown into prison or otherwise punished with great severity.† It was a very awkward time for absent-minded parsons, and for old men, who could not easily get out of the routine of praying for Queen Catherine, which they had been in the habit of doing for twenty-five years. A mere slip of the tongue was considered of sufficient moment to be circumstantially reported by a bishop to a minister of state. "So it is," writes Clerk, Bishop of Bath and Wells, to Cromwell, "this same Sunday there preached in the cathedral church of Wells one Dr. Carsley, canon and residentiary of the same church; and when he came to the bidding of the beads, after a very honourable mention made of the king's highness, he said these words:—'That, according to our most bounden duty, we should pray for his grace, and for the Lady Catherine the queen; and also, by express name, for my Lady Elizabeth, their daughter.'" . . . . "Immediately," continues the bishop, "I openly showed him his error and reproved him for the same; the truth was, that he was staggered a season, and would in nowise be a-known that he had spoken of the Lady Catherine any word; but, at the last, assured thereof by me and others that he had spoken it, he openly, before all the audience, acknowledged his error and fault, and seemed to be very sorry therefore, saying, 'I call God to record that I thought not of the Lady Catherine: I meant only Queen Anne, for I know no queen but her.' The man is reported to be a good man; he is not much under the age of eighty; there was no man there but he might well perceive that the word scaped him unaware, *ex lapsu lingue*: notwithstanding I thought it my duty to advertise you thereof, and, by my fidelity to God and to the king, so have I of the whole and plain truth."‡

* Du Bellay's Letters and Instructions, given by Le Grand.—Herbert.—Burnet.

† For some time she was left almost in utter solitude, without any attendants. Her servants were commanded to swear that they would never call her queen, but only princess-dowager: those who refused the oath were dismissed or imprisoned—those who took it she would not retain.

* Original letter in the Museum, and published in State Papers. The letter, which is addressed to the king, is signed by all four.

† State Papers.—Letter of Lee (Archbishop of York) and Tunstall (Bishop of Durham) to the king's highness.

‡ Letter from Cromwell's correspondence preserved in the Chapter House, and printed in State Papers. The letter is superscribed "To the Right Honourable Maister Crumwell, Secretary to the King's Grace."

More than a year before this Henry had arrested, for her prophecies against his second marriage, the famous Elizabeth Barton, or, as she was called, "the Holy Maid of Kent," whose story will be presently related in connexion with the illustrious victims that were involved with her.

A.D. 1534.—Soon after the Christmas holidays parliament met for the dispatch of very important business of various kinds; and before it rose (on the 30th of March) it wholly broke the ties which for so many centuries had united England with Rome. Acting on the impulse already received, the parliament prohibited every kind of payment and every kind of appeal to the pope, confirmed Henry's title of supreme head of the English church, and vested in the king alone the right of appointing to all bishoprics, and of deciding in all ecclesiastical causes. The royal assent to the bills which abolished the papal power in England was given on the 30th of March; and as the definitive sentence of the consistory was not pronounced until the 23rd of March, it seems certain that the bills were not produced by that decision. They had been drawn up by Cromwell some months before; they had been passed through the Commons and the Lords, before the 20th of March (the reader will attend to dates); and when Henry gave the finishing stroke to them it was not possible that the news of the proceedings at Rome could have reached London.* These last proceedings in a business which had seemed to be interminable, were very simple. Notwithstanding the expectations of the Bishop of Paris, the pope, awed by the still growing power of the emperor in Italy, found himself obliged to entertain the appeal of the emperor's aunt, and to refer the whole matter to a consistory; and on the 23rd of March nineteen out of twenty-two cardinals pronounced Catherine's marriage valid and indissoluble; nor did the minority of three propose anything but a further delay. And hereupon the pope gave sentence. In the same parliament which proclaimed the spiritual dependence of England, the marriage between Henry and Anne Boleyn was fully established as lawful; the Princess Mary, the daughter of Catherine, was set aside as illegitimate, and the succession was vested in the children of Queen Anne. It was also enacted, that anything written, printed, or done, to the slander of the second marriage, or of the children therefrom proceeding, should be high treason, and that all persons of age should swear obedience to this same act of succession. During the session, parliament and that tyrannical tribunal the Star Chamber between them sent the Holy Maid of Kent and six of her abettors to the gallows. This Elizabeth Barton, a young woman of Aldington, in Kent, had been subject to fits and a strange kind of disease, which not only afflicted her inwardly, but, as often as her fit took her, so wonderfully distorted her mouth and other parts of her body, that most people were of opinion it could not proceed from any natural caues. As among the Turks of the present day, so was it with the English and other Christian nations in these ignorant times—idiotcy was looked upon as a proof of God's favour, and epilepsy was considered as the best medium of heavenly revelations. The incoherent sentences which the maid uttered were caught up as prophecies, and she herself was induced to believe that she was a prophetess. This was at a moment when the monks were irritated at Wolsey's suppression of a few monasteries, and when the nation was excited by the question of Henry's divorce. Richard Maister, the rector of the parish, advised her to retire into a nunnery, and he appears to have conceived the notion of turning her to some political account; but Bocking, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, who became her confessor, was her chief prompter. It is possible, however, that accomplices and principal were alike, in part, the dupes of their own deception, as frequently happened in cases of similar imposture. From Kent the fame of her prophecies soon spread to London and other parts of the kingdom. The king, whose curiosity was excited, showed a collection of her sybilline leaves to Sir Thomas More, who told him that he found nothing in her words worth notice: "for, seeing that some part fell in rhythm, and that God wot, full rude also, for any reason that he saw therein, a right simple woman might speak it of her own wit well enough." As long as the Holy Maid limited her prophecies to obscure people she was safe enough, but as soon as she meddled with state matters her neck was in danger. She announced that she had, in a vision, seen God and Cardinal Wolsey together, and had heard the Almighty declare that, unless the lord cardinal used his authority properly, it should be sorely laid to his charge. She, however, was not seriously molested during Wolsey's time. Her doom was precipitated by her venturing to prophesy, that if Henry put away Catherine, he would die some infamous death within seven months, and be succeeded on the throne by Catherine's daughter. The party that had chosen her for their instrument, not only took down her revelations in writing, but caused them to be printed and circulated. The jealous eye of the government was upon them; and, of a sudden, Elizabeth Barton and a number of her accomplices were apprehended.* Instead of being tried in the usual courts, they were brought up to the Star Chamber, which, in the month of November, 1533, sentenced them to confess their imposture on a Sunday, at St. Paul's Cross. After they had done this they were all conveyed back to prison. The imposition was thus laid bare; and Henry further proved that the Holy Maid was no prophetess, by outliving the term she had fixed. Thus she and her companions might have been safely dismissed

* Though there is no evidence to that effect, and though probabilities are against the supposition, it seems *possible* that Henry was forewarned.

* According to Hall, the matter was investigated by the "great labour, diligence, and pains-taking of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Cromwell, and one called Hugh Latimer, a priest which, shortly after, was made Bishop of Worcester."

with contempt, while the exposure and the long imprisonment they had undergone might have been deemed punishment sufficient for such an offence; but the majesty of Henry was not to be so easily satisfied, and he submitted their case to the slavish and brutalised parliament, who passed a bill of attainder of treason against the Maid; Bocking, the monk of Canterbury; Maister, the rector of Aldington; Dering, a monk; Gold, bachelor of divinity; Rich, a friar of the order of the Observants; and Risby, a gentleman; and of misprision of treason against several other persons who had had communications with her, and had concealed her treasonable predictions. On the 21st of April, 1534, while parliament was sitting, all the seven victims attainted of treason were drawn to Tyburn. At the place of execution the poor prophetess said, "Hither am I come to die, and I have not only been the cause of mine own death, but also am the cause of the death of all those persons which at this time here suffer. And yet, to say the truth, I am not so much to be blamed, considering it was well known unto these learned men that I was a poor wench without learning; but because the things which I feigned were profitable unto them, therefore they much praised me, and bare me in hand that it was the Holy Ghost, and not I, that did them; and then I, being puffed up with their praises, fell into a certain pride and foolish fantasy, which thing hath brought me to this case."*

Among those accused of holding correspondence with the Holy Maid of Kent were, Edward Thwaites, gentleman; Thomas Laurence, registrar to the Archdeacon of Canterbury; John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; and Sir Thomas More, late Lord Chancellor. The venerable Fisher, the admired of Erasmus, was one of the most learned prelates of that age: he had been the friend of Henry from his youth and first accession—the friend of his father and of his grandmother, the Countess of Richmond, who, on her death-bed, recommended him as a good and wise counsellor for her inexperienced grandson. But Fisher was attached to his threatened church, and averse to the new marriage. The old bishop was told by Cromwell that he would be pardoned this offence if he would plead guilty, and throw himself upon the king's mercy; but he preferred justifying his conduct, and, being confined to his chamber by sickness, he sent a spirited letter to the House of Lords. He acknowledged that he had conversed with the Maid of Kent, and had even heard her utter her prophecies touching the king's death. It was also true, he said, that he had not mentioned these discourses to his sovereign; but his silence could not be criminal, because the prophetess had not spoken of any violent attempts against the king's life, but merely of a visitation of Providence; and because she had told him that she had communicated the revelation or vision to the king herself, and *he well knew that she had been admitted to a private audience by the king.* The Lords, however, pronounced him guilty of misprision, or concealment, of treason; and he was forced to compound with the crown. The name of Sir Thomas More was erased from the bill (though his innocence was not more clearly established than that of his friend Fisher); and it is supposed to have been introduced into it for the sole purpose of terrifying him into an approval of the new marriage and other changes which he was known in his heart to condemn. Indeed, with respect both to the Bishop of Rochester and the ex-chancellor, the prosecution appears to have been a mere preliminary to further and more serious proceedings. Some of the contemporary writers scarcely mention it at all, but pass at once to the graver measures which followed. About a fortnight after, More and Fisher were called upon to take the new oath of allegiance as recently voted by parliament to the heirs of the king's body begotten, or to be begotten, of his beloved lawful wife Queen Anne. Neither of them objected to swear to the succession, excluding the Princess Mary, as it had been established by the estates of the kingdom; but both scrupled to swear to certain doctrinal points which were involved in the oath. For example, they were called upon fully to approve the marriage with Anne Boleyn; and to swear that the former marriage had always been unlawful, and that the Church of Rome had no power to grant dispensations in such cases. Bishop Fisher declared that he could not take the whole of the oath with a safe conscience; upon which, against the wishes of Archbishop Cranmer, who would have been satisfied with his swearing to the succession without the theological part, he was committed to the Tower. Sir Thomas More expressed his objections in discreet and qualified terms; but he was, nevertheless, taken into the custody of the Abbot of Westminster; and, upon a second refusal, was also sent to the Tower. Both bishop and chancellor were attainted of misprision of treason, for refusing the oaths, and were condemned to imprisonment for life with forfeiture of their property, and both were treated with infamous severity in their prison. Fisher, in his seventy-sixth year, was left in sickness and pain, without clothes to cover him, and without proper food to eat; and More was only relieved from a similar condition by the charity of his relations and friends, and the filial heroism of his favourite daughter, Margaret Roper. While these two conscientious men lay in the Tower, "being not to be drawn by any persuasions to be conformable to the new law," all classes of people swore, as rapidly as Henry could wish them, being terrified out of their senses. As the oath had not been very nicely defined by parliament, and as Henry was not likely to pay much respect to any limitations prescribed by that subservient body, he altered it, and stretched it just as he thought fit—forcing, for

* Hall. The annalist probably witnessed the execution of these seven persons. He says, very coolly, "They had most justly deserved it."

example, the whole body of the clergy to declare, upon oath, whatever he chose to dictate, including several things wholly incompatible with their profession and existence as a Romish priesthood. If he had really made up his mind to change the religion of his country, and to adopt the reformed faith, all this might have been intelligible and consistent enough; but, at the very same moment, he was actually burning people in Smithfield for differing from the church of Rome—making no distinction as to sects, but consuming in the same flames Lollards, Lutherans, and Anabaptists. To free himself from all suspicion of favouring either Luther or any of the authors of the new opinions, he began to prosecute indiscriminately "all that sort of men whom the vulgar called heretics." On the 22nd of July, during the prorogation of parliament, John Frith, "a very learned young man, of an excellent and godly wit," who had been long in trouble for the making of a book against purgatory, and for expressing certain opinions about transubstantiation and consubstantiation, and one Andrew Hewet, "a very simple and utterly unlearned young man and a tailor," who told the bishops that he believed as his friend John Frith believed, were burned at one stake in Smithfield as accursed heretics. To prove the king's orthodoxy, other men were burnt at slow fires in other places, particularly some Anabaptists, as they were called.*

In the month of November parliament reassembled, and, under the guidance of Cromwell, passed a variety of acts which all had for their object the erecting of Henry into a sort of lay-pope, with full power to define and punish heresies, and to support whatever he might deem the true belief or the proper system of church government. The first-fruits and tenths were now annexed to the crown for ever, and a new oath of supremacy was devised and taken by the bishops.

A.D. 1535.—Some of the monks—the poorest orders were the boldest—refused either to take the oath or to proclaim in their churches and chapels that the pope was anti-Christ. The system pursued in regard to them was very simple and expeditious; they were condemned of high treason and hanged, their fate in the latter respect being sometimes, but not always, milder than that allotted to the Lutherans and other Protestants, who were burned. Cromwell had no bowels for the poor monks; and the gentler and more virtuous Cranmer seems to have done little or nothing to stop these atrocious butcheries. A jury now and then hesitated to return a verdict, but they were always bullied into compliance by Cromwell and his agents, who sometimes threatened to hang them instead of the prisoners. On the 5th of May John Houghton, prior of the Charter House in London; Augustine Webster, prior of the Charter House of Belval; Thomas Lawrence, prior of the Charter House of Exham; Richard Reynolds, a doctor of divinity and a monk of Sion; and John Hailes, vicar of Thistleworth, were drawn, hanged, and quartered at Tyburn, their heads being afterwards set over the city gates. On the 18th of June, Exmew, Middlemore, and Nudigate, three other Carthusian monks, suffered for the same cause. On all these conscientious men, who preferred death to what they considered a breach of their duty as Catholic priests, the horrible sentence of the law was executed in all its particulars. They were cut down alive, had their bowels torn out, and were then beheaded and dismembered. *They* suffered on account of the oath of supremacy; but between the executions there was an atrocious interlude of a more doctrinal nature. On the 25th of May there were examined in St. Paul's nineteen men and five women, natives of Holland, who had openly professed the doctrines of the Anabaptists, and denied the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine of the sacrament. Fourteen of them were condemned to the flames: two, a man and a woman, suffered in Smithfield; the remaining twelve were sent to other towns, there to be burnt for example's sake, and for the vivid manifestation of the king's orthodoxy.

But greater victims were now stricken; for, casting aside all feelings except those of vengeance, Henry had resolved to shed the blood of Fisher and of More. These illustrious men had both been close prisoners in the Tower ever since the passing of the act of supremacy. The aged bishop was put upon his trial for having maliciously and traitorously said that the king, in spiritual matters, could not be the head of the church. And he was sentenced in the usual manner to die the death of a traitor. While he lay in the Tower, in respect for his sufferings in the cause of the church, his great age, learning, and unquestionable virtue, a cardinal's hat was sent to him from Rome. "Ha!" cried the savage Henry, "Paul may send him the hat; I will take care that he have never a head to wear it on." Accordingly, on the 22nd day of June, of this same year of blood, the old prelate was dragged out of the Tower and beheaded. His grey head was stuck upon London-bridge, turned towards the Kentish hills, among which he had passed so many happy and respected years. His body, by the king's orders, was exposed naked to the gaze of the populace, and then thrown into a humble grave in Barking church-yard without coffin or shroud.* Such was the end of Henry's oldest friend,—of an amiable and most accomplished man,—of one of the most indefatigable restorers of ancient learning. Without losing time, the royal monster proceeded against Sir Thomas More. Archbishop Cranmer, Cromwell, and others had waited upon him several times in the Tower, with the object of winning him over, or inducing him to take the oath of supremacy, in order to save his life: but More, though he had sometimes shown a timidity of disposition, had now fully made up his mind to die rather than to act contrary to his conscience. It is stated on good

* Herbert.—Hall.—Stow.—Godwin.

* Cardinal Pole.—Hall.—Stow.—Fuller.

authority that certain under-hand manœuvres, which had also been employed against his friend Fisher, were resorted to with the view of entrapping him into treasonable declarations. But the circumstances which rest on still better authority are the following. On the 14th of June four interrogatories were ministered to him in the Tower by Mr. Bedle, Dr. Aldridge, Dr. Layton, and Dr. Curwen, in the presence of Pelstede, Whalley, and Rice.

1. He was asked whether he had had any communication, reasoning, or consultation with any man or person, since he came to the Tower, touching the acts of succession, the act of supreme head,* or the act wherein the speaking of certain words against the king's highness is made treason?—He replied in the negative.

2. Item, whether he had received any letters of any man, or written any letters to other men, since he came to the Tower, touching the said acts, or any of them, or any other business or affairs concerning the king's highness, his succession, or this his realm?—To this he answered that he had written divers scrolls or letters to his fellow-prisoner Fisher, and received from him some others in return, "whereof the most part contained nothing else but comfort and words from either to other, and declaration of the state that they were in in their bodies, and giving of thanks for such meat or drink that the one had sent to the other." But he admitted that he had once written to Dr. Fisher, telling him how he had refused to take the oath, and of his determination never to show to the council the cause for which he did so refuse; and that Fisher had replied, telling him how he had answered the council, and reminding him that he had not refused to swear to the succession. After this he said that there passed no other letters between them that anything touched the king's business, till the council went to the Tower to examine him (More) upon the act of supreme head, upon which his fellow-captive wrote to inquire what answer he had made; and thereupon he wrote,—"My Lord, I am determined to meddle of no thing, but only to give my mind upon God; and the sum of my whole study shall be to think upon the passion of Christ, and my passage out of this world, with the dependencies thereupon;"—or words to that effect. And, he added, that within a short while after he received another letter from the said Dr. Fisher, stating "that he was informed that there was a word in the statute, *maliciously;* and, if it were so, that he thought thereby that a man speaking nothing of malice did not offend the statute, and desired the respondent to show him whether he saw any otherwise in it:" to all which he (More) merely replied "that the understanding or interpretation of the said statute should neither be taken after his mind nor after his friend's mind; and therefore it was not good for any man to trust unto any such things." He also admitted that he had warned Fisher not to speak the same words to the council as he (More) had written unto him, lest he should give grounds for a suspicion that there was some confederacy between them. What next follows makes the tears rush to the eyes, and is more pathetic than any passage in Roper's book:—"Also," he said, "that he, considering how it should come to his dear daughter's ear (Mr. Roper's wife) that the council had been with him, and how she should hear things abroad of him that might put her to a sudden flight; and fearing lest she, being with child, should take some alarm, and minding therefore to prepare her beforehand to take well-a-worth whatsoever thing should betide him, better or worse: he did send unto her, both after the first examination and also after the last, letters to signify how that the council had been to examine him touching the king's statutes, and that he had answered them that he would not meddle with nothing, but would serve God; and what the end thereof should be he could not tell; but whatsoever it were, better or worse, he desired her to take it patiently, and take no thought therefore, but only pray for him. And he said that she had written unto him before divers letters, to exhort him and advertise him to accommodate himself to the king's pleasure; and specially, in the last letter, she used great vehemence and obsecration to persuade him to incline to the king's desire. . . . And he said that George, the lieutenant's servant, did carry the said letters to and fro."

3. He was asked whether the same letters which he had written in the Tower were forthcoming or not? To this he answered, that he would have had George keep the letters, but that George always said that there was no better keeper than the fire, and so burned them all. He added, that being free from everything secret or treasonable, he had even requested the poor man, for safety sake, to show them to some trusty friend of his that could read, and had told him to lay them before the king's council, if any suspicious matter were found in them; but George feared so his master the lieutenant that he kept the letters to himself, and would needs burn them.

4. The last interrogatory was, whether any man of this realm, or without this realm, did send unto him any letters or message, counselling or exhorting him to continue and persist in the opinion that he was in? To which he answered "Nay." He was further asked with what intent he sent the said letters to Dr. Fisher? His answer was, "that, considering they were both in one prison, and for one cause, he was glad to send unto him, and to hear from him again."

But to all this there was a supplement. He was asked whether he would obey the king's highness as supreme head on earth, immediately under Christ, of the church of England, and him so repute, take, accept, and recognise according to the statute. To this he said that he could make no answer. He was next asked whether he would consent and approve the king's highness's mar-

* The act constituting the king supreme head of the church.

riage with the most noble Queen Anne to be good and lawful, and affirm that the marriage with the Lady Catherine, Princess Dowager, was, and is, unjust and unlawful. He replied, that he did never speak nor meddle against the same, but that he would make no further answer. Finally, they demanded whether he, being one of the king's subjects, was not bound to recognise the supremacy as all other subjects were bound thereto by the statute. He replied again that he could make no answer.*

Before this he had said, in an affecting letter, "I am the king's true faithful subject and daily beadsman. I pray for his highness, and all his, and all the realm. I do nothing harm; I say no harm; I think none harm; and wish everybody good: and if this be not enough to keep a man alive, in good faith I long not to live. I am dying already; and, since I came here, have been divers times in the case that I thought to die within one hour. And, I thank our Lord, I was never sorry for it, but rather sorry when I saw the pang past; and, therefore, my poor body is at the king's pleasure. Would to God my death might do him good!"† But this mixture of an almost heavenly meekness with an heroic firmness made no impression on the king, who was now drunk and mad with the heady spirit of absolutism. By his orders they had deprived that glorious wit and scholar of the sweet solace of his books—Rich, the king's solicitor, having been sent to the Tower to take them all from him. Nay, they had even deprived him of pen, and ink, and paper. Some commiserating soul, however — probably poor George—put some scraps of paper in his way; and on such materials, and with a piece of charcoal, he wrote his last letter to his beloved child. At length, after a year's most trying imprisonment, he was brought out of the Tower, led on foot through the crowded streets to Westminster Hall, and there arraigned of high treason. He appeared in that court where he had once presided as an upright judge, in a coarse woollen gown, bearing about him frightful evidences of a rigorous confinement. His hair had become white, his face was pallid and emaciated, and he was obliged to support himself on a staff. But the mind was much less bowed and bent, and some of his old wit and vivacity soon lighted up his sunken eye; and his vile judges—the slavish instruments of a despot—dreaded his eloquence, and the sympathy which the mere sight of him excited. They attempted to overpower and confound him with the length and wordiness of the indictment. But after declining an offer of pardon, upon condition of doing the king's will, he entered upon a clear and eloquent defence, stripping the clauses of their false coverings, and exposing them in their nakedness and nothingness. He maintained that neither by word nor deed had he done anything against the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn: he had, indeed, disapproved of that business, but he had never expressed this disapprobation to any other person than the king, who had commanded him, on his allegiance, to give his real opinion. As to his having sought to deprive the king of his new title of supreme head of the church, he said that all that he had done was to be silent thereon, and that silence was not treason. But his doom was fixed by those who had put themselves above all law or scruples of conscience. The infamous Rich, the solicitor-general, who was afterwards created Lord Rich, deposed that, in a private conversation he had had with the prisoner in the Tower, More said, "the parliament cannot make the king head of the church, because it is a civil tribunal without authority in spiritual matters." More denied that he had spoken these words; and he remarked upon the character which Rich had borne in the world, and which was so bad as to render even his oath unworthy of belief. Two witnesses were produced to support the charge made by Rich; but, in their case, conscience got the better of authority, and they declared that, though they were in the room, they did not pay attention to what was said. The judges, who were assisted by the Duke of Norfolk and other great men appointed by the king, laid it down as law that silence *was* treason, and the jury without any hesitation returned a verdict of guilty. When sentence had been pronounced More rose to address the court: he was coarsely interrupted. He tried again, and was again interrupted; but on a third attempt he was allowed to proceed. He told them that what he had hitherto concealed he would now openly declare, and he boldly proclaimed that the oath of supremacy was utterly unlawful. He regretted to differ from the noble lords whom he saw on the bench, but his conscience would not permit him to do otherwise. He declared that he had no animosity against them, and that he hoped that, even as St. Paul was present and consented to the death of Stephen, and yet was afterwards a companion saint in heaven, so they and he should all meet together hereafter. "And so," he concluded, "may God preserve you all, and especially my lord the king, and send him good counsel!" As he moved from the bar his son rushed through the hall, fell upon his knees, and begged his blessing. With the axe turned towards him he walked back to the Tower, amid the great wonderment and commiseration of the citizens. On reaching the Tower-wharf his dear daughter, Margaret Roper, forced her way through the officers and halberdiers that surrounded him, clasped him round the neck, and sobbed aloud. Sir Thomas consoled her, and she collected sufficient power to bid him farewell for ever; but, as her father moved on, she again rushed through the crowd and threw herself upon his neck. Here the weakness of nature overcame him, and he wept

* State Papers published by Government. On the same day Fisher underwent the same ordeal. To some demands he replied that he would promise obedience, "saving always his conscience." To others he would not answer, "desiring that he might not be driven to answer, lest he should fall thereby into the dangers of the statutes."—*Id.*

† Roper's Life of More, by Singer.

as he repeated his blessing and his Christian consolation. The people wept too; and his guards were so much affected that they could hardly summon up resolution to separate the father and daughter. After this trial the anguish of death was past. The old man's wit flashed brightly in his last moments. When told that the king had mercifully commuted the hanging, drawing, and quartering into simple decapitation, he said, "God preserve all my friends from such royal favours!" This happy vein accompanied him to the very scaffold. The frame-work was weak, and some fears were expressed lest the scaffold might break down. "Mr. Lieutenant," said More, "see me safe up, and for my coming down let me shift for myself." The executioner, as usual, asked forgiveness. "Friend," said More, "thou wilt render me to-day the greatest service in the power of man; but my neck is very short; take heed, therefore, that thou strike not awry, for the sake of the credit of thy profession." He was not permitted to address the spectators, but he ventured to declare that he died a faithful subject and a true Catholic. After prayers said, he placed his head upon the block, but he bade the headsman hold his hand until he removed his beard, saying, with a smile, "my beard has never committed any treason." Then the blow fell, and the neck was severed at once. His head was picked up, and fixed upon London-bridge.*

More was executed on the 6th of July, the eve of St. Thomas, in the year 1535, fourteen days after the death of his friend Fisher. These detestable murders spread a panic through the nation; and the expression of the popular opinion, however timid and meek, went, with the workings of his own conscience, to increase the tyrant's jealousy and apprehension. In the month of August Erasmus wrote to a friend that the English were now living in such a state of terror that they durst not write to foreigners or receive letters from them. In fact, in all foreign countries where civilization had made progress, the fate of Fisher, and still more of that admirable wit and scholar, the author of the 'Utopia,' excited universal execration; and *there*, at least, men could speak their minds loudly. The lofty eloquence of Cardinal Pole, and the classical point of Erasmus, recorded the crime, and their striking accounts were afterwards circulated throughout Europe, awakening everywhere a hatred of its brutal author. It is reported of the Emperor Charles, that, on being informed of the execution, he sent for Sir Thomas Eliott, the English ambassador, and thus addressed him:—"My lord ambassador, we understand that your master has put to death his faithful servant, and grave and wise counsellor, Sir Thomas More." Eliott replied that he had heard nothing of it. "Well," said the emperor, "it is but too true; and this will we say, that if we had been master of such a servant, of whose abilities ourself have had these many years no small experience, we would rather have lost the best city in our dominions than so worthy a counsellor." Nor did Charles's rival, the French king, feel a less lively emotion. He spoke of the executions in severe terms, and ventured to tell the English ambassador at his court that his master should banish such offenders, rather than put to death. At this Henry was greatly incensed; and he impudently gave Francis to understand that they had suffered by due course of law—that they were well worthy to have suffered ten times a more terrible death and execution—that if they had a thousand lives they were all forfeited.

"The executions of so many men caused Queen Anne to be much maligned, as if they had been done by her procurement—at least the Papists would have it thought so, knowing that it stood her upon, and that, indeed, she endeavoured that the authority of the Pope of Rome should not take footing in England."* We are told that Henry himself was disposed to throw the blame upon his wife. When an account of More's execution was brought to him he was playing at tables with the queen; and (as this probable story goes) he looked sternly at her, and, after saying, "Thou art the cause of this man's death," withdrew, in evident perturbation, to the solitude of his chamber. At Rome both Fisher and More were considered as martyrs in the cause of the church; and as Henry had shown by many other measures that he was determined to keep no terms with the Papacy, on the 30th of August Paul III. put his hand to a bull, which allowed him ninety days to repent and appear at Rome in person, or by proxy; and, in case of default, pronounced him and all his fautors and abettors excommunicated,—declared him to have forfeited his crown, and his children by Anne Boleyn, and *their* children, to be incapable of inheriting it. Going still further, the pope enjoined all Christian priests and monks whatsoever to quit Henry's dominions; absolved his subjects from their oaths of allegiance; and commanded them to take up arms against him. He also dissolved all Henry's treaties and alliances with Christian princes; prohibited all Christian nations from trading with England; and exhorted them to make war upon him until he should cease his schism and rebellion against the church. But it was deemed expedient to keep this thunder in reserve for the present; and so, the pope suppressed the bull for a season. It was, however, known in England that the instrument had been drawn up; and this circumstance only exasperated the court and a large portion of the country. Henry was apprehensive of the power of the emperor; and he now opened negotiations with the Protestants of Germany, whose doctrines he had pronounced to be damnable. He was joined by the French king, and he endeavoured to draw his

* According to Stow, the body of Fisher was then "taken up and buried with Sir Thomas More, both in the Tower." Annals.—More's Works.—Erasmus.—Epist. Pole.—Stapleton.—State Papers.—State Trials.

* Bishop Godwin.

nephew, the young King of Scotland, into the same alliance.

Henry soon found that his new quality of "Supreme Head" of the English church overburdened him with business; he therefore established a separate department or ministry for the conduct of church matters; and at the head of this he placed the bold and vigorous Cromwell, as "royal vicegerent," "vicar-general," and "chief commissary," with all the spiritual authority belonging to the king. This was a strange office to be held by a layman; but Cromwell, without hesitation, attended convocations of the clergy, discussed questions of schism and heresy, and took precedence of the Archbishop of Canterbury among his own bishops. The clergy hated Cromwell, and Cromwell hated the clergy. At the same time, many members of the monastic body, undeterred by the gallows at Tyburn, refused the oath of supremacy, and even ventured to attack the king from the pulpit. The exchequer also was very bare; and when the vicar-general proposed the abolition of certain monasteries, convents, and abbeys in England, and the seizure of all their property, he found a willing listener in the needy king. "Now it was that Cromwell invented an engine to batter the monks more forcibly than the former course of torture and hanging had done. He sent abroad subtle-headed fellows, who, warranted by the king's authority, should, throughout England, search into the lives and manners of religious persons;"* for it was assumed, as a principle, that the vices of the monastic bodies not only justified, but imperiously called for their suppression. These commissioners were let loose in pairs to hunt every part of England wherein were monasteries, cells, priories, or any other religious houses. Their mission was called a visitation for the advancement of religion and for the reformation of discipline and manners; but, where those who had to pass judgment were the very men to profit by finding the monks guilty, it was not likely that they would declare many of them innocent. From this sole consideration we must decide that the vices and irregularities of the monks and nuns were grossly exaggerated, and in some cases altogether invented, by the greedy agents of Cromwell. But, at the same time, every impartial mind will feel that there were certain vices, the inevitable consequence of the monastic system; and there are pretty good proofs to show, that in some cases there existed irregularities and delinquencies at which humanity shudders. But still there were certain clauses in the instructions of the visitors, and in the inquiries they were ordered to make, which compel us to regard their reports with considerable doubt and suspicion. They were commanded, for example, to make all the monks and nuns renounce the authority of the pope, to take the oath of supremacy, and to swear to the succession of the king's children by Anne Boleyn; and we may be sure, that when a monastery or a convent showed scruples of conscience on these heads, their morals were not spared in the report of the commissioners.

* Bishop Godwin.

It was expected that many of the houses would make a voluntary surrender, and that the monks and nuns would gladly return to the world; but in this year only seven of the smaller houses adopted this course. During the autumn and the winter Cromwell and his agents were busily employed in compiling a flaming report to lay before parliament; for hitherto Henry had proceeded without any other sanction than that of his privy council.*

A.D. 1536.—Queen Catherine, "whom extremity of grief cast into disease," died at Kimbolton on the 8th of January; her last moments being most wretched. At the approach of death she repeated an earnest request—made many times before—that she might be permitted to see her daughter Mary once, at least, before she died; but her heartless husband refused even this favour. From her death-bed she dictated a most affecting letter "to her most dear lord, king, and husband." She said, "The hour of my death now approaching, I cannot choose, out of the love I bear you, but advise you of your soul's health, which you ought to prefer before all considerations of the world or flesh whatsoever. For which yet you have cast me into many calamities and yourself into many troubles. But I forgive you all, and pray God to do so likewise. For the rest, I commend unto you Mary, our daughter, beseeching you to be a good father unto her as I have hitherto desired. I must entreat you also to respect my maids, and give them in marriage—which is not much—they are but three; and to all my other servants I solicit a year's pay, lest otherwise they should be unprovided for. Lastly, I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things." At her desire a duplicate of this letter was sent to the imperial ambassador at the English court, with a request to her nephew Charles, that he would reward her attendants in case her husband should refuse that last favour. It is also probable that she suspected that her letter would not be allowed to reach the king. It, or the copy, was, however, delivered; and, hard as was now his heart, Henry dropped a tear on reading it, and told the imperial ambassador to go and speak kindly to Catherine; but this kindness was too late, for the queen was dead.

It is said that Anne Boleyn exulted in the death of Catherine, proclaiming to her friends that she was now indeed a queen. But she herself was already doomed;—for the king had cast his eyes on one of *her* maids of honour. It has been stated, though on a somewhat doutful authority, that she accidentally discovered this secret by surprising Henry with the object of his new passion seated on his knee, and that her agitation brought on a premature accouchement. On the 29th of January, twenty-one days after the death of Catherine, Anne

* Lord Herbert.—Godwin.—Collier.—Strype.—Stow.

was delivered of a son—an event which Henry had so long and so impatiently desired; but the child was still-born. Upon May-day following there was a great entertainment in Greenwich Park, the king and queen being present, and the Viscount Rochford, Anne's brother, and Henry Norris, one of the grooms of the stole, being principal challengers in a tilting match which was going on very gaily. Suddenly the king rose and departed for London, having not above six persons with him. "Of this sudden departing many men mused, but most chiefly the queen, who, the next day, was apprehended at Greenwich."* She was met upon the river by the Duke of Norfolk, Audley, the chancellor, and Cromwell, who informed her that she was accused of adultery. She fell on her knees, and exclaimed, wildly, "O Lord, help me, as I am guiltless of that whereof I am charged." She was presently locked up in the Tower:—though she knew it not, her brother, Viscount Rochford, and Norris, were there before her—and she was soon followed to that dismal state-prison by Mark Smeaton, a musician, and William Brereton, and Francis Weston, both gentlemen of the king's privy chamber. As if to finish the complete overthrow of her heart and intellect, that had been sinking and wavering ever since her unfortunate accouchement, and the discovery which preceded it, they gave her for her prison the very chamber in which she had slept the night before her coronation, when the king and the nation seemed to be at her feet studying and striving how most they should honour her. On finding herself in this place she fell upon her knees, exclaiming, "Jesus have mercy on me!" and then she fell into a convulsive fit of weeping and laughing. As soon as she recovered some use of her reason, she began to ask a number of questions with great rapidity. "Wherefore am I here, Mr. Kingston?" she said to the lieutenant of the Tower;—"When saw you the king?—where is my sweet brother? Oh, my mother, thou wilt die of sorrow!" At last she said, "I shall die without justice!" Kingston assured her that there was justice for the meanest subject in England; upon which she burst into loud laughter. This was the effect of insanity; but if she had been perfectly in her senses, a laugh would have been no improper reply to the lieutenant's assertion.

By orders of the king, Mrs. Cosen, Mrs. Boleyn, her own aunt, but her enemy, and one or two other female attendants were left with her in the Tower, with instructions to note down all that she might say in her moments of agitation or despair; and to entrap her into confessions or admissions by putting leading questions to her. Mrs. Cosen asked her why Norris had said to her almoner on Saturday last, that he could swear to her being a good woman. She replied, "Marry, I bade him do so; for I asked him why he did not go through with his marriage; and he made answer that he would tarry a time. Then, said I, you look for dead men's shoes; for, if aught but good should come to the king you would look to have me. He denied it; and I told him that I could undo him if I would." It is said that she appeared to be greatly alarmed as to Weston, because he had spoken to her about Norris's excessive admiration of her person. Mrs. Stoner, another of the female attendants or spies, told her that Smeaton was treated with greater severity than the other prisoners, being put in irons: but to this she replied, that he was so treated *because he was not a gentleman born;* and she added, that Smeaton had never been in her chamber save once, when he went to play as a musician, and that she had never spoken to him since, until last Saturday, when she asked him why he looked so sad; and he replied, that a look from her sufficed him. All this, with much more, was communicated to the king and the court lawyers. The habitual levity of her disposition, and the distracted state to which she was now reduced, make it not improbable that she may have said some things which admitted of being turned against her; but, on the other hand, we must always suspect the subtle exaggerations of the court-lawyers, and must remember that, even according to their showing, none of her words necessarily bore a more serious construction than that of imprudence, or over-familiarity with some of the courtiers—a result, in all probability, of her education in France, where such matters were not considered even indecorous. On the 6th of May Anne wrote the following letter to the king:—

"Sir,

"Your grace's displeasure and my imprisonment are things so strange to me, that, what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so to obtain your favour) by such a one as you know to be my ancient professed enemy; I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth, indeed, may procure my safety, I shall, with all willingness and duty, perform your command. But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought ever proceeded. And, to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace, let not any light

* Hall.

fancy or bad counsel of mine enemies withdraw your princely favour from me. Neither let that stain—that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial; and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shames. Then shall you see either mine innocency cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopt, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and, mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaithful wife, but to follow your affection, already settled upon that party for whose sake I am now as I am—whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto, your grace not being ignorant of my suspicion therein.

"But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander, must bring you the enjoyment of your desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a strict account of your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment-seat, where both you and I myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment I doubt not, whatsoever the world may think of me, mine innocence shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared. My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burden of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen who, as I understand, are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight,—if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request. And so I will leave to trouble your grace any farther. With mine earnest prayers to the Trinity, to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions, from my doleful prison in the Tower, this 6th May, your most loyal and ever faithful wife,

"Anne Boleyn."

Henry paid as little attention to this touching appeal as he had formerly done to those made by Catherine,—his whole soul was bent upon marrying another woman! Anne was sent back to Greenwich to be examined by the privy council, where she found her most determined enemy in her own uncle, the Duke of Norfolk. On her return to the Tower she told Kingston that she had been cruelly handled by the council. She was, however, very merry, and made a great dinner. She asked the lieutenant where he had been all the day, and Kingston replied that he had been with prisoners. This hard-hearted and stern man had been, no doubt, engaged with the Viscount Rochford, Norris, Brereton, and Smeaton; and there was much to do with them, in order to intimidate them or otherwise prepare them for examination.

When brought before the council they all maintained their innocence, and the innocence of the queen, and were recommitted; but upon being brought up a second time, Mark Smeaton, the musician, who had been loaded with irons, and in all probability put to the torture, confessed his guilt. Edward Baynton wrote from Greenwich to tell the treasurer "that no man will confess anything against her, but only Mark, of any actual thing." "Wherefore," he continues, "in my foolish conceit, it should much touch the king's honour if it should no farther appear: and I cannot believe but that the other two be as culpable as ever was he; and I think assuredly the one keepeth the other's counsel." On the 10th of May a bill of indictment of high treason against the Lady Anne, Queen of England, Henry Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeaton was laid before the grand juries of Kent and Middlesex, because, as it was stated, the acts of adultery had been committed in both counties; *and because* it was the usual character of this court to invest the most illegal proceedings with all the forms and niceties of law. The indictment charged the queen with treason and adultery of three years standing, stating that, inflamed with pride and the lusts of the flesh, she had confederated with her brother the Viscount Rochford, and with Norris, Brereton, Weston, and Smeaton, to perpetrate divers abominable treasons; that she had lain with each of the five, not excepting her own brother, several times; that she had told each of them that she loved him better than the king or than any other man, which was slander of the issue begotten between her and the king; and finally,—to end with the most improbable clause of all,—that she and her paramours had been engaged in various plots for murdering the king. On the 12th of May, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeaton, as commoners, were arraigned in the Court of King's Bench. As before the council, all pleaded not guilty, except Mark Smeaton the musician; all, however, were convicted, and were sentenced as traitors to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Bishop Godwin relates that the king greatly favoured Norris, and was reported to be much grieved that he should die with the rest. "Whereupon he offered pardon to him, conditionally that he would confess that whereof he was accused. But he answered resolutely, and as it became the progenitor of so many valiant heroes,* that in his conscience he thought her guiltless of the objected crime; but whether she were or no, he could not accuse her of anything; and that he had rather undergo a thousand deaths than betray the innocent: upon re-

* The son of Norris was ennobled in the reign of Elizabeth by the title of Baron Norris, which is still borne by his descendant the present Earl of Abingdon. Sir John Norris, a grandson of the first Baron Norris, greatly distinguished himself in the wars of Elizabeth's reign in Ireland, the Low Countries, and elsewhere.

lation whereof the king cried out, "Hang him up, then: hang him up, then!"

There was no precedent for the trial of a queen, and Rochford, her brother, could claim the privilege as a peer of a trial before the House of Lords; but these impediments were trifles in the eyes of the absolute king, and it was determined that they should both be arraigned before a commission of lords chosen by himself, as had been practised with the late Duke of Buckingham. The Duke of Norfolk, Anne's uncle and enemy, was named High Steward, and there were twenty-six other noble peers equally ready to do the king's pleasure. On the 15th of May the unhappy queen was led by the constable and lieutenant to the King's Hall, in the Tower, where a scaffolding was erected, upon which, under a cloth of state, as High Steward of England, sate the Duke of Norfolk, with the Lord Chancellor on his right hand, and the Duke of Suffolk on his left, with other marquesses and lords about him,—the highest-sounding names of the English aristocracy! She was followed by her female attendants, "and whether in regard of some infirmity or out of honour permitted to the wife of their sovereign," she was allowed to sit down on a chair. According to an old writer whose assertion is supported by all Protestant authors of the time, "having an excellent quick wit, and being a ready speaker, she did so answer to all objections that, had the peers given in their verdict according to the expectation of the assembly, she had been acquitted." As, however, all records of the trial were carefully destroyed soon after, we have no sure guide as to what passed; nor, indeed, were those records preserved and entire, could we consider them in the light of fair and impartial evidence. It is the curse of all such men and measures, and properly so, that they are suspected even when they have truth and right on their side. On an impartial consideration of such facts as are before us, we cannot, however, believe that Anne Boleyn was guilty of any part of the crimes laid to her charge by the depraved imagination of Henry; and the plot to murder him seems too absurd to arrest attention for a single moment. In regard to the most revolting charge of all, it appears that Lord Rochford had been seen lolling over his sister's bed. But Henry had not a monopoly of vice and malignancy,—the nobility were becoming worthy of the king; and Rochford's own wife, a woman of infamous character, bore witness against her husband and the queen. There was also a death-bed deposition made by the Lady Wingfield, but we have no means of judging how it was procured, or whether it was not a forgery; and the document itself has been destroyed with the exception of the first lines.

But the peers, among whom the Duke of Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law, was chief,—as one wholly applying himself to the king's humour,—pronounced her guilty. Whereupon the Duke of Norfolk, bound to proceed according to the verdict of the peers, condemned her to death, either by being burned on the Green in the Tower or beheaded, as his majesty in his pleasure should think fit.* When she was removed from the bar, her brother, Lord Rochford, was put in her place,—was convicted on the same evidence,—and sentenced to lose his head and to be quartered as a traitor. On the following day (the 16th of May) Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, wrote impatiently to Secretary Cromwell to know the king's pleasure touching the queen, as well for her comfort as for the preparation of scaffolds and other necessaries, adding, "I pray you have good remembrance in all this for us to do, for we shall be ready to do always to our knowledge." He also informs Cromwell that the king's grace had showed him that my Lord of Canterbury should be her confessor, and that he, Cranmer, had been with the queen in the Tower that day. The willing instrument of the tyrant finishes this strange letter by saying, "This day at dinner the queen said that she should go to Antwerp, and is in hope of life." The mind of the wretched prisoner was evidently upset from the moment of her first committal; fits of anguish and despair were mixed with bright hopes and with bursts of levity,—the most melancholy proof of her derangement. One hour she would say that she was ready to die—the next she would talk confidently of being allowed to live. If in her saner moments she really entertained any such hopes they were soon put an end to; and as the crisis approached she looked on death without terror. On the 18th of May Kingston again addressed Cromwell, telling him that she had sent for him early in the morning to speak touching her innocence (apparently in the presence of Cranmer), and that she had again sent for him while he was writing this same letter, and at his coming had exclaimed, "Mr. Kingston, I hear say I shall not die before noon, and I am very sorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by this time and past my pain." "I told her, continues the lieutenant of the Tower, that it should be no pain, it was so subtle: and then she said, 'I heard say the executioner was very good, and I have a little neck;' and she put her hands about it, laughing heartily. Truly this lady has much joy and pleasure in death." But she did not die that day. On the morrow, the 19th of May, a little before the hour of noon, the queen was brought to the place of execution on the Green within the Tower, some of the nobility and companies of the city being admitted, rather to be witnesses than spectators of her death. From the scaffold Anne thus addressed them,—"Good Christian people, I am come hither to die according to law; by the law I am judged to die, and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak anything of that whereof I am accused. I pray God save the king, and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler or more merciful prince was there never. To me he was ever a good, gentle,

* Godwin.

and sovereign lord; and if any person will meddle with my cause, I require them to judge the best; and thus I take my leave of the world and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me." After these words she bared her beautiful neck, and, kneeling down, kept repeating—"Christ have mercy on my soul!—Lord Jesus receive my soul!" until the executioner of Calais, at one blow, struck off her head. Thus perished Anne Boleyn within four months of Catherine, and in little more than three years after her marriage, for which the passionate Henry had moved heaven and earth.* An old tradition strongly depicts the impatience with which he now expected her death. On the fatal morning he went to hunt in Epping Forest, and while he was at breakfast his attendants observed that he was anxious and impatient. But at length they heard the report of a distant gun,—a preconcerted signal. "Ah! it is done!" cried he, starting up,—"the business is done! Uncouple the dogs and let us follow the sport."* In the evening he returned gaily from the chase, and on the following morning he married Anne's maid of honour, Jane Seymour, who, on Whitsunday, the 29th of May, clad in royal habiliments, appeared in public as queen, without any coronation, however, for Henry never indulged any of his wives with that expensive ceremony after Anne Boleyn.*

* Original letters (printed by Sir Henry Ellis) as written at the moment by Kingston the lieutenant of the Tower, Baynton, &c.—Hall.—Stow.—Godwin.

* Dr. Nott's Life of Surrey.

Queen Jane Seymour. From a Drawing by Holbein.

Smeaton, the musician, who is supposed to have been bribed and tortured into his confession, seems to have expected that his life would be spared, and so much, no doubt, was promised to him; but, "as it was thought not fit to let him live to tell tales," he was hanged. Rochford and the rest were beheaded.

Archbishop Cranmer, who had made Anne Boleyn queen, who had lived in the most perfect friendship with her and her family, both before and after, had not heroic courage sufficient to resist the will of the king; and he certainly made no bold and generous effort to save her or her honour. To avoid his interference, Henry, on the day after her arrest at Greenwich, ordered Cranmer to keep to his palace at Lambeth, and on no account to venture to court. The archbishop evidently fancied that he was to be involved in her ruin. His fears, however, did not wholly overcome his gratitude and affection, and he wrote a curious letter to the king. He began by exhorting his grace to bear this bitter affliction with resignation. As for himself, his "mind was clean amazed;" the good opinion he had formerly entertained of

* "So that the court of England was now like a stage, whereon are represented the vicissitudes of ever-various fortune; for within one and the same month it saw Queen Anne flourishing, accused, condemned, executed, and another assumed into her place, both of bed and honour. The 1st of May (it seemeth) she was informed against, the 2nd imprisoned, the 15th condemned, and the 17th deprived of her brother and friends, who suffered in her cause, and the 19th executed. On the 20th the king married Jane Seymour, who, on the 29th, was publicly showed as queen."—*Godwin.*

the queen, who had been the best of his benefactors, prompted him to believe her innocent; but as this was a dangerous assertion, he subjoined immediately, that his knowledge of the king's *justice* and prudence induced him to believe her *guilty;* and he went on to say that he hoped that it might be permitted him to pray that she might prove her innocence; but, still cautious, he here again added, that if she could not do so, he would deem that man a traitor who did not call for the severest punishment. He had loved her formerly because he had thought that she loved the gospel; but if found guilty, men ought to hate her in proportion to their love of the gospel. He ventured, however, to hope that no misconduct on her part would arrest the important work of church reformation which (he did not blush to write) the king had begun, not through his affection for her, but solely out of his love for the truth. On the very day on which he wrote this letter Cranmer was summoned to the Star Chamber, where the king's commissioners declared unto him "such things as his grace's pleasure was they should make him privy to," and acquainted him with certain other things which the king expected him to do forthwith. A *brave* good man would have laid his head on the block rather than consent to this new duty, which was nothing less than to declare the marriage which he had pronounced good and valid to be illegal, and to dissolve it, as he had done the marriage with Catherine. Cranmer may have been convinced of the queen's delinquency (though she had not yet been brought to any trial) by depositions shown to him in the Star Chamber, and if he believed her guilty he might consider himself justified in declaring that the marriage was dissolved by her adultery; but this was not enough for the king, who exacted from him that he should declare that the marriage had been unlawful from the beginning, and consequently that the Princess Elizabeth was as illegitimate as her half-sister the Princess Mary. No doubt it was to save his head that the archbishop set to work vigorously, for Henry was not likely to be pleased unless he did the business in a solemn manner. He sent copies of articles of objection to the validity of the marriage to the king in his palace and to the queen in the Tower, "that it might be for the salvation of their souls;" and he summoned each to appear in his Ecclesiastical Court at Lambeth, to show cause why a sentence of divorce should not be passed. Dr. Sampson appeared for the king, and Drs. Wotton and Barbour for the queen,—of course all three were appointed by the king. The objections were read in the court, and the doctors and divines soon joined in opinion. On the 17th of May, the day on which her brother and friends were executed, and two days after she herself had received sentence of death, Cranmer, having "God alone before his eyes," pronounced that the marriage of Anne Boleyn was, and always had been, utterly null and void, in consequence of certain just and lawful impediments which, it was said, were unknown at the time of the union, but had lately been confessed to the archbishop by the lady herself. The process after Anne's death was submitted to the members of the convocation and the two houses of parliament; and the church, commons, and lords fully confirmed it, thus cutting Elizabeth off from the succession. No parliamentary or other records of that kind remain to cast a dubious light upon these proceedings; but it is understood that the previous obstacle which afforded a pretext for declaring the marriage null from the beginning, was a sort of precontract with the Lord Percy, now Earl of Northumberland, which the queen was induced to confess either, as Burnet thinks it probable, by some hope given to her of having her life spared, or at least by the assurance that the judgment condemning her to the stake should be changed into the milder punishment of death by the axe. If this supposition is rejected, the imagination is compelled to refer to the fact of Henry having cohabited with Mary, the sister of Anne, a fact which must have been better known to the king than to Anne Boleyn.*

In the month of June the king caused parliament to agree to a new act of succession, entailing the crown on such issue as he might have by Jane Seymour. Having some doubt or misgiving as to these children to be begotten, he proposed that he should be allowed to bequeath the crown by letters patent, or by his last will, to any person whom he might think proper; and the obsequious parliament passed a bill accordingly! It was understood that the king hereby contemplated the appointing of his natural son, the Duke of Richmond, to be his successor; but at this very moment the duke died, in the eighteenth year of his age, to the great grief of Henry, who, like a very Turk, had no affection for his daughters, but a great deal for his son. The Lady Mary, who had been living in seclusion at Hunsden under the displeasure of her father for her attachment to her mother, and to the discipline of the Romish church, made her peace with the court a few weeks before the Duke of Richmond's death, being obliged by Cromwell to subscribe to certain most humiliating articles of submission and acknowledgment.† She received a

* Lord Herbert.—Journals.—Godwin.—Wilkins.—Burnet. Burnet gives the whole of Cranmer's strange letter to the king.

† After imploring the king's merciful heart and fatherly pity, Mary acknowledged that she had most unkindly and most unnaturally offended his most excellent highness, in that she had not been sufficiently obedient to his just, wise, and most virtuous laws. She vowed that henceforward she would obey him in all things, and that, knowing his learning, virtue, wisdom, and knowledge, she would put her soul, conscience, and body under his direction. Then followed the confession "of me, the Lady Mary." First she confessed and acknowledged the king's majesty to be her sovereign lord and king, to whose laws, statutes, &c., she was bound to yield implicit obedience. In the second place she agreed to recognise, accept, take, repute, and acknowledge the king's highness to be supreme head of the church of England; and she utterly renounced all manner of remedy which she by any means might claim of the Bishop of Rome, whose pretended authority and jurisdiction she utterly refused and renounced for now and for ever. But the last clause is by far the most striking of all:—"Item, I do freely, frankly, and for the discharge of my duty towards God, the king's highness, and his laws, without other respect, recognise and acknowledge that the marriage heretofore had between his majesty and my mother, the late Princess Dowager, was, by God's law and man's law, incestuous and unlawful."—Letter, with Deed, from the Princess Mary to the King in *State Papers.*

suitable establishment, but was not restored in blood,—still remaining by law a bastard. For a moment, however, the king thought of marrying her to the Duke of Orleans, and of declaring them his heirs; but this project fell to the ground as soon as Jane Seymour gave signs of becoming a mother.

Meanwhile Cromwell, as the king's vicar general in affairs ecclesiastical, carried on the work of suppression and reformation with a vigour that astonished men's minds. But never was there any exploit seemingly so full of hazard and danger more easily achieved than was the subversion of our English monasteries.* The church commissioners presented a startling report of the vices and deceptions of the monks and nuns, and, what was of equal weight in the condemnation, they sent in the title-deeds of their estates, and the inventory of their plate, jewels, and ready money. Upon this a bill was introduced, giving to the king and his heirs all monastic establishments the revenues of which did not exceed 200*l.* a-year, with every kind of property attached to them, whether real or personal. Three hundred and eighty of the lesser houses fell within this category, and were suppressed, whereby the king was enriched by 32,000*l.* a-year, in addition to 100,000*l.* in ready money, plate, and jewels. According to one writer, the bill was not passed through the House of Commons without some difficulty; but Henry, sending for the members, told them that he would have the bill or their heads,—and so they passed it.

The parliament, which by successive prorogations had sate for the unprecedented term of six years, was now dissolved; and Henry, after all their passive obedience, seems to have been disgusted at this their last and feeble effort at opposition. He now named other commissioners to take possession of the suppressed monasteries, and to prepare measures for the seizure of others. If these men, mostly the friends of Cromwell or of Cranmer, had a better religion before their eyes, they certainly were not blind to the charms of lucre, and the temptations of fair houses and fat glebes; and most of them made a very rich harvest for themselves out of the spoils of the monks and nuns. The superiors of the suppressed houses were promised small pensions for life, which were very irregularly paid. All the monks not twenty-four years of age were absolved from their vows, and turned loose on the world without any kind of provision: the rest, if they wished to continue in the profession, were divided among the greater houses that were still left standing. The poor nuns were turned adrift to beg or starve, having nothing given to them save one common gown for each. "These things of themselves were distasteful to the vulgar sort, of whom each one did, as it were, claim a share in the goods of the church, for many, being neither monks nor allied to monks, did, notwithstanding, conceive that it might hereafter come to pass, that either their children, friends, or kindred might obtain their share, whereas, when all this property was once confiscated, they could never hope for any such advantages. But the popular commiseration for the thousands of monks and nuns who were, almost without warning given, thrust out of doors and committed to the mercy of the world, became a more forcible cause of discontent. There were not wanting desperate men to take advantage of this state of the public feeling, and it was diligently rumoured in all parts that this was but the beginning of greater evils and more general spoliations,—only a trial of their patience,—that as yet the shrubs and underwood were but touched, but, unless a speedy remedy were applied, the end would be with the fall of the lofty oaks."* At the same time the crowds of poor, who, by a defective but ancient system, had derived their support from the monastic establishments, became furious at finding their resources cut off, and at seeing the monks who had fed them now begging like themselves by the road-side. In the midst of these general discontents Cranmer and Cromwell issued certain doctrinal injunctions to the clergy, which were too novel to find immediate favour with the multitude; and certain Protestant reformers, who had more courage than they, ventured to print books against image-worship, auricular confession, transubstantiation, and other fundamental tenets and practices of the Roman church. The king, who assumed all the authority in matters of dogmas that had ever been claimed by the popes, and much more than they had ever put in practice in England, pronounced awards and sentences which irritated both parties alike, and all these questions were referred to him,—thus occupying a good deal of his time, and keeping in dangerous activity his old polemical bile. We find the Lord Chancellor Audley writing in great perturbation to Cromwell, telling him that there is a book come forth in print touching the taking away of images, and begging to know whether he was privy to the publishing thereof, which Cranmer probably was, though, had such a fact been known to his master at that moment, his neck would have been in jeopardy. The chancellor goes on to say, "I assure you, in the parts where I have been, some discord there is, and diversity of opinions among the people, touching worshipping saints and images, and for creeping (kneeling) at cross, and such like ceremonies heretofore used in the church, which discord were good should be put to silence; and this book will make much business in the same if it should go forth. Wherefore I pray you I may be advertised whether ye know it or no, for I intend to send for the printers and stop them; but there may be many abroad. It were good that the preachers and the people abstained from opinions of such things till such time as, by the report of such as the king's highness hath appointed for searching and ordering of laws of the church, his grace may put a final order in such things, how his people

* Godwin.

* Godwin.

and subjects shall use themselves, without contention. And if the people were thus commanded by proclamation to abstain till that time, such proclamation, drawn in honest terms, would do much good to avoid contention."*

The king was by no means backward in issuing his final orders and decrees spiritual; and the reformers herein concealing their ulterior views, he was led to reduce the number of sacraments from seven to three—baptism, the Lord's supper, and penance; to forbid the direct adoration of images; to abrogate a number of saints' days or holidays, especially such as fell in harvest-time; to declare the Scriptures, with the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian creeds, the sole standards of faith; to order every parish priest to expound these to his parishioners in plain English, and to direct the printing and distribution of an English translation of the Bible, one copy of which was to be kept in every parish church. The king, in his wisdom, insisted on the necessity of auricular confession, and denounced any questioning of the real presence in the eucharist as a damnable heresy to be punished with fire and fagot. Purgatory, he confessed, puzzled him, and, steering a middle course, he declared himself to be uncertain on this head, and kindly permitted his subjects to pray for the souls of their departed friends, provided only that they fell into none of the old abuses of enriching religious houses and shrines for this object.

Most of these changes were far too sudden; but the people seem to have more particularly regretted the curtailing of their holidays. Many of the nobility and gentry fanned the flames of discontent, though for the most part they afterwards found means of convincing the king that they had acted under compulsion of the people. The hereditary patrons of the suppressed monasteries pretended that those houses and lands ought by no means to fall to the crown, but that, if it was suitable and necessary to take them from the religious orders, they ought to revert to the descendants or representatives of the original founders and benefactors. It was soon seen that England, which had been long tranquil and patient under many iniquities, was likely to become once more the scene of insurrection and civil war. In the month of October the commons of Lincolnshire, being assembled touching certain subsidies to be paid to the king, suddenly, as if animated by one spirit, took up arms to the number of twenty thousand men, forcing certain lords and gentlemen to be their leaders, and to swear to their articles. Such as refused they threw into prison, and a few they killed. Among the latter was a certain priest, chancellor to John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, a very unpopular prelate. The king sent a great force against these rebels, under the command of the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Rutland, and Huntingdon, and the Duke of Suffolk; the last having the highest authority. Suffolk found the insurrection so formidable, that, instead of fighting, he was glad to negotiate; and even the king himself, furious as he was, seems to have been more willing to rely on his pen than on his sword. In reply to Suffolk, who demanded what were their grievances, the men of Lincolnshire presented a list of six articles of complaint, the chief of which were—the sudden suppression of the monasteries, "whereby the service of God is not only diminished, but also the pooralty of your realm be unrelieved, and many persons be put from their livings, and left at large, which we think is a great hindrance to the common wealth: the passing of the Statute of Uses" (by which persons who formerly had only the use of their lands, and thus were dependent on the feoffees, were converted into the legal possessors of the soil*), "because we think that, by the said act, we be clearly restrained of our liberties, in the declaration of our wills, concerning our lands, as well for the payment of our debts, for doing of his grace service, as for helping and relieving of our children:" that the fifteenth voted by parliament, and the forcing them to pay fourpence for a beast, and twelvepence for every twenty sheep, "was an importunate charge to them, considering their poverty, and that the sheep and cattle in Lincolnshire were utterly decayed and gone:" that his grace had taken into his council "such personages as be of low birth and small reputation, which have procured the premises, most especial for their singular lucre and advantage; the which we suspect to be the Lord Cromwell and Sir Richard Rich, Chancellor of the Augmentations:" that the king's taking the tenths and first-fruits was improper: and, finally, that they, his true subjects, were grieved "that there be divers bishops of England of his grace's late promotion that have subverted the faith of Christ, as we think, which are, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester, the Bishop of Salisbury, the Bishop of St. David's, and the Bishop of Dublin. And in especial, as we think, the beginning of all the trouble of this realm, and the great exactions that hath been taken of your poor commonalty, have risen by the occasion of the Bishop of Lincoln, by whose officers and by other of the Lord Cromwell's servants, a great rumour and noise is risen; and the common voice is, that such jewels, plate, and other ornaments of our parish churches which we occupy in the service and honour of God, should be taken from us, and spoiled in like manner and fashion as the houses of religion hath been."†

By entertaining the proposal of a redress of grievances; by forwarding their petition to court; and by giving them fair promises, Suffolk stayed the first dangerous fury of the insurgents, gained time, and promoted dissensions among them; so that when Henry took up the pen to answer them, he was enabled to do so in a high tone. "The king," says an historian, who lived in servile times, "had a spirit befitting his greatness; and, perceiving them to shrink, could not dissemble the

* State Papers.

* St. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 10. † Speed.

rage he had conceived at the presumption of this rascally rout, that durst capitulate with their sovereign, and seek to curb the unlimited power of kings."* Henry's answer "to the petitions of the traitors and rebels in Lincolnshire" has been preserved; and a most characteristic document it is!

"First," saith this prince of a most royal courage, "we begin and make answer to the fourth and sixth articles, because upon them dependeth much of the rest concerning choosing of counsellors. I never have read, heard, nor known that princes, counsellors, and prelates should be appointed by rude and ignorant common people; nor that they were persons meet or of ability to discern and choose meet and sufficient counsellors for a prince. How presumptuous then are ye, the rude commons of one shire—and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm, and of least experience—to find fault with your prince for the electing of his counsellors and prelates; and, to take upon, contrary to God's law, and man's law, to rule your prince, whom ye are bound by all laws to obey and serve, with both your lives, lands, and goods, and for no worldly cause to withstand; the contrary whereof you, like traitors and rebels, have attempted, and not like true subjects as ye name yourselves! As to the suppression of religious houses and monasteries, we will that ye, and all our subjects should well know that this is granted us by all the nobles, spiritual and temporal, of this our realm, and by all the commons of the same, by act of parliament; and not set forth by any counsellor or counsellors, upon their mere will and phantasy, as ye full falsely would persuade our realm to believe. And where ye alleged that the service of God is much thereby diminished, the truth thereof is contrary; for there be no houses suppressed where God was well served, but where most vice, mischief, and abomination of living was used; and that doth well appear by their own confessions, subscribed with their own hands, in the time of visitations. And yet were suffered a great many of them, more than we by the act needed, to stand; wherein if they amend not their living, we fear we have more to answer for than for the suppression of all the rest." In the same tone he gave a most absolute refusal to all the other demands of the petitioners, telling them to repent of their foolish and traitorous demeanours, nor offend any more their undoubted king and natural prince, who had always showed himself most loving unto them; to deliver up their ringleaders and the provokers of this mischief; and to submit their own persons to such condign punishment as he and his nobles should think they merited. "For doubt ye not else, that we and our nobles can nor will suffer this injury at your hand, unrevenged, if ye give not place to us of sovereignty, and show yourselves as bounden and obedient subjects, and no more to intermeddle yourselves from henceforth with the weighty affairs of the realm—the direction whereof only appertaineth to us, your king, and such noblemen and counsellors as we list to elect and choose, to have the ordering of the same." And he ends by requiring them to deliver up into the hands of his lieutenants no fewer than one hundred persons, to be punished according to their demerits, at his will and pleasure.*

A few days later the king again addressed the rebels in Lincolnshire. He tells them that he had been informed that, upon the reading of his proclamation carried to them by one of his heralds-at-arms, they had expressed their penitence to the Earl of Shrewsbury, appearing to be most sorry and heavy in heart, lamenting their heinous offences, and detesting and cursing all those persons that, with their most false and untruere ports and suggestions, had brought them into this miserable state and condition of rebellion. He assures them, that in any other Christian country their offences would have drawn down such extremity of punishment, that not only they, but also their wives and children would have been exterminated by sword and fire; but that he, considering the great danger that might ensue to their souls, if he thus burnt and butchered them, had forced himself to temper justice with mercy. However penitent they might be, a vast number of the insurgents had still kept together. He therefore enjoins them, for a token of hearty repentance, in peaceable sort to leave all other their weapons in the market-place of the city of Lincoln, to be there received by persons properly appointed by his council; and he concludes by telling them, that if they failed in so doing, or continued one day longer in arms, he would execute all extremities against them, their wives, and children, without mercy; to the most terrible and fearful example of all others while the world shall endure hereafter.† The insurgents, however, did not disperse till the 30th of October; and before they retired to their homes a fierce rebellion broke out beyond the Trent. Of the men of Lincolnshire, fifteen victims were given up to satisfy the royal vengeance. Among these were holy Dr. Makerel, the prior of Barlings, or Oxley, and Captain Cobbler, the chief leader, who is said by some historians to have been the prior himself, though it is conjectured, from a contemporary paper, that the real name of this Captain Cobbler was Melton.‡ These men were respited for a season, but they were afterwards executed as traitors with the usual barbarity. But Henry's thirst of blood grew with his years. On the 9th of October a priest and a butcher were hanged at Windsor by martial law, for words spoken about the insurgents. The

* Bishop Godwin

* State Papers.—This remarkable paper is alluded to by Lord Herbert, and given at length by Hall. It is printed in the volume of the State Papers from the minute, corrected by Lord Cromwell which remains among the miscellaneous papers in the Chapter House. The hand and style of the king are most visible in the composition.

† State Papers. The minute of this proclamation, in the handwriting of Wriothesley, then only clerk of the signet, though he frequently officiated as the king's secretary, is preserved in the Chapter House.

‡ Note by the editor of State Papers.

butcher wished the good fellows in Lincolnshire to have the meat on his stall, rather than sell it at such price as he was offered: the priest, who was standing by, likewise wished them to have it, for he said that they had need of it. At the same time, Dr. Mallet, who had been chaplain to the late Queen Catherine, was summarily executed at Chelmsford, in Essex, for some words spoken to the like effect.* Meanwhile the insurrection north of the Trent spread from Yorkshire into Durham, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire; and nothing seemed wanting but a proper leader, and courage and resolution in the noblemen and gentry, to overthrow this most tyrannical government. Henry was greatly alarmed; but he told Wriothesley that he would rather sell all his plate than fail to subdue these traitors, "in such sort that all others should take warning by their example;" and, in fact, he was so poor at the time, that he was obliged to order Cromwell to go to the jewel-house in the Tower, and take therefrom as much plate as he thought could possibly be spared, and have it coined immediately; as also to try what sums might be borrowed in his name; "and with all men to shift and manage to the best of his power; so that he might, besides these sums, have a convenient furniture, whatsoever might happen."† "His grace," continues the letter, "appeareth to fear much this matter, especially if he should want money; for, in the Lord Darcy, his grace told me, he had no great trust. And his grace would have this matter for money well followed; for there resteth, with you, all our hope."

Some money was sent to the Earl of Suffolk, who was now at Newark, and who made a good use of it in buying over some of the ringleaders, and in exciting jealousies and dissensions among the ignorant insurgents. The Earl of Shrewsbury was constituted the king's lieutenant north of Trent; and the Duke of Norfolk was dispatched into Yorkshire with the Marquess of Exeter and an army of five thousand men. Including all the forces, there was a regular army of about ten thousand men in the field; but the rebels at one time were estimated at forty thousand, being under the nominal command of Robert Aske, a gentleman of Yorkshire, who was not destitute either of talent or of energy. These men of the North had given a religious character to their rising, and had bound themselves by oath to stand by each other "for the love which they bore to Almighty God, his faith, the holy church, the king's person and the persons of the nobility, to expel all villain blood and evil counsellors from the privy council, not for any private profit, nor to do displeasure to any private person, nor to slay or murder through envy, but for the restitution of the church and the suppression of heretics and their opinions." They painted on their banners the figure of Christ in his agony; they wore upon their sleeves the emblem of the five wounds of the Saviour, with the name of Jesus; and they called their march "The Pilgrimage of Grace." Wherever they advanced they restored the monks and nuns to their houses; and by tremendous threats they compelled the people to take their oaths and join their ranks. Every man was summoned to be at a place of rendezvous at a fixed hour and in his best array, as he would answer for it before the High Judge at the day of doom, as he would avoid the pulling down of his house, the loss of his goods, and the destruction of his body. The cities of Hull, York, and Pontefract admitted the Pilgrims of Grace, and took the vows. The lords Darcy, Lumley, Latimer, and Neville, together with Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, with a vast number of the knights and gentlemen of the northern counties, joined the insurgents; but this circumstance of the tremendous threats favoured their pleading afterwards that they had done so upon compulsion. The undisciplined host was amenable to no authority, and there arose many conflicting opinions as to the proper mode of conducting their campaign. It is also very evident that some of their chiefs were already bought by Suffolk, for there was much difference of opinion and contention in the camp. "It appeareth," writes Wriothesley, "that they will fall to talking, and, if the rest take that way, it will not be long ere one pair of light legs will be worth five pair of hands to them. . . . The passages at Nottingham and Newark are securely fortified, so that the rebels may be certainly kept on that side, and so enforced shortly to disperse or to eat their fingers." When they moved upon Doncaster they were checked by the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Duke of Norfolk, who had drawn out a strong battery of cannon in front of the town. The royal army, however, readily agreed to an armistice, during which the insurgents named delegates, who laid their demands before the king, who, in the mean time, had sent more money to the Duke of Suffolk.* The king also dispatched the lord admiral Howard and other soldiers and statesmen to the north, with most elaborate instructions as to the way in which they were to proceed with the rebels. They were particularly charged to withdraw all fear of punishment from the Lord Darcy and the rest of the nobility that had joined the people; to offer them safe conducts for the present, and a free pardon for the future, "provided only that they would, in their deeds, show themselves ready and willing to do all things that might tend to the repairing of his grace's honour, which, amongst his foreign enemies, would be touched by this, their insurrection."†

The paper presented by the Northern delegates

* Stow.

† Letter from Wriothesley, superscribed, "To the Right Honourable and my singular good Lord, my Lord Privy Seal (Cromwell). *In haste, haste for thy life.*" It is merely dated Windsor, this Wednesday morning. The original is in the Chapter House.

* The sum sent at this time amounted to about ten thousand pounds, and Wriothesley, in the name of the king, thanked Cromwell for the "great labours and travails" he had taken in the getting of this together.—*State Papers.*

† Letter of the King.—*State Papers.*

was longer than that which had been sent up by the men of Lincolnshire, but the chief grounds of complaint were the same in both. The most striking of the additional clauses (to some of which Henry deigned not to reply) were that the heresies of Wycliff, Huss, Luther, Melancthon, and others, should be rooted out, and that all heretical books whatsoever should be utterly destroyed,—that the supremacy of the church, inasmuch as related to the care of souls, should be restored to the pope, who should have the consecration of bishops, with the first-fruits and tenths, as formerly,—that the Lady Mary should be declared legitimate, and the statutes to the contrary annulled,—that the pains and penalties against such as kept hand-guns and cross-bows should be repealed, unless used in the king's parks and forests upon his royal deer,—that parliament should be restored to its ancient privileges, and that the manner of conducting the elections of knights of the shire and members for boroughs should be reformed,—that the cruel statute of treason for words spoken should be abrogated, and that the common law should be used as it was in the beginning of his grace's reign. Henry himself dictated the answer. Touching the maintenance of the faith, he says, he marvels not a little that ignorant people like them should go about, or take upon them to instruct him, "who something had been noted to be learned." As for the maintenance of the church, this was so general a proposition that, without distinctions made as to which was the real and true church, no man could answer it; but he told them that, mean what church they might, it pertained not to them, the commons, to meddle in the matter, and that he could not but reckon it a great unkindness and unnaturalness in them to prefer that a churl or two should enjoy the property of the monasteries in support of vicious and abominable lives, rather than that he, their prince, should have the profits, for the support of his extreme charges incurred in their defence. Touching the laws, he told them that blind men were no judges of colours; that it could be clearly proved there never were so many wholesome, commodious, and beneficial laws; and that it was absurd in them to think that, after being so long a king, he did not know better than when he came first to the throne what was for the common good and what was not. The men in his council, he said, were good men,—just and true executors both of God's laws and his. It is true that they were not all of noble birth, but no more were the councillors at the beginning of his reign left him by his father, who were mostly "scant well-born gentlemen, of no great lands, and the rest lawyers and priests." In the end, he told them that the greatest concession he could make was, to pardon them their rebellion upon their delivering up to him "ten of their ringleaders and provokers, such as he should name and appoint."*

The insurgents rejected these terms, and kept the field; nor did the royal army consider itself strong enough to hazard a battle. Henry was put to his straits in order to send six thousand pounds more to the north; and the Duke of Norfolk and the lord admiral were ordered to look after and fortify the fords of the Don, the works at Nottingham, and the bridges and fords there. By this time it was the 21st of November; the weather was cold and stormy, and the rebels began to feel an anxiety to return to their agricultural labours. The Duke of Norfolk, however, was again glad to negotiate, and he made more promises than the king would ratify; for Henry thought that his honour would be much touched if he granted them a free pardon, and he showed great ill-humour to the duke. The insurgents now became furious, and the royal army was compelled to retreat to the south of the Don and the Trent. At one moment the court was greatly alarmed lest the insurgents should cross the Trent, and "corrupt or oppress and spoil" the subjects in the south; and but for a sudden rising of the river, and the precaution taken of fortifying the bridges, it appears that this would have happened. At last Norfolk was authorised to give such assurances to the rebels as induced them to separate; and the king wrote gracious letters to his "trusty and well-beloved" Captain Aske, Lord Darcy, and others, expressing his earnest desire to see and converse with them, trusting that they were in heart repentant, and that he should have cause to reward them for their fidelity. They were both wise enough to decline the invitation; but Aske, it should seem, really undertook to oppose, if not to betray his party.* Though Henry did not give his subjects in the north credit for much wisdom, they were keen enough to see that he had no intention whatever of keeping his promises, and that he was, on the contrary, artfully devising means by which he might glut his revenge.

A.D. 1537.—As early as the 23rd of January bills and scrolls were stuck up, by night, upon the church doors, containing these words:—"Commons, be ye true among yourselves, and stick one to another, for the gentlemen have deceived you; but yet, if need be, ye shall lack no captains." In spite of all the efforts made to produce a lukewarmness or desire of division among the people, they met in arms in the beginning of February But most of their leaders had bargained to betray them; the royal army was reinforced, and admitted into the heart of the country, and, after failing in three or four sieges of towns or castles, the insurgents were disheartened and again dispersed; every man doubting of the good faith of his captain, and looking only to the preservation of his own life. The Lord Darcy, Robert Aske, and most of the original leaders, not excepting those who had betrayed the cause, were taken, sent to London, and there ordered for execution as traitors in the

* State Papers; from a fair copy preserved in the Chapter House. The letter is supposed to be in the handwriting of Sir Ralph Saddler, but there are a few minute corrections in the king's hand.

* State Papers.

month of June.* The king's banner was unfolded; martial law was proclaimed in all the northern counties; and Henry wrote minute instructions to the Duke of Norfolk, fearing that that nobleman might be too lenient. "Our pleasure is," saith the king, "that before you shall close up our said banner again, you shall in any wise cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village, and hamlet as have offended in this rebellion, as well by the hanging them up in trees as by the quartering of them, and the setting of their head and quarters in every town, great and small, and in all such other places, as they may be a fearful spectacle to all other hereafter that would practise any like matter, which we require you to do, without pity or respect, according to our former letters."† The monks had stood too conspicuously foremost in the van to escape his vengeance; and after naming some of them whom he wishes to be sent up to him with all speed, he adds,—"And forasmuch as all these troubles have ensued by the solicitations and traitorous conspiracies of the monks and canons of those parties (parts), we desire and pray you, at your repair to Sawley, Hexham, Newminster, Lannercost, St. Agatha, and all such other places as have made any manner of resistance, or in anywise conspired, or kept their houses with any force since the appointment at Doncaster, you shall, without pity or circumstance, now that our banner is displayed, cause all the monks and canons that be in anywise faulty to be tied up without further delay or ceremony, to the terrible example of others, wherein we think you shall do unto us high service."‡ When the North had been converted into a shambles, and the pleasant banks of the Tweed, the Tyne, the Tees, the Don, and the Trent were loathsome with the number of ghastly heads and reeking members, a pardon was proclaimed; and the king felicitated himself and his ministers on the wholesome vigour of government. But the persecution of the monks continued; and Henry wrote to the Earl of Surrey and others, in the north, that they must with good dexterity charge all the monks there with grievous offences, thereby to try their minds, and see whether they would not conform themselves gladly to his will in ecclesiastical matters, and go to the other houses of their coat appointed for them, or else receive the secular habit.§

It is now time to allude to Cardinal Pole, the man that threw the greatest bitterness into the cup of the absolute Henry, and that recorded his infamy in strains of eloquence which the world could not forget. Reginald Pole was the son of Sir Richard Pole, by Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, daughter to George, Duke of Clarence, the unfortunate brother of Edward IV. He was thus second cousin to the king, and Henry, allowing the claim of consanguinity, and being charmed with the abilities of his young relative, patronised and protected him, allowing him a handsome pension, upon which he studied and lived a considerable number of years in the universities of France and Italy. The king had been disposed to confer upon him the richest promotion in his dominions, but he exacted in return that the eloquent churchman should defend his divorce from Catherine, his assumption of supremacy, and all his other extreme measures, and this Pole was too high-minded to undertake. After several negotiations they quarrelled outright, and, on Henry's rupture with the church, Pole declined all preferment in England, and retiring to the north of Italy, he assailed the king both with argument and most stinging invective. He spread the infamy of the murder of Sir Thomas More through all Europe: his great work, entitled 'De Unione Ecclesiastica (On Ecclesiastical Union), was the best defence of the rights of the Romish church; and even where it failed in argument, it touched the king to the quick by exposing the baseness and the selfishness of his motives. Paul III. invited this noble English champion to Rome. For awhile Reginald Pole hesitated, for he feared what might befall his friends and relatives in England; but at last, in the end of 1536, he repaired to the Vatican, entered into the pope's service, and received a cardinal's hat. This was at the very moment that the insurrection was raging in the northern counties. The pope, it appears, thought that this demonstration would terrify Henry into a reconciliation with the church; but, if it failed to do this, the occasion would be most favourable for extending his protection to the monks and their party, and for shaking the king on his throne. He named Cardinal Pole legate beyond the Alps, and intrusted him with extraordinary powers,—the design of which, undoubtedly, was to act upon Henry both by persuasion and by force, allied with no small degree of craft. Intimidated by the threats of his loving cousin of England, who had requested him to arrest the cardinal and deliver him up, Francis refused to see Pole on his passage through France, and on reaching Cambray he was denied permission to enter the territory of the Emperor Charles. The cardinal had been supplied with money to remit to the insurgents; and he was instructed to treat with some of the neighbouring princes who were supposed by the court of Rome to be likely to exert themselves in the cause of the Catholic faith, and to support the rebels in England, notwithstanding the dangerous precedent that would be thereby established, but the insurrection was suppressed before Pole reached the frontiers of Flanders, and he

* They were attainted in the Court of the Lord High Steward. Lord Darcy was not sent back from London, but was executed at Tower Hill; Aske was sent down to York, and executed there; Constable suffered at Hull; Lord Hussey at Lincoln; and other leaders of less name at other places.

† State Papers.

‡ State Papers.—The pleasing prospect of blood did not blind the king to the charms of confiscation and forfeiture. In the same letter to Norfolk, he says,—"We desire and pray you to have good respect to the conservation of the lands and goods of all such as shall be now attainted, that we may have them in safety, to be given, if we shall be so disposed, to such persons as have truly served us; for we be informed that there were amongst them, divers freeholders and rich men, whose lands and goods well looked unto will reward others well, that, with their truths, have deserved the same."

§ State Papers.

soon found that his own person was in danger from the far-reaching hands of Henry, who proclaimed him a traitor, and offered fifty thousand crowns to any man that should bring him his head; while his minister, the indefatigable Cromwell, vowed that he would make the cardinal eat his own heart through vexation! Pole was thus reduced to study how he should save his own life; and, being unable to hold any communication with England, or to do anything in behalf of the church, he returned to Rome in the month of August, being followed across the Alps by the loud curses of the king.*

On the 12th of October Jane Seymour gave birth, at Hampton Court, to a son, and died twelve days after.† The king's joy at having an heir male seems to have been greater than his grief for the loss of his wife; and the infant Edward, who succeeded him on the throne, was immediately created Prince of Wales,‡ Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, his maternal uncle, Edward Seymour, being made Lord Beauchamp and Earl of Hereford. "Then also William Paulet and John Russell began their races in the lists of honour, Paulet being made treasurer, and Russell comptroller of the king's household, and both being sworn of the privy council: neither was here their *non ultra*, the one being afterwards raised to Lord Treasurer of England and Marquess of Winchester, the other, Russell, to be Earl of Bedford." These latter promotions, however, did not take place till the next reign.*

Meanwhile "the king continued much prone to reformation, especially if anything might be gotten by it."† Nothing was more easy than to prove that all the monastic orders had been engaged in the late insurrection; and, as many of the richest abbeys and priories remained as yet untouched, there was no want of wise counsellors, anxious to share in the spoils, to recommend the suppression of all of them. In some cases, out of a dread of martial law, or what was equally bad, a prosecution for high treason, the abbots surrendered, gave, and granted their abbeys unto the king, his heirs and assigns for ever; but still many replied, like the Prior of Henton in Somersetshire, "that they would not be light and hasty in giving up those things which were not theirs to give, being dedicated to Almighty God, for service to be done to his honour continually, with other many good deeds of charity which be daily done in their houses to their Christian neighbours."‡ These recusants were treated with great severity. The prisons were crowded with priors and monks, who died so rapidly in their places of confinement as to excite a dreadful suspicion.

Without waiting for a needless act of parliament, the king suppressed many other houses, and soon after, with the full consent of Lords and Commons, finished this business by seizing all the abbeys without exception, and all the rest of the religious houses, except a very few, which were spared at the earnest petition of the people, or given up to the representatives of their original founders. Before proceeding to the final suppression, under pretext of checking the superstitious worshipping of images, he had laid bare their altars and stripped their shrines of everything that was valuable; nor did he spare the rich coffins and the crumbling bones of the dead. At the distance of four hundred years, exasperated at that extraordinary man's opposition to the royal prerogative, he determined to have vengeance upon the bones and relics of Thomas à Becket. The martyr's tomb was broken open, and, by an insane process, worthy of a Nero or a Caligula, a criminal information was filed against him as "Thomas Becket, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury," and he was formally cited to appear in court and answer to the charges. Thirty days were allowed

* Pole, Epist.—Burnet.

† The story, so long told in all histories, of Prince Edward's being brought into the world by means of the Cæsarean operation, and by the sacrifice of his mother's life, is a complete fable, that seems to have first proceeded from the fertile imagination of Sanders, the Jesuit. It was long ago stated by Strype and others, on the authority of the official account of her funeral in the Herald's office, and has been clearly proved by the learned editor of the State Papers, that Jane Seymour did not die till twelve days after the birth of Edward. Her death was owing to her having been suffered to take cold and eat improper food.—*See State Papers—Dispatch to the Ambassador in France.*

The following letter, on the birth of Edward, was written to Cromwell by Latimer, who had been made Bishop of Worcester about two years before:—

"Right honorable, *Salutem in Christo Jesu.* And, Sir, here is no less joying and rejoicing in these parts for the birth of our prince, whom we hungered for so long, than there was (I trow) *inter vicinos*, at the birth of St. John Baptist, as this bearer, Master Evance, can tell you. God give us all grace to yield due thanks to our Lord God, God of England; for verily he hath showed himself God of England, or rather an English God, if we consider and ponder well all his proceedings with us from time to time. He hath overcome all our illness with his exceeding goodness, so that we are now more than compelled to serve him, seek his glory, promote his word, if the devil of all devils be not in us. We have now the stoop of vain trusts and the stay of vain expectations: let us pray for his preservation. And I, for my part, will wish that his grace always have, and even now from the beginning, governors, instructors, and officers of right judgments, *ne optimum ingenium non optimâ educatione depravetur.* But what a great fool am I! so, what devotion showeth many times but little discretion. And thus the God of England be ever with you in all your proceedings. The 19th of October, now at Hartlebury."—*State Papers.*

But the bishop was fairly beaten in this style by the chancellor. At a time when Prince Edward was not quite eleven months old, Audley could not find terms to express his wonderful virtues. The following is an extract of a letter he addresses to Cromwell, whom he beseeches to thank his grace the king for himself and the Earl of Oxford for having had licence to visit and see my lord prince's grace: "I assure your lordship I never saw so goodly a child of his age, so merry, so pleasant, so good and loving countenance, and so earnest an eye, as it were a sage judgment towards every person that repaireth to his grace; and, as it seemeth to me, thanks be to our Lord, his grace increaseth well in the air that he is in. And albeit a little his grace's flesh decayeth, yet he shooteth out in length, and waxeth firm and stiff, and can stedfastly stand, and would advance himself to move and go if they would suffer him; but, as me seemeth, they do yet best, considering his grace is yet tender, that he should not strain himself, as his own courage would serve him, till he come above a year of age. I was right glad to understand there that the king's majesty will have his grace removed from Havering, now against winter time, for surely it seemeth to me that the house will be a cold house for winter; but, for summer, it is a good, and a goodly air. I cannot comprehend nor describe the goodly, towardly qualities that is in my lord prince's grace. He is sent of Almighty God for all our comforts. My daily and continual prayer is, and shall be, for his good and prosperous preservation, and to make his grace an old prince; beseeching your good lordship to render to the king's majesty thanks, in all our names, as is above said."—*State Papers.*

‡ Such is the common account (see Nicolas, Synopsis of the Peerage, i. 7). Edward, however, tells us himself, in his Journal, that he was only about to be created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Count Palatine of Chester, when his father died. Burnet (History of the Reformation) says that Henry, towards the end of his life, designed to create his son Prince of Wales; for though he was called so, as the heirs of this crown are, yet he was not by a formal creation invested with that dignity. The formal creation designed by Henry seems to have been a solemn coronation of his son, somewhat similar to what took place in the case of Prince Henry, the eldest son of Henry II.

* Bishop Godwin. † Ibid. ‡ Ellis's Orig. Letters.

the saint, but we need scarcely inform our readers that his dishonoured bones rested quietly at Canterbury and did not appear to plead in Westminster Hall. We have repeatedly noticed Henry's nice attention to the forms of law and justice: on the present occasion, when Becket might have been declared contumacious, and have had judgment passed against him for default of appearance, the king, by his special grace, assigned him counsel to plead for him. With due solemnity the court opened its proceedings on the 11th of June, 1539. The attorney-general eloquently exposed the case for the prosecution; and the advocates of the saint, who no doubt spoke less boldly, were heard in defence: and that being over, sentence was pronounced that Becket had been guilty of rebellion, treason, and contumacy; that his bones should be burned as a lesson to the living not to oppose the royal will; and that the rich offerings with which many generations of men, native and foreign, had enriched his shrine should be forfeited to the crown as the personal property of the traitor. In the month of August Cromwell, who must have smiled at the course pursued, sent down some of his commissioners to Canterbury, who executed their task so well that they filled two immense coffers with gold and jewels, each of them so heavy that it required eight strong men to lift it.* "Among the rest was a stone of especial lustre, called the *Royal* of France, offered by Louis VII., King of France, in the year 1179, together with a great massy cup of gold, at what time he also bestowed an annuity on the monks of that church of an hundred tuns of wine. This stone was afterwards highly prized by the king, who did continually wear it on his thumb."† A few months after the king, by proclamation, stated to his people, that, forasmuch as it now clearly appears Thomas Becket had been killed in a riot provoked by his own obstinacy and insolence, and had been canonised by the Bishop of Rome merely because he was a champion of that usurped authority, he now deemed it proper to declare that he was no saint whatever, but a rebel and traitor to his prince, and that therefore he, the king, strictly commanded that he should not be any longer esteemed or called a saint,—that all images and pictures of him should be destroyed,—and that his name and remembrance should be erased out of all books under pain of his majesty's indignation and imprisonment at his grace's pleasure.*

Other shrines had been plundered before, and certain miraculous images and relics of saints had been broken in pieces at St. Paul's Cross, and the machinery exposed by which some of the monks had deluded the superstitious people; but now every shrine was laid bare, or, if any escaped, it was owing to the poverty of their decorations and offerings. Among the rest of these condemned images there was a crucifix in South Wales, called by the common people David Darvel Gatheren, which, according to an ancient legend or prophecy, was one day to fire a whole forest. It happened at this time that there was one Forest, a friar, who, after taking the oath of supremacy, had repented of the deed, and declared it unlawful; whereby he was condemned as a relapsed traitor and heretic. Hitherto Henry had burned the reformers, and hanged the Catholics; but on the present occasion he could not resist the temptation to make a point, or to figure as a mighty engine of fate and a fulfiller of prophecy. The miraculous image was conveyed from Wales to Smithfield, to serve as fuel, with fagots and other materials; and there, on the 22nd of May (1539), the monk was hanged up by the armpits, and underneath him a fire was made of the image, wherewith he was slowly burned; thus, by his death, making good the prophecy that the image should fire a whole forest! There was a pulpit erected near the stake, from which Hugh Latimer, now Bishop of Worcester, preached a sermon; and there was also a scaffold in the centre, for the accommodation of the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Lord Admiral Howard, the Lord Privy Seal (Cromwell), and divers others of the council, together with Sir Richard Gresham, lord mayor, and many citizens of repute, who stayed to witness the frightful execution. By frequent spectacles like these was the mind of England brutalised to a degree scarcely ever seen before!†

In the final seizures of the abbeys and monas-

* The following amusing passages refer to a visit paid by Madame de Montreuil to Becket's shrine the year before its destruction:—

"And so yesterday the Master of the Rolls, in the morning, did present her a plenteous dish of fresh sturgeon, and so, by ten of the clock, she, her gentlewomen, and the said ambassador, went to the church, where I showed her Saint Thomas's shrine, and all such other things worthy of sight; at the which she was not little *marvelled of the great riches thereof*, saying to be innumerable, and that if she had not seen it, all the men in the world could never a made her to believe it. Thus, overlooking and viewing more than an hour, as well the shrine as Thomas's head, being at both set cushions to kneel, and the prior, opening Saint Thomas's head, saying to her three times, "This is Saint Thomas's head," and offered her to kiss it; but she neither kneeled nor would kiss it, but still viewing the riches thereof. So she departed, and went to her lodging to dinner, and after the same to entertain her with honest pastimes. And about four of the clock, the Lord Prior did send her a present of coneys, capons, chickens, with divers fruits, plenty, inasmuch that she said, "What shall we do with so many capons? Let the Lord Prior come and help us to eat them, to-morrow at dinner," and so thanked him heartily for the said present. At night she did sup with the said ambassador, and thus we remain in making of good cheer."—*State Papers.—Letter from Penniston to Cromwell.*

† Godwin.

* Wilkins, Concilia. The Protestant party, if we may so call them, had been for some time pressing for an exposure of counterfeit miracles and relics. In the month of August of the preceding year we find Archbishop Cranmer writing these words to Cromwell: "Farther, because that I have in great suspect that Saint Thomas of Canterbury his blood, in Christ's Church in Canterbury, is but a feigned thing, and made of some red ochre, or of such like matter, I beseech your lordship that Dr. Lee and Dr. Barbour, my chaplains, may have the king's commission to try and examine that and all other like things there."—*State Papers.*

† Hall.—Stow.—Godwin. According to Hall, the following barbarous verses were set up in great letters upon the stake or gallows to which the friar was bound:—

David Darvel Gatheren,
As saith the Welshmen,
Fetched outlaws out of hell.

Now is he come, with spear and shield,
In harness to burn in Smithfield,
For in Wales he may not dwell.

And Forest the friar,
That obstinate liar,
That wilfully shall be dead,

In his contumacy
The gospel doth deny
The king to be supreme head.

teries the richest fell first. After Canterbury, Battle Abbey; Merton, in Surrey; Stratford, in Essex; Lewes, in Sussex; the Charter House, the Black Friars, the Grey Friars, and the White Friars, in London, felt the fury of the same whirlwind, which gradually blew over the whole land, until in the spring of the year 1540, all the monastic establishments of the kingdom were suppressed, and the mass of their landed property was divided among courtiers and parasites. The gold and silver and costly jewels of shrines had partly gone in that direction, and had partly been kept for the king's use. The troubled fountain of the Reformation, it has been said, sent forth streams—the one of sweet, the other of bitter waters.* It is the duty of an impartial historian to dwell for a time by the bitter streams. Between the ignorant zealots of the new doctrines, and the rudeness of the men employed in the suppression, who were all most anxious for spoil, and who probably cared little for any form of religion, or any decency of worship, innumerable works of art were destroyed, and magnificent specimens of architecture were defaced and left roofless; statues and pictures, many of them the productions of Italian masters, and which had, in the eye of taste, a sort of holiness independent of saints and madonnas, were broken to pieces or burnt. The Mosaic pavements of the chapels were torn up, and the same brutal hands smashed the painted windows, which almost more than anything gave beauty and glory to our old abbeys and cathedrals. The church-bells were gambled for, and sold into Russia and other countries. Horses were tethered to the high altar; cattle were kept in stall in the recesses of the shrines and in the chapels; and these, according to good authority, were, at times, the least bestial of the occupants. The libraries—of which all the great houses contained one, numerously, if not well stocked, but wherein, no doubt, existed many a book in manuscript which we would now willingly possess—were treated with the greatest contempt. And here we should wonder that the enlightened men who promoted the Reformation did not interfere, were we not convinced of the danger of opposing the king's will, and of the ruffianly character of the persons to whom the task of suppression and destruction was committed. "Some books were reserved to scour their candlesticks, some to rub their boots, some sold to the grocers and soapboilers, and some sent over sea to bookbinders, not in small numbers, but at times whole shipsful, to the wondering of foreign nations; a single merchant purchasing, at forty shillings a-piece, two noble libraries to be used as grey paper, and such as, having already sufficed for ten years, were abundantly enough (says the eye-witness whose words are here quoted) for many years more."†

All the abbeys were totally dismantled except in the cases where they happened to be the parish churches also; as was the case at St. Alban's, Tewkesbury, Malvern, and elsewhere, where they were rescued, in part, by the petitions and pecuniary contributions of the pious inhabitants, who were averse to the worshiping of God in a stable. Cranmer and Latimer petitioned the king in some cases; but, as is proved by their existing letters, they were too dependent on the court and too fearful of its wrath to do very much. Latimer was the bolder of the two; and even before the final dissolution he ventured to condemn in public the practice which Henry had already adopted, of converting some of the monasteries into stables—conceiving it a monstrous thing that abbeys, which were ordained for the comfort of the poor, should be kept for the king's horses. "What hast thou to do with the king's horses?" retorted a noble courtier of the right stamp. "Horses be the maintenance and part of a king's honour, and also of his realm, wherefore, in speaking against them, ye are speaking against the king's honour."*

The men who had recommended the wholesale spoliation of the church had represented it as a never-failing fund, which would enable the king to carry on his government with none, or but the slightest taxes, and would furnish him with the means of creating and supporting earls, barons, and knights, and of forming excellent institutions for the promotion of industry, education, and religion. But, in the event, the property was squandered in a manner which is scarcely accountable; and the king had the conscience to demand from parliament *a compensation for the expenses he had incurred in reforming the religion of the state;* and within a year after the completion of his measures, the slavish parliament voted him a subsidy of two-tenths and two-fifteenths for this express purpose. None of the objects spoken of were promoted by the money of the religious houses, always excepting the making and supporting certain noblemen. Pauperism increased, as the whole body of the poor, which had been supported by the monks, who had funds for that purpose, were thrown clamorous and desperate, and unprepared for, and unprovided with, employment, upon the wondering nation, which had not before been aware of the extent of the evil. Education declined most rapidly; the schools kept in the monasteries were at an end; and other schools and even the universities were comparatively deserted. Religion was not promoted—for nothing but miserable stipends were given to the preachers, and none but poor and unlettered men would accept the office. To preach at St. Paul's Cross had been a great object of clerical ambition; but now there was a difficulty of finding a sufficient number of preachers for that duty; and about four years after the final suppression, Bonner, Bishop of London, wrote to Parker, then master of Corpus, importuning him to send him some help from Cambridge; and, not long after, during the short reign of Edward VI., Latimer said, "I think there

* Blunt, Sketch of the Reformation in England.
† Spelman, History and Fate of Sacrilege.

* Latimer's Sermons.

be at this day ten thousand students less than were within these twenty years." The rural parishes were served by priests who had scarcely the rudiments of education. Following an example set them by the king, who required Cromwell to give a benefit to a priest who was kept in the royal service, because he had trained two hawks for his majesty's pastime, which flew and killed their game very well,* the patrons of livings gave them to their menials as wages or rewards,—to their gardeners, to the keepers of their hawks and hounds; or otherwise they let in fee both glebe and parsonage; so that whoever was presented to the benefice would have neither roof to dwell under, nor land to live upon, being but too happy if his tithes afforded him a chamber at an ale-house, with the worshipful society of the dicers and drinkers who frequented it. According to Latimer, the parish priest, under these circumstances, frequently kept an ale-house himself—thus uniting the more profitable calling of a tapster to that of a preacher of the gospel.†

So completely were the funds absorbed, and so greedy were the courtiers in keeping what they got, that no proper recompense was reserved for Miles Coverdale and his associates, who translated and printed the first complete English Bible—the greatest achievement of the age, and the measure that most effectually promoted the Reformation. Coverdale himself was left in great poverty; and the printers, in order to cover their expenses, were obliged to put a high price upon their copies, thus impeding the circulation of the book, and thwarting the wishes expressed by the king himself.‡

The destruction of the monasteries left important gaps even in the physical accommodations of the people, which not a pound sterling of the spoil was devoted to fill up. They had been hospitals, infirmaries, and dispensaries for the poor—caravanserais to the wayfarer,—and, in the absence of inns, the badness of roads, and the thinness of the population, their value had been felt in this respect both by rich and poor. In many of the wilder districts they had served as a nucleus of civilization, and sociality and hospitality were nowhere to be found but within these walls. The Chancellor Audley, who was seldom anxious to stop the hand of the spoiler, and who partook largely in the spoil, ventured, in a letter to Cromwell, to beg that two of the abbeys might be left standing on this account; "considering that both these houses be in the end of the shire of Essex, where little hospitality shall be kept, if these be dissolved: for, as for the abbey of St. John's, by Colchester, it lacketh water, and St. Osyth's Abbey, it standeth in the marshes, not very wholesome, so that few will keep continual houses in either of them, unless it be a congregation, as there be now. There is also twenty houses, great and small, dissolved in the shire of Essex already." The mercenary chancellor, who was a great vender of justice, continues, "These and many other considerations moveth me to be a suitor for their translation; and yet I will not, nor mind in anywise to move or speak in this matter, otherwise than shall stand with the king's pleasure; nor, in good faith, I intend not to have any particular advantage for their standing."* These houses, like others in pathless wilds, "had been inns for the wayfaring man, who heard from afar the sound of the vesper-bell, at once inviting him to repose and devotion, and who might sing his matins with the morning star, and go on his way rejoicing."†

Cranmer deplored the woful dissipation of the church property, which he would have applied to the uses of religion, education, and charity; but he had not often the courage to press this subject with the king, whose displeasure, more easily excited than ever, was equivalent to a death-warrant. The archbishop, however, did what he could with safety to himself; and Henry, startled perhaps by a popular outcry, resolved to appropriate a part of the spoil to the advancement of religion. Parliament passed an act for establishing new bishoprics, deaneries, and colleges, which were to be endowed with revenues raised on the lands of the monasteries; but it was too late; the money and lands were gone, or the king and his ministers needed all that remained. The number of new bishoprics was reduced from eighteen to six—those of Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; and these were so scantily endowed that they scarcely afforded the new bishops the means of living.‡ At the same time, fourteen abbeys and priories were converted into cathedrals and collegiate churches, with deans

* Letter from Fitzwilliam to Cromwell, dated at Hampton Court, the 12th September, 1537. The whole passage merits quotation, and the solemnity of the tone must amuse the reader. "My Lord, one thing there is, that the king's said highness, at my late resort unto your lordship, willed me to speak unto your lordship in; and at my return to his grace, his highness asked whether I had remembered the same or not, which is, his grace hath a priest that yearly maketh his hawks, and this year hath made him two, which fly and kill their game very well, to his highness's singular pleasure and contentation; and for the pain which the said priest taketh about the same, his majesty would that he should have one of Mr. Bedell's benefices, if there be any ungiven besides that which his grace hath already given; and if there be none of the said benefices ungiven, that then your lordship should have him in remembrance, that he may have some other when it shall fall void. And thus the blessed Trinity have your good lordship in his most blessed preservation."—*State Papers.*

† Latimer's Sermons.—Strype.—Spelman, Hist. and Fate of Sacrilege, with letters quoted therein, and by Leland.—Blunt's Sketch of the Reformation.

‡ The following are extracts of letters addressed by Coverdale and Grafton the printer to Cromwell, from Paris, in the year 1538:—

"The print, no doubt, shall please your good lordship. The paper is of the best sort in France. The charge certainly is great; wherein we most humbly require your favourable help at this present, with whatsoever that shall please your good lordship to let us have."

"And whereas your lordship hath added in certain inhibitions, that your lordship, and all the king's most honourable council willeth no book from henceforth to be put in print, but that first it be licensed, at the least, by one bishop; we do most humbly beseech your lordship to appoint certain bishops thereto, that they may be as ready to read them, as other good men be to put them forth. For it is now seven years since the bishops' promise to translate and set forth the Bible, and as yet they have no leisure. I pray God they may have. Howbeit the Christian bishops have small leisure."—*State Papers.*

* State Papers.—Strype, however, has printed a letter from Audley to Cromwell, asking for a grant to himself of St. Osyth's Abbey, but Cromwell kept the abbey for himself.

† Blunt.

‡ Journals.—Strype.—Rymer.—Godwin.—Westminster was erected into a bishopric on the 17th of December, 1540: Oxford in 1541; Peterborough in 1541; Bristol in 1542; Chester in 1542; and Gloucester in 1541.

and prebendaries; but the king kept to himself a part of the lands which had been attached to them, and charged the chapters with the obligation of contributing annually to the support of the poor and the repair of the highways.

In order to bring this interesting subject—which, notwithstanding its connexion with the history of religion, cannot be separated from the political history of the time—under one point of view, we have outrun several contemporary events which we must now take up.

Although the king had overthrown so many of the fundamental doctrines and practices of the Roman church, he would allow no man in his dominions the right of questioning such as in his wisdom he had thought fit to retain; and in the month of November, 1538, only a few days after his proclaiming Thomas à Becket a rebel and traitor, the fires of Smithfield again blazed, and a man and a woman were consumed in them as Anabaptists. But in the same month there was another prosecution for heresy, in which the king played personally a more conspicuous part. There was one John Lambert, formerly in priest's orders, but now a schoolmaster in London, who had adopted the views of some of the German Reformers respecting the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He had been imprisoned on charges of heresy, and had suffered severely; but, being a bold and learned man, he presented to Dr. Taylor a written paper, containing his reasons against the belief of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine. Dr. Taylor consulted Dr. Barnes, and Barnes laid an information before Cranmer, who summoned the author of the paper before his archiepiscopal court. Cranmer, who professed precisely the same opinions as to the real presence, or Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, as soon as it was safe to do so, now condemned them in the poor schoolmaster, who thereupon appealed to the king, as the supreme head of the English church. Henry's early passion for polemical disputation had never forsaken him; and now that his unwieldy size, and corrupt state of body,* prevented his enjoying field sports and the other athletic exercises which he had loved with an equal passion, dogmas and polemics formed one of his principal occupations and amusements. Besides, this appeal of Lambert gave him an opportunity of asserting his spiritual supremacy in a striking manner, and he therefore resolved to try the cause himself. To this end he summoned as many of the bishops and temporal peers of the realm as could conveniently be present; and he ordered scaffolds to be built in Westminster Hall, from which the people might be spectators and witnesses of the proceedings. At the appointed time he took his seat, his bloated body being clad in robes of white silk, to show the candidness of his faith and justice. On the right hand of the throne were seated the bishops, and behind them the judges and the chief lawyers of the kingdom; on the left sate the temporal lords; and behind them the gentlemen of the privy chamber, with the other officers of the household. Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, opened the business of the day. He stated that Lambert, having been accused of heresy, had appealed to the king's grace, from which circumstance his majesty was inclined to credit a report that the credulous people were verily persuaded that, abhorring the religion of his predecessors, he had embraced the new tenets lately broached in Germany. True it was, the tyranny of the court of Rome had been troublesome to his predecessors, but to him intolerable, and therefore had he shaken it off: that religion might no longer patronise idleness, he had expelled monks, who were no other than drones in the beehive: he had taken away the idolatrous worship of images: he had committed to his subjects the reading and knowledge of God's word, hitherto prohibited by the church of Rome; and he had made reformation in some other matters, peradventure of less moment, but which also, no man could deny, would much redound to the good both of church and commoners. But, as for other things, he had determined that there should be no change whatever in religion during his reign: and this, his resolution, he now intended publicly to manifest. Upon the conclusion of this oration the king rose, and, looking at the accused, exclaimed, "Ho! good fellow, what is thy name?" The prisoner dropped on his knees, and replied that his real name was Nicolson, although of many he was called Lambert. "Ha!" cried the king, "hast thou two names? I would not trust a man with two names, were he my own brother." Passing, however, to the offence with which the prisoner was charged, the king, playing the part of an inquisitor, with his usual coarseness asked, "Fellow, what sayest thou touching the sacrament of the altar? Wilt thou agree to the doctrine of the church, or wilt thou deny that the Eucharist is the real body of Christ?"—and here, like a devout Catholic, he took off his cap. As the prisoner showed no inclination to renounce his belief, the king told him that, partly to show that he thirsted after no man's blood, he had procured the presence of those grave and learned men, the bishops, who, by authority and force of argument, might bring him back like a strayed sheep into the fold of the church. After the king had spoken and made a display of his theology, Cranmer, Gardiner, Tunstall, Stokesley, Sampson, and four other bishops, pressed the unfortunate schoolmaster with their learning and their logic; "but, after all these

* Henry's diseases are generally referred to a later date. We have the best authority for stating that a humour, or issue in his leg, began at least as early as 1537, or nearly ten years before his death. The following is an extract from a letter to the Earl of Surrey in that year, explaining the reasons for which he cannot make a progress into the north:—"Nevertheless, to be frank with you, which we desire you in anywise to keep to yourself, being an humour fallen into our legs, and our physicians therefore advising us in nowise to take so far a journey in the heat of the year, whereby the same might put us to further trouble and displeasure, it hath been thought more expedient that we should, upon that respect only, though the grounds before specified had not concurred with it, now change our determination, than that we should be too precise in that, which to us, and our whole realm, might after minister some cause of repentance."—*State Papers.*

divers arguments, it was admitted that especially the king's majesty himself did most dispute with him." It is said that Lambert, in his defence, "uttered no such learning, as it was of many supposed that he both could and would have done, but was exceeding fearful and timorous." But it is pretty evident that he was not allowed to say much; and though he may have been brow-beaten and abashed in the presence of royalty, and of so many great divines and nobles, he gave the strongest proof of courage in adhering to his opinion. The disputation had lasted for five hours; the day was spent, and torches were brought into the hall. Upon this Henry thought fit to end the controversy in his own way. Turning to the prisoner, he said, "What sayest thou now, fellow, after these solid reasons of such learned men? Art thou satisfied? Wilt thou live or die?" "I commit myself," replied Lambert, "into the hands of your majesty." "Then," said the king, "commit thyself into the hands of God." "My soul," returned Lambert, "indeed I do commend unto God, but my body I yield unto your grace's clemency." This meek and courageous reply had no effect on the king, who said, "Then must thou die, for I will not be the patron of heretics." Upon these words, Cromwell, as vicar-general, read the sentence, by which he was condemned as an obstinate heretic, and opponent of the truth, to be burnt alive. The sentence was executed in Smithfield with some circumstances of unusual atrocity. Cromwell, writing to Wyatt, the ambassador in Germany, dilates in praise of Henry's conduct on this occasion. "It was wonderful," says he, "to see how princely, with what excellent gravity and inestimable majesty, his highness exercised the very office of supreme head of the church of England: how benignly his grace essayed to convert the miserable man: how strong and manifest reasons his highness alleged against him. I wish the princes and potentates of Christendom to have had a meet place to have seen it." We have no letters to show from the prelates, but Cranmer and the bishops concurred in the abominable proceeding, although some of them besides Cranmer were more than suspected of going the whole length of the German reformers, and of entertaining the same notions as to the sacrament for which Lambert was burnt alive.*

Before this time the pope had not only published his bull of excommunication, but had laboured to reconcile the great Catholic princes of the continent, in order that they might make a crusade against Henry, whose cruelties excited universal disgust. His great effort was to make up all quarrels between the King of France and the emperor; and by his mediation a truce for ten years was concluded at Nice on the 18th of June, 1538. During the whole of the years 1538 and 1539, Henry, who was unprepared for war, and who, by this time, had become suspicious of all his subjects, was kept in a constant state of alarm by reports that Francis and Charles were about to head a league against him; and great was the labour of his more courageous minister Cromwell to remove these apprehensions and jealousies.* On one occasion Cromwell assures his Majesty that there is no need of being so hot and cold, seeing tha there are no ships preparing in Spain for invasion: on another he comforts him with the prospect of a new and extended alliance among the Protestant princes of Germany, which will be sure to find the emperor employment; and in another he thinks that the finger of God is visible in the stirring up of the Great Turk, who is resolved to make a fresh invasion of Christendom. On the 17th of March, in a letter which contains many extraordinary passages, he assures the king that my lord-admiral, with much celerity, has examined the French coast, and reports, that neither in Normandy or the river of Rouen are there any ships of war nor preparations of any; but that there was an idle report, but nothing like to be true, that some ships should assemble and gather together at Brest. We are at a loss to conceive how this adroit minister took courage to write what follows, pointing so directly at Henry's suspicious, jealous, and credulous disposition. "Men may sometime, upon accumulation of suspicions and light conjectures, take a phantasy indeed that their suspicions be true. Other, trusting some false reporters, which might fortune hath showed them some true things, may perchance be deceived by them. Other, marking the words of the inconstant and fickle people babbling abroad, think the same cannot be so much in the people's mouth without some ground, as smoke is not without fire. But, for all this, sometime such things do vanish away as the wind. Yet, nevertheless, I cannot but (like as your grace, of a marvellous high wisdom, for more assurance in all chances and occurrences, maketh provision in time for defence) so to think that your grace will not be further moved or pricked by such reports, or letters upon such unknown reports, suspicions, and tales grounded, than the things do appear; for assuredly, to my judgment, the things be more and more otherwise bruited abroad than the meaning or the deed. . . . Assuredly like as it is good to be ware and circumspect, so no less is to be avoided overmuch suspicion; to the which, if any man be once given, he shall never be quiet in mind."† Shortly after, however, the minister was obliged to allude to some practices of the Cardinal Pole, and to tell the king that he had learned from Rome a rumour that the emperor, the French king, and the pope were carrying on an active correspondence, but that it was thought that the two sovereigns were only giving the pope "fair words to feed him with." And about the

* Hall.—Godwin.—Foxe.—Collier.

* The king's dread, and Cromwell's labour to remove it, are both well proved by original letters still in existence. At this moment Cromwell maintained spies and secret agents at Rome, Naples, Milan, Genoa, Venice, Madrid, Paris, Brussels, Frankfort, and in almost every corner of Europe. One of the chief objects of these agents was to watch the conduct of Cardinal Pole, and otherwise to pick up information as to the treaties between the Catholic princes, and their preparations or non-preparations for war.—*State Papers.*

† State Papers.

same time he reported that the Duke of Saxony had been told that there was labour making for truce between the emperor and the Turk; upon which the duke asked to what purpose then were all the preparations the emperor was making? He was answered that other men should care for that. Then, said the duke, the bruit is here it should be against the king of England. And then, said another, the king of England shall have need to take heed to himself. In Scotland the old system was pursued; and ever since the rebellion in the northern provinces, when many of the insurgents escaped across the borders, the number of spies about that court had been increased.

At the end of the year 1538 the Lord Montacute and Sir Geoffrey Pole, brothers to the cardinal; Henry Courtney, Marquess of Exeter, grandson to King Edward IV. by his daughter Catherine; Sir Edward Neville; two priests named Croft and Collins; and one Holland, a mariner, were suddenly apprehended and conveyed to the Tower. In the beginning of the year 1539 the Marquess of Exeter and the Lord Montacute were arraigned before some peers,* and the commoners were tried before a jury, on a vague charge of having devised to maintain, promote, and advance one Reginald Pole, late dean of Exeter, the king's enemy beyond the seas, and to deprive the king of his royal state and dignity. We have no particulars of these trials; but Geoffrey Pole, the youngest of the brothers, upon a promise of pardon, pleaded guilty, and made a confession involving all the rest, who thereupon were condemned to death as traitors.

The best-informed of the contemporary writers (Lord Herbert) says that he "could never discover the particular offences of these great persons. . . . Only I find among our records that Thomas Wriothesley, secretary, then at Brussels, writing of their apprehension to Sir Thomas Wyatt, his highness's ambassador in Spain, said that the accusations were great, and duly proved;" and he adds that another writer said they had sent the cardinal (Pole) money. Cromwell might have had better proofs of their correspondence with the cardinal, through means of his spies and agents; but we have no letter of his that touches upon this prosecution. The Marquess of Exeter and Lord Montacute had remained steady and loyal during the insurrection in the north, where, on account of their descent from the White Rose, they might have exercised a dangerous influence. There was certainly no overt act of treason; and the main cause of their death seems to have been Henry's dread and jealousy of their royal descent, and his anxiety to be revenged upon the cardinal, whose own person was out of his reach, and whose abilities and energies were at the moment actively employed in raising him up enemies. Sir Geoffrey Pole was allowed a dishonoured life. His brother, Lord Montacute, the Marquess of Exeter, and Sir Edward Neville were beheaded on Tower Hill on the 9th of January, 1539; the two priests and the mariner were hanged and quartered at Tyburn. But Henry's hatred was not yet satisfied, nor his jealous fears set at rest. In the month of February Cromwell "learned out of Scotland" that there was a French ship, with sundry passengers, about to set sail from Leith; and on the 14th of March he wrote joyfully to inform the king "that a certain French ship, laden with Scottish goods, had been driven by stress of weather into South Shields;" and that the Earl of Westmoreland, "being advised by certain persons from Scotland," had seized and searched the ship, and had found "under the baggage, in the bottom thereof, a nest of traitors; that is to say, one Robert Moore, a priest of Chichester, who had lately escaped from Hexham prison, and two Irishmen, a monk, and a friar, who had with them seditious and traitorous letters directed to the Bishop of Rome and to the traitor Pole." . . . . . "We have examined the letters," continues Cromwell, "and do find the same to be a cause of disclosing many things." The Irishmen, he says, knew little of the English language, but he had put men understanding the Irish and Latin tongues to examine them and write their depositions. Cromwell probably knew better than any man that there was nothing miraculous, or even accidental, in the matter, but he assures the king that he thinks it a miracle, "that God drove them hither to be disclosed and punished." The poor Irish monk was carried up to London; and, a few days after, Cromwell wrote to the king:—"We cannot as yet get the pith of the credence, whereby I am advised to-morrow to go to the Tower, and see him set in the brakes,* and, by torment, compelled to confess the truth."† We are not informed as to the full result of this visit to the Tower; but when parliament met on the 28th of April they were instructed to pass bills of attainder against Margaret Countess of Salisbury, the mother of Cardinal Pole; Gertrude, the widow of the Marquess of Exeter; the son of Lord Montacute, a boy of tender years; Sir Adrian Fortescue; and Sir Thomas Dingley; and we are inclined to suspect that there may have been some connexion between this measure and the revelations of the poor Irish monk in the Tower, though it must be stated that Cardinal Pole had accepted of a second legation, the object of which was to induce the great Catholic powers to act upon the pope's bull against Henry. The cardinal's venerable mother (the

* They were certainly not tried in a regular manner before the peers in parliament, for parliament did not meet for more than two months after their execution. It appears that the chancellor Audley acted as high-steward on this occasion. On the 3rd of March Sir Nicholas Carew, knight of the garter, and master of the king's horse, was beheaded for being of counsel with the Marquess of Exeter and Lord Montacute.

* The brake was an instrument of torture: it was also called the Duke of Exeter's daughter.

† In this same letter Cromwell speaks of the new parliament which was to meet in April. "Amongst other, for your grace's parliament, I have appointed your majesty's servant, Mr. Morrison to be one of them: no doubt he shall be ready to answer, and take up such as would crack or face with literature of learning, or by indirected waver, if any such shall be, as I think there shall be few or none; forasmuch as I, and other your dedicate counsellors, be about to bring all things so to pass that your majesty had never more tractable parliament."—*State Papers.*

Countess of Salisbury, was seventy years old) was privately examined at her first arrest by the Earl of Southampton, and Goodrich, the Bishop of Ely, before whom she behaved with so much firmness of character that they wrote to their employer, Cromwell, that she was more like a strong and constant man than a woman,—that she denied everything laid to her charge, and that it seemed to them either that her sons had not made her "privy or participant of the bottom and pit of their stomach, or that she must be the most arrant traitress that ever lived."* Cromwell himself examined the Marchioness of Exeter, but, as it should appear, without much success,—at least for a time; but he tells the king,—"I shall assay to the uttermost of my power, and never cease, till the bottom of her stomach may be clearly opened and disclosed."† Although Cromwell had got possession of the persons of some of the Countess of Salisbury's servants, one of whom appears to have been an associate of one of his own domestics, he could not extract sufficient materials for a criminal information. Upon this he called up the judges and asked them whether parliament might condemn persons accused of treason without any previous trial or confession; and the servile judges replied, that, though it was a nice question, and one that no inferior tribunal could entertain, there was no doubt that the court of parliament was supreme, and that any attainder by parliament would be good in law. Such a bill, accordingly, the parliament passed, condemning to death all the accused, without any form of trial whatever. The two knights were beheaded on the 10th of July: the Marchioness of Exeter, after being further questioned by Cromwell in the Tower, was pardoned some six months after. The old Countess of Salisbury was kept in prison, but what became of her grandson, the child of Lord Montacute, who was included in the attainder, does not appear. Nearly two years after the passing of the iniquitous act of attainder, on the 27th of May, 1541, the aged countess, the nearest to the king in blood of all his relations, on some new provocation, real or fancied, of her son Cardinal Pole, was dragged from her dungeon in the Tower to the scaffold. When told to lay her head upon the block, she said,—"No! my head never committed treason: if you will have it, you must take it as you can." The executioner tried to seize her, but she moved swiftly round the scaffold, tossing her head from side to side. At last, when her grey hairs were covered with blood,—for they struck her with their weapons,—she was held forcibly down, and the axe severed her neck.‡

But before this happened the minister Cromwell had gone to his account. If the Catholic or Papist party were not the sole cause of the ruin of this man they seem to have contributed to that event quite as much as his bad luck in matchmaking for the king. Each of the two great religious parties was animated with the most deadly animosity against the other, neither of them conceiving for a moment the expediency of a mutual toleration and an agreement among themselves as a means of resisting the still-growing tyranny of the crown; and both ministered in turn to the king's insatiable thirst for blood. Cromwell, with Cranmer, had all along proposed a close alliance with the Protestant states of Germany; and when Henry was alarmed about the coalition of the Catholic powers, he thought seriously of this alliance, and sent several ambassadors into Germany. But as religion was to be the basis of the alliance, the German Protestants wished to see a uniformity of faith and practice established in England, and insisted that, at the least, Henry should permit priests to have wives, and should command private masses to be abolished. The king, who, according to Cromwell, "knew himself to be the learnedest prince in Europe," thought it became not him to submit to them, but expected that they should submit to him, and take his ecclesiastical ordinances as their model and guide. The Germans, who considered him as a slave to the very worst of the dogmas of the Roman church, would not listen to such conditions. Still, however, they respected the power of the English nation; and, in 1538, they sent over Francis Burkhard, Vice-Chancellor of Saxony; George à Boyneburg, Doctor of Laws; and Frederick Myconius, Superintendent of Saxe Gotha, in the hope that these learned champions of the Lutheran faith would convert Henry and his council. The effect of this mission was such as might have been foreseen; the king, after showing his abilities as a disputant, remained more obstinately attached than ever to his own opinions, and granted them permission to return whence they came, averring afterwards that they were learned men and good, but not qualified to dispute with him on faith and doctrine.* They had not been long gone ere Henry showed a sudden anxiety to reconcile himself with the Catholic party, by showing them that, though he had cast off the authority of the pope, he was as far as ever from entertaining the leading tenets of Luther. The Duke of Norfolk, who favoured the old learning, was unexpectedly sent for, commissioned to manage the affairs of the crown in the House of Peers, and placed, in many matters, over the head of Cromwell: Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the most zealous of all the Papists, was also recalled to court, and ordered to preach a course of sermons at St. Paul's Cross. The king must have known the diversity of opinion which prevailed among the bench of bishops, and he was now resolved that this should cease, probably feeling that it was hard to expect unanimity among the people, when

* Ellis.—Letter from Lord Southampton and the Bishop of Ely to Cromwell.

† State Papers.—Letter from Cromwell to the King.

‡ Pole, Epist.—Hall.—Godwin.

* It should appear that, during their stay in England, the poor Germans were but indifferently lodged. In a letter from Cranmer to Cromwell, the archbishop complains that the ambassadors are very ill lodged, and disquieted, daily and nightly, by the multitude of rats running in their chambers, and by the kitchen being directly against their parlour; by reason whereof the house savoured so ill as to offend all men who went into it.

their spiritual teachers, the prelates appointed by himself, differed widely in opinion. In the parliament which attainted the mother of Cardinal Pole, and the rest of those victims, he ordered the appointment of a committee of spiritual lords, among whom Cromwell was included in virtue of his office of vicar-general; and this committee was charged to examine the diversity of opinions in matters of faith, with the view of producing a final agreement. In the absence of the king, Cromwell, and Cranmer, Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, and Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, ventured to oppose the more Catholic notions of Lee, Archbishop of York, Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, Aldrich, Bishop of Carlisle, Clarke, Bishop of Bath, and Salcot, alias Capon, Bishop of Bangor. Eleven days of disputation wore out the patience of Henry, who was not present to take part in it; and the Duke of Norfolk, seeing that the committee would never agree, suggested another course, which was adopted by the king's wisdom in concurrence with Bishop Gardiner. On the 18th of May, 1539, the duke proposed to the consideration of the whole House of Lords six questions respecting the Eucharist,—communion under one kind,—private masses,—the celibacy of the priesthood,—auricular confession,—and vows of chastity. On this occasion none but the spiritual peers spoke, and of them only such as were in favour of the Roman practices: the rest, who no doubt knew what was coming, remained silent in their seats. On the second day the king went down to the House and joined in the debate. It was perilous work to oppose a controversialist who was accustomed to back his arguments with the axe, the gallows, and the stake. The temporal lords, not excepting the Lord Chancellor Audley and the Lord Privy Seal Cromwell, were presently all of one opinion; and among the bishops only those of Canterbury, Ely, Salisbury, Worcester, Rochester, and St. David's, defended the contrary side, which they did for a long time, "but yet they were finally confounded with his highness's goodly learning." There is a dispute between writers of opposite parties as to the extent of the opposition of the Archbishop of Canterbury; but it appears that Cranmer really resisted the bill as far as was consistent with the safety of his life, and that he never gave a very formal consent to it. Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, had more courage, and openly resisted to the last; or, in the words of one of the lords who was present, "he yet continued a lewd fool." A few days after, Henry proposed that the severest penalties should be enacted by parliament against all such persons as should dare to teach contrary doctrines, or question the sacred institutions of private masses, confession, and the rest. At the king's order the Lords formed a committee, which, after some changes, was headed and wholly directed by the most violent partisans of the old learning—the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Durham, and the Bishop of Winchester, the fiery Gardiner. This committee readily adopted the Six Articles, or the bloody statute, as it was afterwards called, and which was evidently the joint production of Bishop Gardiner and the king.* It was submitted in a hurry to the clergy assembled in convocation; and, being approved of there, was introduced by the Protestant Chancellor Audley, and passed through both Lords and Commons with infinite ease. These notorious articles were—1. That the Eucharist was really the present natural body and blood of Christ, under the forms, but without the substance, of bread and wine, which were transmuted by the act of consecration. 2. That the communion under both kinds was not necessary to salvation. 3. That priests could not, by the law of God, marry. 4. That vows of chastity, whether in man or woman, priest, monk, or nun, must be observed. 5. That private masses must be retained as essential. 6. That the use of auricular confession is expedient and necessary. To these Six Articles were attached the following penalties: 1. If any person wrote, preached, or disputed against the first article—which settled the question of the real presence in the Eucharist—he should not be allowed to abjure or recant, but should at once be burnt as a heretic, and forfeit his property to the king—a worse penalty than ever was enacted by the Inquisition, which allowed the benefit of one recantation. 2. If any man preached, or spoke openly before the judges against any one of the other five articles he should incur the penalties of felony; but if he only held contrary opinions, and published them, he should, for the first offence, be imprisoned at the king's pleasure, forfeiting his lands during life, his goods for ever; and for the second offence he should die. 3. All marriages of priests or nuns already contracted were to be of no effect; the parties so marrying were to separate immediately, and if they cohabited afterwards it would be punished as felony; priests and nuns found guilty of fornication were to suffer imprisonment and forfeiture on the first conviction, and death on the second.†

As soon as this barbarous statute was passed, Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, resigned their sees, or they were deprived of them by the king, for refusing to subscribe the edict;‡ but Cranmer, Fox, and Goodrich did not follow their example. Cranmer, more than all, was in a critical situation; he had brought his German wife, the niece of the Protestant pastor, Osiander, into England; and by this time she had borne him several children. He had kept his family in retirement out of sight of the world; but it is difficult to conceive that such a connexion could be wholly a secret. He had evidently hoped to prevail upon the king to adopt the Lutheran notion with respect to the celibacy of the clergy; but this hope must have failed him even before the

* A draft of the act with many corrections, in the king's own hand, is preserved in the British Museum.

† Journal.—Statutes.—Wilkins.—Fox.—Godwin.—Strype.—Le Grand.—Fragment of a letter preserved in the Museum.

‡ Latimer resigned on the 1st of July, 1539. He was soon afterwards in prison for speaking against the Six Articles, and remained in confinement till the king's death.

passing of the Six Articles; and he, a married churchman, and the father of a family, had been compelled, on more than one occasion, to denounce severe pains and penalties against all churchmen in the same predicament. Now, however, in all haste he sent his wife and children into Germany, and made himself conformable to the bloody statute. But Cranmer, Latimer, and others, relied with a happy hope on the effect of the Bible, which was now circulated in the language of the people.*

The same dastardly parliament which passed the Six Articles voted also that the king's proclamations had, and ought to have, the full effect of acts of parliament; that all transgressions against such proclamations should be punished with fines and imprisonment, or otherwise at the king's pleasure; and that for a person to quit the kingdom, in order to escape these penalties incurred by disobedience to proclamation, was high treason. (Are we speaking of England, or of an oriental despotism?) Base, however, as were Lords and Commons, this bill encountered some opposition; but still the two religious parties were too intent upon other matters to coalesce and make a bold stand against this horrid tyranny.†

As if he feared he had gone too far in the direction of the church of Rome, the king ordered a silly pageant on the river Thames, where two galleys, the one bearing the royal arms of England, the other the arms of the pope, met and fought in fierce guise. The royal galley was, of course victorious, and effigies of the pope and cardinals were thrown overboard amidst the shouts of the king, the court, and the citizens.‡ On the 8th of July the vicar of Wandsworth, with his curate, a man servant, and one Friar Ware, were all hanged and quartered, apparently for questioning the king's supremacy.

On the 7th of April Richard Whiting, abbot of Glastonbury — which ancient and magnificent house was not yet suppressed—wrote a humble letter to Cromwell, excusing himself, on account of "great disease and divers infirmities," from attending the parliament, to which he was summoned as a spiritual peer. Cromwell sent him the king's license of absence, but the abbot was obliged to vote by proxy as the court wished; and during the session Glastonbury Abbey was suppressed. Upon this point we possess some curious particulars, which may throw a light upon other proceedings of the same kind. On the 28th of September three of Cromwell's harpies—Richard Pollard, Thomas Moyle, and Richard Layton—wrote him a joint letter from Glastonbury. "Pleaseth it your lordship," they said, "to be advertised, that sithen (since) our letters last directed unto you from Glaston, we have daily found and tried out both money and plate, hid and mured up in walls, vaults, and other secret places, as well by the abbot as other of the convent, and also conveyed to divers places in the country. And in case we should here tarry this fortnight, we do suppose daily to increase in plate and other goods by false knaves conveyed. And, among other petty briberies, we have found the two treasurers of the church, monks, with the two clerks of the vestry, temporal men, in so arrant and manifest robbery, that we have committed the same to the jail. At our first entry into the treasure-house, and vestry also, we neither found jewels, plate, nor ornaments sufficient to serve a poor parish church, whereof we could not a little marvel; and thereupon immediately made so diligent inquiry and search, that, with vigilant labour, we much improved the same; and have recovered again into our hands both money, plate, and adornments of the church. How much plate we know not, for we had no leisure yet to weigh the same; but we think it of a great value, and we increase it more every day; and shall do, as we suppose, for our time here being. We assure your lordship, that the abbot and the monks aforesaid hath embezzled and stolen as much plate and adornments as would have sufficed to have begun a new abbey: what they meant thereby, we leave it to your judgment. Whether the king's pleasure shall be to execute his laws upon the said four persons, and to minister them justice according to their deserts, or to extend his mercy towards them, and what his majesty's pleasure is, it may please your lordship to advertise us thereof."* Four days after, these skilful functionaries—who could see through stone walls—wrote to inform Cromwell that, since their last letter, they had "come to knowledge of divers and sundry treasons committed by the abbot of Glastonbury;" the certainty whereof (they said) would appear to his lordship by a book which they enclosed—the accusers' names being put to the same—and all which they thought to be very haut (high) and rank treason. This book, or paper, of which we know nothing, is conjectured to have been the foundation of the charges against Abbot Whiting, who was tried at Wells on the 14th of November next following, before a jury—"as worshipful a jury as had been there for many years"—according to Lord Russell, who was engaged in similar measures of suppression, but who

* A new and improved edition of the Scriptures, generally called Cranmer's Bible, was published just at this time.

† Statutes.—Fox.—Le Grand.

‡ Letter of Marillac, the French ambassador, quoted by Le Grand.

* State Papers.—The commissioners thus described the place:—"The house is great, goodly, and so princely, as we have not seen the like, with four parks adjoining, the furthermost of them but four miles distant from the house; being a great mere (lake), which is five miles compass, being a mile and a half distant from the house, well replenished with great pikes, bremes, perch, and roach; four fair manor-places, belonging to the late abbot—the furthermost but three miles distant—being goodly mansions; and also one in Dorsetshire, twenty miles distant from the late monastery." When they go on to speak of the way in which they disposed of the servants and monks, we may be allowed to doubt their veracity. "We have dispatched the servants, with their half-year's wages, giving humble thanks to the king's majesty for the same; the monks, also, with the king's benevolence and reward, and have assigned them pensions. We find them very glad to depart, most humbly thanking this king's majesty of his great goodness most graciously showed unto them, at this time, as well for his grace's reward as also for their pensions." After dismissing the monks, they go on to speak of the cattle, pastures, and farms. "Cattle we intend to sell for ready money; and to let out the pastures and demesnes, now from Michaelmas forth, quarterly, until the king's pleasure therein be further known, to the intent his grace shall leese (lose) no rent, for the abbot had much pasture ground in his hand."—*State Papers.*

spoils his own assertion, by adding that they showed a wonderful devotion to the king's will.* On the next day the abbot was conveyed to the romantic eminence of Tor Hill, and there, in sight of the stately abbey, the mansions, and the far-spreading parks and pastures, of which he had been lord, he was hanged and quartered; and two of his monks, John Thorne, the treasurer, and Roger James, the under-treasurer, were hanged and quartered with him. According to a noble authority, the said abbot's body was divided into four parts, and the head was struck off; one quarter was sent to Wells, one to Bath, one to Ilchester, and one to Bridgewater; and the head was stuck upon the abbey-gate at Glastonbury.† In the same month Hugh Farringdon, abbot of Reading, and two of his monks, were hanged and quartered near their abbey; and John Beche, abbot of Colchester, was drawn and quartered near his abbey. All these butcheries of men whom they must have considered as faithful sons of the Roman church, could not but have been distasteful to Gardiner and the other leaders of the old learning; but we do not see that they ever ran the risk of incurring destruction by opposing the king's will, or by protesting against his measures. They, indeed, stood by, and saw men hanged and quartered for questioning the supremacy or resisting the seizure of their abbeys and houses, just as the converts of the new doctrine saw men burnt for entertaining the Protestant notions as to the sacrament and other points; and each party seems to have consoled itself for the sufferings of its own friends by the recollection and the prospect of the sufferings of the other party.

Cromwell had identified himself with the Protestant party, and had gone to such lengths against the Papists, that it was impossible he could ever hope for a safe reconciliation with them. He saw also that the Duke of Norfolk and Bishop Gardiner were gaining ground at court; and, to check their progress, he laboured hard to procure Henry a Protestant wife. "The king," says an old writer, "considering his wooing disposition, had long continued a widower."‡ He had, indeed, been a widower about two years; but this was not owing to a want of alacrity on his part in seeking for another wife. Shortly after the death of Jane Seymour he proposed to the Duchess-Dowager of Milan, who is said to have replied, facetiously, that if she had two heads she might think of the match; but that, as she had but one, she would rather decline the honour. He then addressed himself to the Princess Mary of Guise; but this princess was already affianced to his nephew, the King of Scots. A daughter of the House of Vendome was then recommended by the French court; but he refused her because she had been previously rejected by his nephew, the said King of Scots. After this, he had the delicacy to propose that the French king should carry the two sisters of Mary of Guise to Calais, in order that he might go over and choose one of them; but the gallantry of Francis revolted at this idea; and Henry remained wifeless. In August, 1538, Madame de Montreuil, a lady who had accompanied Magdalen of France, the first wife of James V., to Scotland, passed through England on her way back to France, and the king seems to have thought she might suit him. Sadler wrote to Cromwell, telling him, "that, for as much as his highness is somewhat desirous to see the same lady, and to speak with her, his grace thinks that you may wondrous well take an occasion, honestly, to stay her, after such sort as she may speak to his majesty. . . . And his grace thinketh best that when he shall be at Dover, his highness may take occasion, as he goeth there abroad to see his haven, to enter into her lodging, and so see her, and speak with her there." The lady was detained accordingly, and honourably feasted, both at Canterbury and at Dover; but it appears that Henry changed his mind, and that the interview did not take place after all. In the month of March following, we find Cromwell extolling to the king the reported beauty of Anne of Cleves, the sister of the reigning Duke of Cleves, who was one of the princes of the Protestant confederacy; but he speaks as if the marriage had been already determined upon. "The said Christopher," says the minister, "instantly sueth every day the acceleration of the matter, lest some other shall prevent it; and that, in the mean time, the picture may be sent. Whereunto the duke answered that he should find some occasion to send it, but that his painter, Lucas, was left sick behind him at home. Every man praiseth the beauty of the same lady, as well for the face as for the whole body, above all other ladies excellent. One, amongst other purposes, said unto them of late, that she excelleth as far the duchess *as the golden sun excelleth the silvern moon*, which appeareth in the gravity of her face. Thus say they that have seen them both."*

Putting, we suppose, more faith in Hans Holbein, his own painter, than in Lucas, the court painter of Cleves, Henry dispatched Hans to take the young lady's likeness; and, in the month of August, one of his ambassadors in Germany wrote a fuller account of her person and accomplishments, assuring his majesty, moreover, that my Lady Anne

* Ellis's Letters. Russell's letter is addressed to Cromwell. He also says, "My lord, I ensure you there were many bills put up against the abbot by his tenants and others, for wrongs and injuries that he had done them. And I commit your good lordship to the keeping of the blessed Trinity." The letter is dated from Wells, the day after the execution of Whiting.

† Letter, last quoted, from Lord Russell to Cromwell.

‡ Godwin.

* State Papers. The duchess here alluded to was the Duchess-Dowager of Milan. There is some ground for suspecting that this lady, upon seeing that Henry was settling for another wife, regretted that she had not consented to become queen of England. The Earl of Southampton reports to Cromwell the following conversation with the king: "And as to the matter concerning the Duchess of Milan, when he had heard it he paused a good while, and, at the last, said, smiling, 'Have they remembered theirselves now?' To the which I said, 'Sir, we that be your servants are much bound to God that it pleaseth him to send you so good fortune in Ireland, and now they to woo you whom ye have wooed so long.' He answered coldly, 'They that would not when they might, perchance shall not when they would.'"

was not bound by any previous covenant or contract, but was at her free will to marry wherever she would. As for her education and morals, the diplomatist said that they were excellent, seeing that, like her sister the Lady Sibylla till she was married, and like her unmarried sister the Lady Amelia, "she had been brought up by the lady duchess her mother, and, in manner, never from her elbow; and the lady duchess was a wise lady, and one that very strictly looked after her children. Also, all the gentlemen of the court, and others whom he had questioned, had reported Anne to be of a very lowly and gentle disposition." "She occupieth her time," continues the letter, which is addressed to the king himself, "mostly with the needle, wherewithal she is expert. She can read and write her own language, but of French, Latin, or other languages, she knoweth not one; nor yet cannot sing nor play upon any instrument, for they take it here in Germany for a rebuke and an occasion of lightness that great ladies should be learned or have any knowledge of music. Her wit is so good that, no doubt, she will in a short space learn the English tongue whensoever she putteth her mind to it. I could never hear that she is inclined to *the good cheer* of this country, and marvel it were if she should, seeing that her brother, in whom it were somewhat more tolerable, doth so well abstain from it. Your grace's servant, Hans Holbein, hath taken the effigies of my Lady Anne and the Lady Amelia, and hath expressed their images very lively."* The picture—a miniature in Holbein's best manner—was brought over in an ivory box, which represented a rose, so delicately carved as to be said to be worthy of the jewel it contained. The king fancied himself in love as he contemplated this nice performance of his favourite artist; and the match proceeded. Hoping, no doubt, that a Protestant wife would finish his conversion, many of the German princes gave it their support; and in the month of September the Count Palatine and ambassadors from Cleves arrived in London, where Cromwell, who was in ecstasies at the success of the scheme, was instructed by his royal master to bid them as hearty a welcome as he could devise, declaring unto them that their coming was marvellously agreeable unto his majesty.† The king joyfully finished this treaty: but the marriage, instead of making, *marred* Cromwell. All things being prepared as was fitting, and her lover brooking no delay, Anne set forward on her journey in the dreary month of December. She was honourably received at Calais by the lord-admiral, who conveyed her to Dover, where she landed at the end of the month. Though now unwieldy, Henry rode hastily to Rochester to meet her. He went in disguise, and his first view of her was a secret one,—but it was enough: he shrunk back tottering

* Ellis's Collection.—Letter of Nicholas Wotton to Henry VIII. The original (not perfect, but injured by fire) is in the British Museum.

† State Papers.—Letter from the king to Cromwell.

QUEEN ANNE OF CLEVES. From a Painting by Holbein.

under the weight of disappointment and dismay; and it was some time before he composed himself sufficiently to wait upon her as her husband and king. It seems to have been with sensations like those with which one swallows a dose of noisome medicine that he embraced her, and gave her his conjugal kiss. The whole interview did not last above the speaking of twenty words: he then hurried from his bride without giving her the presents he had brought with him; and the next morning he sent Sir Anthony Brown, his master of the horse, "with a partlet of sable skins to wear round the neck, and a muffler furred, with as cold a message as might be, and rode himself back to Greenwich marvellously heavy in heart." His fiercest wrath was kindled against all those who had promoted the match; and he considered that the deception practised upon him was a proof that all faith and loyalty had departed the world, and that no mortal man could be trusted. Cromwell was evidently less culpable than the ambassadors and the painters; but notwithstanding this circumstance, and his great boldness and ability, he must have trembled upon receiving the king's summons. A full council met at Greenwich, and there, after abusing him for marrying him to "a great Flanders mare," coarse, clumsy, and "unfit to nourish love," he commanded Cromwell to devise some pretext or plausible cause for preventing the conclusion of the hateful marriage.* In the very doubtful state of his relations with the Catholic powers, it was humbly but forcibly represented that it might prove very dangerous to give such an affront to the princes of the Protestant confederacy; and Cromwell seems to have made the most of the king's fears. "Is there, then, no remedy?—must I needs, against my will, put my neck into this noose?"—were the affectionate expressions of Henry as he agreed that the marriage should go on. The Lady Anne was met at Blackheath, and with great state brought to Greenwich on the 3rd of January, and she was married on the 5th day of the same month. But Henry's aversion did not abate on a closer acquaintance; and, without going into the disgusting details with which he, without hesitation, entertained his court, and the noble matrons thereof, we need merely state that he lamented his fate in the most pathetic terms, and declared that life would be a burden to him if he were forced to pass it with such a wife.†

* After all, it does not appear that Anne of Cleves was an ugly woman; and much of Henry's distaste may have proceeded from the mere caprice of the jaded voluptuary. He was certainly himself no very loveable object at the time. As he grew fat he wished for a fat wife, and his agents had been expressly commanded to look out for a fine, large woman. But Anne, it appears, was on too large a scale. According to Holbein's picture her complexion was wonderfully fair and beautiful, and her countenance very agreeable. Marillac, the French ambassador, no prejudiced observer, says that she was tolerably handsome,—*de beauté moyenne.* Like a true Frenchman, he criticises her German dress. In another dispatch he says—"Anne has not been found quite so young and so beautiful as everybody supposed. She has brought with her twelve or fifteen ladies, all of whom, in respect to their external appearance, are even inferior to herself, and all, besides, dressed in such an awkward and unbecoming manner, that they would be thought ugly even if they were really handsome."

† Depositions of the king and Cromwell, in Strype.—Burnet.—Hall.—Stow.

The Catholic party were greatly rejoiced at this manifest failure of a great Protestant experiment; and other religious feelings came in to hasten the destruction of Cromwell. Bishop Gardiner, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, denounced as a damnable heresy the tenet of justification by faith alone without works, as taught by Luther and his followers. Dr. Barnes undertook to answer Gardiner, and to prove that it was the bishop who was heretical. Preaching from the same pulpit at Paul's Cross, the doctor became excited and somewhat scurrilous, as was much the fashion with preachers in those days; and he treated the bishop very roughly indeed. He said, among other things, that he (Dr. Barnes) was a fighting cock, and that Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was another fighting cock, but the *garden* cock lacked good spurs. For this offence, after being examined before the king, he was made to sign a recantation of his doctrine about faith, and commanded to ask pardon from the same pulpit. The pardon he asked of Gardiner; but, growing warm in his discourse, he forgot the rest, and, instead of repeating his recantation, he affirmed his previous tenet of justification by faith alone. The consequence was inevitable; he was thrown into the Tower, together with Garret and Jerome, two preachers who held the same opinions. Dr. Barnes was a most intimate friend of Cromwell, who had frequently employed him on missions into Germany; and the Papists thought that the king would not hold him blameless of his dependent's heterodoxy. We will not attempt to explain what perplexed those who were acting on the scene; but, while the Papists made sure that Cromwell's high offices of vicar-general and keeper of the privy seal would immediately fall to Tunstall and Clarke, Bishop of Bath, he was not only left in possession, but received from the king's hands the order of the garter, and was created Earl of Essex and lord-chamberlain, ostensibly as a reward for his exertions in obtaining an enormous grant from parliament.* It should appear, however, that Henry was making provision for the dispatch of the enormous quantity of business which had hitherto been transacted by Cromwell, who must have been a man of iron. He made two secretaries of state, Wriothesley and Ralph Sadler, and divided many important functions of government between them.

We are not told how long the king had bemoaned his fate with Anne of Cleves when he saw the pretty little Lady Catherine Howard;† but it seems to have been some four or five months. The Lady Catherine was niece to the Duke of Norfolk, and as entire a Papist as Anne was a Protestant. Henry first met her at a dinner given by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. It is supposed that that prelate and his party had calculated upon the impression her charms would make upon him; and it was natural enough for

* During this session the Knights Hospitallers were dissolved, and their property was vested in the crown.

† This unfortunate young creature was below the usual stature of English women.

them to suppose that the next step a man like Henry would take, after espousing a Protestant, would be to choose a wife from the opposite sect. By a "notable appearance of honour, cleanness, and maidenly behaviour," Catherine quite captivated the king, who, it appears, frequently met her afterwards at the house of Bishop Gardiner, or of some other person equally anxious for the interests of the Romish church. In this society, composed of the mortal enemies of Cromwell, the king was not likely to hear much good of his minister. Gardiner, still feeling the prick of Dr. Barnes's spurs in his side, gave Henry to understand that the said Barnes had been an agent of Cromwell's in pressing the marriage with Anne of Cleves,—that master and man had wittingly chosen his majesty an unpleasant wife for the sake of promoting their own religious notions,—and that both, instead of believing according to act of parliament and the king's will, were bent upon establishing the detestable heresies of Martin Luther. Every glance of the bright eyes of Catherine Howard was dangerous to the Protestant interest. At the same time Cromwell, strangely blind to what was passing, continued to deal his sharp blows at the scrupulous Papists who refused the oath of supremacy; and he was in the high exercise of despotic power, when, suddenly, on the 10th of June, he was arrested at the council-board on a charge of high treason, and forthwith carried to the Tower. In his days of favour he had encouraged the prostration of all law, and the establishment of the most arbitrary modes of proceeding in judicial cases. He had held up the king as a being authorised to make and change statutes as he pleased; and he now felt the whole weight of the monstrous tyranny which he had helped to erect and inflate. His papers were seized,—his servants were questioned,—and out of their evidence, which was never produced in court, or submitted to public examination anywhere else, his enemies fabricated a series of charges, the greatest of which amounted to treason. It was alleged that he had received bribes, and had encroached upon the royal authority by the issuing of commissions, pardons to criminals, and licenses for the exportation of prohibited goods; that, as vicar-general and chief manager, under the king, of *that* Christian church, he had betrayed the good cause, protecting preachers of heresy and promoting the circulation of heretical books; and that, finally, he had, in a private conversation about the new opinions, drawn out his dagger, and declared that he would maintain the cause of the Reformation, even against the king himself. In his fall Cromwell scarcely showed more fortitude than Wolsey: he wrote imploring letters to his most gracious prince, crying "Mercy! Mercy!" Once Henry's heart seemed touched by these appeals, but it was only for a moment. Archbishop Cranmer summoned courage to write a letter in his behalf, but the epistle was not calculated to produce any great effect; and he afterwards gave his vote against his friend. On the 14th of June, Cromwell, deserted by all the world, asked for a trial before his peers, but the court preferred to proceed by bill of attainder, without trial,—a practice which he himself had helped the king to establish, with consent of the slavish parliament. The bill of attainder was hurried through the House of Lords; and on the 19th of June, nine days after his arrest, Cromwell received his doom as a manifold traitor and detestable heretic.*

But before he was executed, Anne of Cleves was divorced, and the king was united in the holy bands of matrimony with Catherine Howard. On the 25th of June Anne was ordered to remove to Richmond, being told that that place would be more suitable to her health and pleasure than London. Then the king gave directions to his bishops and ministers to legalise his separation from Anne of Cleves; and the bishops and ministers acted accordingly. It was instantly discovered that there had been a formal contract of marriage between Anne and the son of the Duke of Lorraine; and this, with Henry's assertion that the marriage had never been consummated, was deemed quite sufficient ground. Parliament met and humbly implored his majesty to investigate the subject. The case was submitted to a convocation of the clergy, and on the 9th of July it was unanimously decided by the churchmen of all colours that the marriage was null and void, inasmuch as the king had married the princess "without the inward consent of his own mind," and as there had been a pre-contract between her and another person. Poor Anne, who had the dread of the block before her eyes, and who was a person of more discretion than pride or passion, most quietly submitted to her fate,† and two days after, being properly prompted and assisted (for she could write no English), she addressed a letter to his most excellent majesty, though the case, she observed, must needs be most hard and sorrowful into her, through the great love which she bore to his most noble person; yet, having more regard to God and his truth than to any worldly affection, "as it beseemed me," she continued, "at the beginning, to submit me to such examination and determination of the said clergy, whom I have and do accept for judges competent in that behalf, so here now, being ascertained how the said clergy hath therein given their judgment and sentence, I acknowledge myself hereby to accept and approve the same, wholly and entirely putting myself, for my state and condition, to your highness' goodness and pleasure, most humbly beseeching your majesty, that, though it be determined that the pre-

* Le Grand.—Strype.—Burnet.—Herbert.—Journals.

† In his dispatches of the 31st of July, 11th of August, and 3rd of September, Marillac writes—"Anne makes no opposition whatever to the divorce, at which the king is the more pleased, because, as it is said, his new favourite (amourette) is already with child. The former is now called merely Madame Anne of Cleves. She is any thing but low spirited,—amuses herself in all possible ways, and dresses every day in new clothes, made in a strange fashion. All this is an indication of admirable prudence and dissimulation, or of extraordinary simplicity and stupidity." The reported pregnancy of Catherine seems to have been merely a bit of court or city scandal.

Queen Catherine Howard. From the Painting by Vander Werff.

tended matrimony between us is void and of none effect, whereby I neither can nor will repute myself for your grace's wife, considering this sentence whereunto I stand, and your majesty's clean and pure living with me, yet it will please you to take me for one of your most humble servants, and so to determine of me, as I may sometimes have the fruition of your most noble presence, which, as I shall esteem for a great benefit, so my lords, and others of your majesty's council, now being with me, *have put me in comfort thereof, and that your highness will take me for your sister*, for the which I most humbly thank you accordingly. Thus, most gracious prince, I beseech our Lord God to send your majesty long life and good health, to God's glory, your own honour, and the wealth of this noble realm."*

On the very next day Henry commissioned the Duke of Suffolk to go to the Lady Anne at Richmond, and "considering she be now come to her strength, and in good temper of body," to press her further to write to her brother the Duke of Cleves, in order to express her perfect concurrence in all that had been done.† Suffolk was also charged to make her write the same letter, *in German*, which had been sent to him the day before in English, lest people might say she had put her signature to words which she did not understand, "which," adds the king, "we doubt not but, by your good handling and dexterity, ye shall facilely bring to pass." The duke, moreover, was, by all ways and means, to make her write her letters to her brother before his departure, and to bring the said letters to court himself, and not "to leave anything uncertain upon a woman's promise that she would be no woman;" "the accomplishment whereof, on her part," adds this brutal pedant, "is as difficult in the refraining of a woman's will upon occasion, as in changing of her womanish nature, which is impossible." The duke was accompanied by the Earl of Southampton, now privy seal, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley, one of the principal secretaries of state; and he carried to Anne, from the king, a token, as to "his dearest sister by adoption," this same token being five hundred marks sterling in gold! Anne, too wise to resist, and, in all probability but too happy to escape out of the lion's jaws, did everything that was required of her. On the 16th of July she wrote the most submissive of letters to the most excellent and noble prince, her most benign and good *brother* Henry, subscribing herself, as had been agreed, his majesty's humble sister* and servant. Still, however, Suffolk and the noble lords had not finished their commission, for the

* State Papers.

† From some expressions in this letter and elsewhere, it might appear that Anne had taken the matter more seriously to heart than is generally stated, and that she was, or had been, ill. Perhaps it was considered decorous that she should feign a sickness!

* Which word sister "she was animated to write by the said duke, earl, and others before named, upon the king's majesty's former determination so to use and accept her."—*State Papers.*

king's cautions were very numerous. On the 17th they were again sent down to Richmond to discharge all such officers and servants as had attended on Anne as queen, and to appoint and *swear* such others as were assigned to serve her as her own domestics, in her state and condition of the *king's majesty's sister*. Even to this trial the equanimity of Anne was equal; she welcomed her new attendants, and told the commissioners that she would be found steady to her purpose of submitting to the king's pleasure, though all the world should move her to the contrary,—nay, even her mother and brother. She agreed also that she would receive no letters or messages from her brother, mother, or any of her kin or friends, without sending them first to the king's majesty, "and thereupon making such answers as should be consonant to the truth and the king's orders."

In her letter to her brother, Anne was made to say that the marriage had been dissolved by the examination and determination of the whole clergy of England, seconded by the nobles and commons of the realm; that this matter would not alienate from him the friendship of the King of England, unless the fault should be in himself; and lastly, that she purposed not to quit the country, but to lead her life in this realm, having his grace so good lord towards her. The obsequious parliament finished its part of the work* by voting that it would be very lawful for the king to take another wife. A private marriage was performed, and some days after, on the 8th of August, Catherine Howard was publicly shown as queen.† On the same day, or nearly on the same day, that Henry took to himself his fifth wife, he sent his minister Cromwell to the block. On the 28th of July Cromwell was beheaded on Tower Hill; and it is said that he died professing the Catholic faith, by which he might mean that kind of faith which had been established by the last act of parliament. When he was dead, many of his virtues were remembered; and the people particularly called to mind that, twice a-day, two hundred poor persons had been fed at his gate. As if to dishonour his execution, the Lord Hungerford, who was charged with revolting crimes, but who, in reality, seems to have been a wretched maniac, was beheaded with him. Dr. Barnes survived his patron Cromwell only three days, "being committed to the torments of the merciless fire," and burnt alive, with Garret and Jerome, as a heretic. But, that the scales might be nicely trimmed, Powell, Abel, and Featherston were hanged and quartered at the same time for denying the king's supremacy. On this occasion, as on some others, they were coupled together, a Catholic with a Protestant, on the same hurdle, and so drawn to Smithfield to the horror of both sects. A Frenchman is said to have exclaimed, "Good God, how do people make a shift to live here, where Papists are hanged and Anti-Papists are burnt!" In the next month the Prior of Doncaster and six others were hanged for defending the institution of the monastic life, a crime now become as capital as the greatest.*

A.D. 1541.—There was a feeble attempt made in Yorkshire to revive the Pilgrimage of Grace; but it was easily suppressed, and cost the lives of fourteen gentlemen. In the month of August the king made a progress into the northern counties, taking with him his young wife, whom he "entirely loved," after more than a year of matrimony. He had, indeed, repeatedly declared that he had never been happy in love or marriage till now, and that the Lady Catherine was the most perfect of women, and most affectionate of wives. Nay, he had even gone so far in his gratitude as to make one of his bishops unite with him in praising the Lord for the great contentment he had found. But, on his return from his progress, Cranmer had a tale for his ear which struck him dumb, and it is said even drew tears in torrents from his eyes. The archbishop declared that the queen, before her marriage, had led an abandoned life with Francis Dereham, or Deram, a relation of her own, who had associated with her when she lived with her great aunt, the Dowager-Duchess of Norfolk. Cranmer, who had consulted with the Chancellor Audley, the Earl of Hertford, and others of the Protestant party, had not undertaken to present this dangerous accusation without proof; *and his witness was a servant of the old Duchess of Norfolk.* The king's faith in the virtue of his wife was annihilated in a moment; but, wishing to proceed cautiously, he arrested all the persons who had been named as the queen's confidantes and accomplices, and made them undergo, *in secret*, "a keen examination." Their servants, both men and women, were arrested also, and put to the torture.† Under these circumstances it was impossible to fail in procuring confessions against the queen; but it appears that such proofs merely went to show that Catherine had been incontinent before marriage; and this did not amount to treason. Francis Dereham is generally said to have confessed that he had been guilty with her; but the queen denied the charge altogether, and, from the best evidence‡ we possess, it seems doubtful whether Dereham confessed anything of the kind. That same night, however, she is said to have signed a written confession of her youthful irregularities, but of nothing more. Cranmer undertook the office of making her disclose more, and admit that there had been a precontract of marriage between her and her kinsman and seducer Francis Dereham, which, in itself, according to Henry's jurisprudence, would annul the marriage, while it might also be considered as a saving of the king's

* The lords implored him, out of his love of his people, to marry again!

† State Papers.—Journals.—Herbert.—Stow.—Godwin.

* Stow.—Strype.—Godwin.

† We derive this fact, which is not mentioned by historians, from a passage in a letter to Sir Ralph Sadler, signed by Cranmer, Audley, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Hertford, and others:—"And because Damport confesseth this now, which he would not do for any torture that he could before be put to,' &c. &c.

‡ State Papers.

honour—seeing that, by such precontract, and such law, there could have been no marriage at any time, and Catherine must sink into the condition of a concubine, not having ever had the character of the king's wife. We have before us a letter to the king, which will not raise Cranmer in the estimation of the world. The archbishop begins by describing Catherine's wretched condition. He then tells the king that he had delivered to her his grace's *promise of mercy;* upon which she held up her hands and gave most humble thanks; and, for a time, she recovered from the phrenzy in which he had found her, and began to be more temperate and quiet, saving that she still sobbed and wept; but, after a little pausing, she suddenly fell into a new phrenzy worse than before. "Now," continues the prelate, "I do use her thus: when I do see her in any such extreme frights, I do travail with her to know the cause, and then, as much as I can, I do labour to take away, or, at the least, to mitigate the cause; and so I did at that time. I told her there was some new phantasy come into her head, which I desired her to open unto me. 'Alas! my lord,' she cried, 'that I am alive! The fear of death grieved me not so much before, as doth now the remembrance of the king's goodness—for when I remember how gracious and loving a prince I had, I cannot but sorrow; but this sudden mercy showed unto me at this time maketh mine offences to appear before mine eyes much more heinous than they did before.'" After this, Cranmer goes on to tell the king, that, by degrees, the distracted woman had come to herself; that she was meetly well unto night, and that he had had "very good communication with her," and, as he thought, had brought her into "a great quietness." He discloses all that he had been able to get out of her concerning any contract of matrimony with Dereham, which, he says, although it did not go so far as he thought it would have done, yet appeared to him sufficient to establish the contract.* After Cranmer had thus worked upon the unfortunate young woman in her phrenzy, and, on the promise of the king's mercy, had induced her to confess improper conduct with Dereham before her marriage (and nothing more), the king changed his plan. A few days after, the council, consisting of the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Southampton, the Duke of Suffolk, Lord Russell, Sir Anthony Brown, Wingfield, and Sadler, addressed a long letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had taken upon himself the principal conduct of this wretched business. The minuteness of detail,—the petty and innumerable regulations that appear in every part of the transaction—fill the mind with a disgust against all engaged in it, accessories as well as principal. In the king's name they tell Cranmer that he must, with convenient diligence, remove the queen to the house of Sion, there to remain "till the matter be further ordered, in the state of a queen, but furnished moderately, as her life and condition hath deserved—that is to say, with the furniture of three chambers, hanged with mean stuff, without any cloth of estate." Mr. Baynton, her gaoler, is to sleep in one of the three rooms; they are to dine in another; and the queen and her attendants are to sleep in a third. They send a book or list of servants to wait upon the queen; but the king's highness trusts to the archbishop's discretion in not exceeding a necessary number. It is also the king's highness's pleasure that my Lady Baynton,* the wife of her gaoler, shall be one of those to attend upon the queen, and shall have the rule and government of the whole house. My Lady Mary, the king's daughter, who had led a most stormy life with her father's wives, was to be removed. But after these and other minutiæ, fitter to employ the minds of masters of the ceremonies than statesmen, the council proceed to the pith of the business. "And where the king's highness, weighing deeply all circumstances of the matter, hath, by mature consideration, been determined, that to-morrow (12th November) my Lord Chancellor, assembling his majesty's councillors of all sorts, spiritual and temporal, with the judges and learned men, should declare unto them the abominable demeanour of the queen, without calling Dereham,† as was before thought good, and *without speaking or mentioning any precontract of marriage, which might serve for her defence,* but only to open and make manifest the king's highness's just cause of indignation and displeasure, so as the world may know and see that which is hitherto done to have a just ground and foundation; . . . the king's majesty also willeth, that those among you that know the whole matter, and how it was first detected, as also the king's majesty's sorrowful behaviour, and careful proceeding in it, should, upon Sunday next, assemble all the ladies, gentlewomen, and gentlemen, and declare unto them the whole process of the matter; foreseeing always that you *make not mention of any precontract;* but, omitting that, to set forth such matter as might impair and confound their misdemeanor, and as truth doth, indeed, truly bear, declare, and set forth the king's majesty's goodness, most unworthy to be troubled with any such mischance." In the end of this letter the Archbishop of Canterbury is informed that Mr. Wildon, master of the household, has been spoken to, about making provision of wine, beer, and other necessaries at the house of Sion.‡

The accusations against Catherine Howard were now brought to bear upon misconduct after marriage, in order that her guilt might amount to treason: for Henry seems no longer to have

* State Papers.

* Both Baynton and his wife had done duty for the king, in the case of Anne Boleyn. They were practised hands in queen-killing!

† This seems to prove that, up to this moment at least, Dereham had not confessed.

‡ A day or two after, we find Secretary Sadler conveying the king's orders to Cranmer, Wriothesley, and others, respecting the queen's clothes. They were to furnish her with six French hoods and appurtenances, with edges of goldsmiths' work, but no stone nor pearl in the same, and likewise six pair of sleeves, six gowns, and six curtels of satin, damask, and velvet, with such things as belonged to the same, excepting always stone and pearl.—*State Papers*

cared about that partial saving of his honour, which might have resulted from the contrary course. It was alleged that not only had Dereham been recalled from Ireland to court, since her marriage, but that Culpepper, one night when the court was at Lincoln, had stayed in the same room with her and the Lady Rochford for three hours. This Lady Rochford was the infamous woman that had borne testimony against her own husband and her husband's sister, Anne Boleyn. Culpepper was a gentleman of the privy chamber, and probably a near relation of Catherine Howard, whose mother's name was Culpepper. A day or two after Sadler informs his grace of Canterbury and Mr. Comptroller, that the queen has been examined on the matter now come forth concerning Culpepper; but he adds, that she hath not, as appereth by her confession, so fully declared the circumstances of what passed betwixt her and Culpepper as his majesty could wish; "and so his majesty would have his grace (Cranmer) once again essay and test to get something of her." Mr. Secretary Sadler next tells the Archbishop of Canterbury that my Lord Chancellor Audley has declared the case in the Star Chamber, *omitting and leaving out as much as in anywise toucheth the pre-contract;* and that he also has read divers of the depositions of such persons as had been examined, as well men as women, *always omitting as much as touched the pre-contract:* "and, in the end of his tale," saith Sadler, "he added, that there was an appearance of great abomination in her, which he (the chancellor) *left so in a cloud as it should seem doubtful to the hearers whether all were come out or not:* and the king's majesty would have you (Cranmer) follow this order without your mentioning anything of Culpepper or the pre-contract."* When this business had been in progress about a month the king ordered that the old Duchess-Dowager of Norfolk, her daughter Lady Bridgewater, one of her sons (the Lord William Howard), and other persons of rank, should be arrested upon suspicion of being privy to the queen's irregularities, and that their houses should be taken possession of and diligently searched. The latter duty seems to have been principally entrusted to Pollard, who had shown so much skill in detecting the hidden treasures of Glastonbury Abbey. The Earl of Southampton took the old duchess into custody, and conveyed her to the house of the lord chancellor. Here, according to the earl's letter, "she began to be very sick, even at the heart, as she said; which was the sickness of mistrust." The noble lord also reports that he has got one Pewson, a servant of the duchess, with whom he has "somewhat travailed this day, in order to make him confess; but, marry, he is yet stiff."†

The government was now divided into two councils, one of which removed with the king wherever he went; the other, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, remained in London, in search of evidence. The attention of both councils seems to have been entirely absorbed by this one business. The champion of the Catholic faith moved about with the champion of the Reformation. Stephen Gardiner was associated with Thomas Cranmer, and his name appears to nearly all the letters inculpating his former friend and *protégée* Catherine Howard. On the 6th of December they reported to the king that they had met with some success in the questioning of Ashby, another man-servant of the Duchess-Dowager of Norfolk, who, being in the custody of Sir Richard Rich, the chancellor of the augmentation,* had written, by commandment, three or four leaves of paper. Among many long tales of small importance, Ashby had confessed that, upon hearing what had happened at court, the duchess had broken open Dereham's coffers and a portmanteau, and had taken out of them all the letters and writings, and had carried them to her chamber, saying that she would peruse them herself at leisure, without suffering anybody to see them with her. Ashby said, also, that the duchess had been in great fear about one Alice Wilkes, a serving-woman, who was supposed to know something of a familiarity between the young Catherine Howard and Dereham; and that she (the duchess) had once been heard to say that if there had been no offence done since the marriage, the queen ought not to die for that which was done before; and that she had asked whether the king's pardon would not save others that knew of her naughty life before the marriage. This Alice Wilkes they had safe, and would examine her closely, trusting to find out some pithy matter. They reported, also, that they had learned that Damport's, or Dammock's, coffers had been broken open in the Duchess of Norfolk's house, and the papers removed; that this Damport, who had hitherto been "very stiff, confessing nothing for any torture they had used," had at last become pliable and communicative, saying, that he once heard Dereham say at the time when the king's majesty was beginning to court Catherine Howard, "I could be sure of mistress Catherine an I would, but I dare not. The king beginneth to love her; but, an he were dead, I am sure I might marry her."—[To be extracted by torture, this was a small revelation.]—Afterwards, according to the same letter, Damport confessed that Dereham told him that the Duchess of Norfolk once said to a gentlewoman in the queen's chamber, when he, Dereham, was present, pointing to him,—"This is he that came out of Ireland for the queen's sake." The council with the king, in reply, state to the council in London, that the king thinks the duchess's breaking open of the coffers of Dereham a very clear proof of an intention to conceal treason; and that if the judges do impartially weigh this act, and the concealment of the papers by the duchess, they must be led to conclude that she knew of the former naughty life betwixt the queen

* State Papers. † Ibid.

* Most of the witnesses and prisoners were thus kept locked up in the houses of the ministers.

and Dereham; and that his coming again to the queen's service from Ireland was to an ill intent of the renovation of his former naughty life; and that all this was clear treason. His highness would have the judges answer this, *his* opinion, and satisfy him with reason. The judges, it appears, had already condemned Dereham; for, in continuation, the council state that his highness thinketh it expedient that they spare the execution of Dereham for a time, till the bottom of this matter shall appear, it being likely that new matter will arise daily upon which they might have cause to examine him; but that, as for Dereham's petition for the remission of the extreme punishment, the king's majesty thinketh he hath deserved no such mercy at his hands, and therefore hath determined that he shall die.* In the same letter Mr. Pollard, that expert investigator, is commanded to examine the duchess's women, in order to find out whether she did of late burn any letters or writings. The council in London presently rejoined that they had "travailled another whole day in the examination of the duchess," who made herself so clear from all knowledge of the abomination between the queen and Dereham, that she would confess no mistrust or suspicion of their love or unseemly familiarity; and as to the coffers, she said she intended only to see what was in them, and finding anything material (which she said she did not), to send the same to the king's majesty. They go on to say that, having with them the Lord Chief Justice, Mr. Attorney, and Mr. Pollard, they had all come to the conclusion that the things proved against my Lady Norfolk and her son Lord William, "with all presumptions and circumstances," will extend to misprision of treason; and also that the Lady William Howard, the Lady Bridgewater, Alice Wilkes, Catherine Tilney, Damport, Walgrave, Malin Tilney, Mary Lascelles, Bulmer, Ashby, Anne Howard, and Margaret Burnet, be in the same case, "if it shall please his majesty to proceed against them."*

At a very early stage of these proceedings there was an anxiety betrayed as to the goods and chattels of the accused. Cranmer and his friends, in the same letter, desire to know how his grace would have my Lady of Norfolk and the rest used, and also whether they shall commit the Lord William and his wife; "and how their things shall be used, which shall, by this offence, be all confiscate to his majesty, as in case of treason, and also the profit of their lands for the term of their lives, their bodies being sentenced to perpetual imprisonment; *the example whereof would be very notable if his majesty would proceed against them all.*" On the morrow they proposed to meet at the house of the lord privy seal, the Earl of Southampton, there to examine the duchess's daughter, Lady Bridgewater, who would be brought thither secretly; and they hoped, "with travail and labour, to find out the bottom of the plot, according to their bounden duties." In a frightful postscript they say that they think they have already all that can be got out of Dereham, who, by no force, can be made to confess more; and, therefore, they would be glad to know his majesty's pleasure touching the execution of him and Culpepper. They were not kept long waiting for their instructions. They were ordered to commit the Duchess of Norfolk, the Lord William Howard and his wife, the Lady Bridgewater, and all others noted in their letters, to the Tower, and to send forthwith "some substantial personages" to take charge of their houses, and to see their goods put into safe custody for his majesty's behoof; in which particular part, his majesty joining with their opinions, *thinketh that the example will be very notable.* Nevertheless, as this matter came first to light by Mary Lascelles, the servant-girl, and as Mary Lascelles had refused the queen's service,† and had seemed to be sorry and lament that the king had married Catherine Howard, his majesty thought it best to spare the said Mary without troubling or committing her; *thinking, also, that this may be a means to give courage and boldness to others to reveal things in like cases.*" Touching Culpepper and Dereham, they were commanded to proceed to their execution, after convenient warning, that they might prepare for the salvation of their souls. On the 10th of December Dereham and Culpepper were drawn to Tyburn, where Dereham was hanged and quartered, and Culpepper was beheaded. By the 13th of the same month the Duchess of Norfolk, Lord William Howard her son, and the rest of her relations and servants, were shut up in the Tower, which was so full already that there was great

* State Papers. About the middle of this same epistle, mixed oddly with the other matter, there is the following startling passage:—"We examined, also, partly before dinner and partly after, a new matter, that the Lady Anne of Cleves should be delivered of a fair boy, and whose should it be but the king's majesty's, and gotten when she was at Hampton Court, which is a most abominable slander! This matter was told to Taverner, of the Signet, more than a fortnight ago, both by his mother-in-law, Lambert's wife, the goldsmith, and by Taverner's own wife, who saith she heard it of Lilgrave's wife, and Lambert's wife heard it, also, of the old Lady Carew; Taverner kept it, and they, with others, have made it a common matter of talk, and never revealed it till Sunday night, at which time he told it Doctor Cox, to be further declared if he thought good, who immediately disclosed it to me, the Lord Privy Seal. We have committed Taverner to the custody of me, the Bishop of Winchester, and Lambert's wife, who seemeth to have been a device in it, to Mr. the Chancellor of the Augmentations." In reply to this ticklish question the council with the king write to the council in London,—"Finally, to the matter touching the Lady Anne of Cleves, his majesty thinketh it requisite to have groundly examined, and further ordered by your discretions, as the nature and quality of the case requireth; and semblably to enquire diligently whether the said Lady Anne of Cleves hath, indeed, had any child or no, as it is bruited; for his majesty hath been informed that it is so indeed; in which part his majesty imputeth a great default in her officers, for not advertising his highness thereof, if it be true. Not doubting but your lordships will groundly examine the same, and, finding out the truth of the whole matter, will advertise his majesty accordingly." On the very next day the council in London reply to the council with the king:—"We have, also, sent for the officers of the Lady Anne of Cleves, and for Dorothy Wingfield, John Wingfield's wife, which is of her privy chamber; and have committed Taverner, and Lilgrave's widow, who appeareth yet the first author of the bruit, to the Tower."

Here our sure guides, the State Papers, leave the matter, the ending of which we know not, though we may safely conclude that the poor prisoners in the Tower met with the usual treatment. It should appear that the "bruit" was one of the many idle stories provoked by the strange course pursued by the king.

* State Papers.

† Query.—Had not this Mary Lascelles *been* refused a service *by* the queen?

difficulty in finding room for them.* By his majesty's orders, *Mary Lascelles was clearly left out of the indictment, his majesty considering if she should be indicted with the rest how slanderous it should be to her!* The council in London "travailled" very diligently in forcing confessions from the Lady Bridgewater, Alice Wilkes, and Bulmer; "but as for Bridgewater," they write, "she showeth herself her mother's daughter,—that is, one that will by no means confess anything." . . . . . "The Lord William, also, stood as stiff as his mother, and made himself most clear from all kinds of mistrust or suspicion;" so that, the council say, they "did not much like his conduct." They desire to know from the king's grace what they are to do with the *stuff* remaining in the houses of the prisoners, as also with the Lady Bridgewater's children, who were living in the house of their grandmother, the Duchess of Norfolk, and with Lord William's children, "which be young, and three or four in number." Respecting the *stuff*, they are instructed to appoint men "of honest behaviour" to see to it. As to the children, they are at their "discretions to see that such as be young, and cannot help themselves, be nourished, and the others of proper age, if any of them so be, to be sent out to service!"†

The council in London were startled at this moment by the loud expressions of public opinion in France, and proposed that his majesty should permit some explanation in order to stop men's tongues. At the same moment, while the fate of Catherine Howard was undecided, the Duke of Cleves, losing no time, proposed to Henry that he should take back to wife his sister Anne! Ambassadors arrived in England with letters from Oslynger, the vice-chancellor of Cleves, to Cranmer and to the Earl of Southampton. On the 12th of December Southampton wrote to his royal master, telling him what had passed in an interview with the vice-chancellor's man. "I axed him," writes the earl, "whether the matter of his credence were hasty? He answered that he durst tell it to me; and then said that his said master made his most humble commendations to your majesty, most heartily thanking the same for your bounty and goodness, and, namely, for your great liberality *towards his sister;* and beseech your majesty to consider that she is his dear sister, and he her brother; in consideration whereof he nothing in this world desireth more than to have her, eftsoon, reduced and reconciled to your highness, if it might be by any convenient means, protesting, nevertheless, that he would in nowise move the thing that should be displeasure or dishonourable to your grace or your realm for any respect."* Cranmer, who was in an agony of alarm lest he should be suspected of the heinous offence of giving the king back an unpleasant helpmate, wrote to his master on the following day, informing him that the ambassador from the Duke of Cleves had waited upon him at Lambeth with letters from the vice-chancellor; "the purport whereof;" says the archbishop, "after setting forth my lauds and commendations, like an orator, is nothing else but to commend unto me the cause of the Lady Anne of Cleves, which, although he trusteth that I would do of myself, undesired, yet he saith that the opportunity is such that he will not omit to put spurs to the horse that runneth of his own courage." "When I had read the letter," continues the archbishop, "and considered that no cause was expressed specially, but only in general that I should have commended the cause of the Lady Anne of Cleves, although I suspected the true cause of his coming, yet I would take upon me no knowledge of any special matter, but said thus unto him:—'Master Ambassador, I have perused Oslynger's letters, by the which he commendeth unto me the Lady Anne of Cleves' cause; but forasmuch as he declareth no certain cause, I trust you have some other instructions to inform me of some particular matter.'" The ambassador replied, bluntly, that the cause was the reconciliation of the king with the Lady Anne. "Whereunto," says Cranmer, "I answered that I thought it not a little strange that Oslynger should think it meet for me to move a reconciliation of that matrimony, of the which I, as much as any other person, knew most just causes of divorce. And here I moved him to consider your grace's honour, and the tranquillity of this realm, with the security of your grace's succession; and further, how this should agree with Oslynger's opinion of me, as he writeth in his letters, that I should study the commodity and tranquillity of this realm, if I should move your grace to receive her in matrimony, from whom your majesty was, upon most just causes, divorced. . . And when he appeared to wish to have more largely reasoned the matter, to grope my mind, I finished our communication in this sort:—'Master Ambassador, this is a matter of great importance, wherein you shall pardon me, for I will have no communication therein, unless it please the king's majesty to command me; but I shall signify unto his highness your request, and thereupon you shall have an answer.'" Of course nothing came of this delicate embassy, and the Duke of Cleves was again obliged to consent that Anne should be called the sister, not the wife, of his majesty of England.†

The affair of Catherine Howard, which had brought the ambassador of Cleves into England, now proceeded rapidly, and with a baseness on the part of all concerned which almost staggers belief.‡

* On the 11th of December, two days after her committal to the Tower, Cranmer, Audley, Suffolk, Gardiner, and the rest of the council in London, inform the king that they have again been "travailling" with the duchess, "both to make her confess the things testified against her, and also to cough out the rest, not yet discovered, if any such dregs remain among them." They seem scarcely to have allowed the infirm old woman a moment's rest. Such was the treatment that Henry reserved for the widow of the hero of Flodden Field!

† State Papers.

* State Papers. † Ibid.

‡ There are sundry points which we would not venture to assert on any authority less positive than the *State Papers*, where we find

No man had the spirit to recommend a more legal way of proceeding; none durst open their lips in favour of any of the accused; the nearest of blood to them sought favour with the court by crying for their condemnation. No humiliation was too vile for the loftiest aristocracy of the land. A day or two after their committal to the Tower the Duke of Norfolk wrote to the king, telling him that he had learned that his ungracious mother-in-law, his unhappy brother and wife, and his *lewd* sister of Bridgewater, are in the Tower, which, he says, from his long experience of his majesty's equity and justice, he feels sure is not done but for false and traitorous proceedings. This mighty lord had urged on the ruin of his niece Anne Boleyn, and had presided at her trial; but Anne and he were enemies, and opposed in matters of religion; whereas, in the present case, there was no enmity and no conflicting views as to dogmas of faith. He, however, condemned his other niece, Catherine Howard, just as he had condemned Anne; and he lamented very pathetically, "the most abominable deeds done by two of his nieces against his highness," which, he adds, hath brought him into the greatest perplexity that ever poor wretch was in; fearing that his majesty, having so often and by so many of his kin, been thus falsely and traitorously handled, might not only conceive a displeasure in his heart against him, and all others of that kin, but also, in manner, abhor to hear speak of any of the same. "Wherefore," continues this noble Howard, "my most gracious sovereign lord! prostrate at your feet, most humbly I beseech your majesty to call to your remembrance that a great part of this matter is come to light *by my declaration to your majesty*, according to my bounden duty, of the words spoken to me by my mother-in-law when your highness sent me to Lambeth to search Dereham's coffers, without the which I think she had not been further examined, nor, consequently, her ungracious children."*

Meanwhile they still "travailled" to force confessions from the prisoners in the Tower, and *to make them reveal their hidden treasures*. On the 21st of December, Southampton and Wriothesley informed their assured, loving friend, Sir Ralph Sadler, that they had been with the Duchess of Norfolk, whom they found "on her bed, as it appeared, very sickly." They had pressed her hard, and had also promised her pardon of her life if she would make them "her ghostly fathers," and confess the intimacy before marriage between the queen and Dereham; but still this high-minded woman, sick and worn as she was, resisted alike their threats and their promises. Taking God to witness, she protested "that she had never thought them (Catherine and Dereham) to be of that abominable sort; nevertheless she would not deny that she had perceived a light love and favour to be between them, more than between indifferent persons; and that she had heard that Dereham would sundry times give Catherine money, which she thought proceeded upon the affection that groweth of kindred, the same Dereham being her kinsman." According to her examiners, she avowed that it was very sinful in her not to tell his majesty this before his marriage. "After we had done this degree," they continue, with all the coolness of practised hands, "we went to the second, that is, for her hidden money, plate, or jewels; and, without any denial, she confessed that she had hidden, in another place in her house, 700*l.* or 800*l.*, giving us such tokens as we might easily find it, which I, Thomas Wriothesley, with Mr. Attorney, Mr. Pollard, and Mr. Bristow, this morning found, being 800*l.*, and have safe bestowed it at Westminster.* In the end these active agents told the old lady that her life would be spared; upon which she hoped that his majesty would give her something to live upon, and not take away her house at Lambeth, for she had not long to live; and indeed," they add, "she appeareth wonderful sorrowful, repentant, and sickly." Lord William Howard was also "wonderfully troubled and out of all quiet;" and not without reason, for they had been travailling with his menial servants, and were about separating him from his wife, not considering it expedient to arraign them together, so as to bring man and wife to the bar in company. Two days after, the Lord William Howard, his wife, Malin Tilney, Elizabeth Tilney, and three other women, among whom was Margaret Burnet, a butter wife, and Bulmer, Ashby, and Damport, men-servants to the old Duchess of Norfolk, were tried separately,† on a charge of misprision of treason, before a trembling jury, the duchess herself being omitted, for good reasons. According to the

the king's own letters and orders, Cranmer's letters, Norfolk's letters, the letters of the council, written at the moment, &c., &c.

* State Papers. The rest of this letter is worth quoting. It was in the order of things that Norfolk should not live on the most friendly terms with his mother-in-law, or rather step-mother, the old duchess-dowager, but we suspect he only found out that his niece, Catherine Howard, was not his friend after she had incurred the king's displeasure. "Which, my true proceedings towards your majesty considered, and also the small love my two false traitorous nieces and my mother-in-law have borne unto me, doth put me in some hope that your highness will not conceive any displeasure in your most gentle heart against me, that, God knoweth, never did think thought which might be to your discontentation. Wherefore, eftsoons prostrate at your royal feet, most humbly I beseech your majesty that, by such as it shall please you to command, I may be advertised plainly how your highness doth weigh you towards me, assuring your highness that unless I may know your majesty to continue my good and gracious lord as ye were before their offences committed, I shall never desire to live in this world any longer, but shortly to finish this transitory life, as God knoweth, who send your majesty the accomplishment of your most noble heart's desires."

* It is quite clear that the court was greatly in need of these gleanings of violence and iniquity. In the same letter is the following passage:—"Furthermore there is now at Westminster, five thousand marks in money, and a thousand pounds worth of plate, which came from Lambeth (the Duchess of Norfolk's house). I, Thomas Wriothesley, would beseech the king's majesty that it might be delivered to some such hands as his majesty will appoint, or brought unto him to Greenwich. *Methinks I should sleep the better and it were once delivered.*" And to this Secretary Sadler instantly replied,—"As touching the money and plate, his majesty being in doubt whether it be brought by you, Mr. Wriothesley, to his highness' palace at Westminster or to your own house there, hath resolved, finally, that ye shall deliver the same unto the hands of James, Mr. Denny's servant, the money to be in bags, sealed up with your seal, and ye plate to be put in chests, also sealed up by you, to remain there in his highness' palace, in the custody of the said James, till his majesty's further pleasure be known in that behalf."—*State Papers.*

† They seem to have been tried in separate parties of twos or threes. Lord William, for example, was brought to the bar with Damport, and not with his own wife.

report of the council in London,* Lord William pleaded not guilty; but seeing that this course would not serve him, he confessed to the indictment, or threw himself upon the king's mercy. The result of what they, the council, called their "day's work" was to condemn all the prisoners to perpetual imprisonment, forfeiture of goods, and sequestration of their estates during their lives; and yet nothing was even pretended to be proved against them except that they had been privy to the loves of Catherine Howard and Dereham previous to the marriage. In the same letter in which they report this result, the council tell the king "that surely they (the prisoners) be, in manner, all so sorrowful, and be so changed with their imprisonment that they cannot long live, unless it shall please his majesty that they may have some liberty in the Tower, with some resort and comfort of their friends;" and they beg to know whether his majesty will permit the Lieutenant of the Tower to grant the sufferers a little indulgence. At eleven o'clock on the same night this royal savage, by a letter which bears the signatures of Lord John Russell and Ralph Sadler, tells the council that he "thinketh it not meet that they should so hastily put the prisoners to any such comfort, or so soon restore them to any liberty within the Tower, for sundry great respects and considerations."

A.D. 1542.—We here lose the sure guides which we have been for some time following through obscure paths that were closed to former historians.† It appears that men had been long aware that nothing but the blood of Catherine Howard would satisfy the king, and that the promise of life conveyed to her by Cranmer, from his majesty, would not be allowed the weight of a feather. A new parliament was summoned, and on the 16th of January the Lords and Commons, by petition, implored his gracious majesty that he would not vex himself with the queen's misconduct, but allow the two Houses to pass a bill of attainder, to which he might give his assent by letters patent, without suffering the pain of hearing them rehearse the offences of his wife. The king was pleased to grant this, their humble petition, and to thank them for their making his griefs their own. The bill was carried through the Lords in three, and through the Commons in two days; and on Saturday, the 11th of February, the Chancellor Audley produced the Bill in the Lords, signed by the king, and with the great seal appended to it; and then, all the Lords being in their robes, and the Commons being summoned, the act was read, and, at the same time, a paper purporting to be the queen's confession. In this paper, which appears to have been studiously withheld till the last moment, the unfortunate Catherine was made to acknowledge that she had offended against God, the king, and the nation; to express a hope that her sins would not be visited on the head of her brothers and her family; and to implore, as a last grace, permission to divide part of her clothes among her faithful female servants. A confession like this was very vague; and, supposing it to have been really and sincerely made by the victim, it might, after all, only refer to offences before the marriage. Lady Rochford was attainted by parliament at the same time; and two days after, both ladies were beheaded within the walls of the Tower. Upon the scaffold Catherine confessed that she had once led a sinful life, but protested, by her hope of salvation, that she had never been untrue to the king since she had been his wife. The Lady Rochford also died very penitent and meek, and was supposed to have made a blessed end.*

It was enacted in the bill of attainder against Catherine Howard, that every woman about to be married to the king, or to any of his successors, should, if she were not a virgin, disclose that fact beforehand, under penalty of treason; that all other persons cognizant of it, and not divulging it in the proper quarter, should be subject to the penalty of misprision of treason; and that the queen that should move another person to commit adultery with her should suffer as a traitor.

As Henry might deny the virtue of the chastest maid, if he became tired of her, and as he had provided a law to put her to death, people, who could joke in the midst of these deeds of blood, said that no body ought to marry him but a widow. But for nearly eighteen months the king seemed to think of marrying no one—devoting his time and attention to divinity and politics. Although he adhered with wonderful firmness to transubstantiation, auricular confession, and the celibacy of the clergy, his mind was not made up as to various fractional parts which he had actually adopted of the Reformation; and while he vehemently condemned the vacillation of his subjects in matters of faith, he was himself wavering on these particular points. He was as far removed as ever from that enlightened philosophy, which would have permitted men to judge what

* This letter relating the trial is signed by Suffolk, Southampton, Sussex, Hertford, Gage, Wriothesley, and Rich, but bears the signature neither of Cranmer nor of Gardiner.

† In the volume of the State Papers there is a great gap from the 22nd of December, 1541, to the 1st of May, 1542.

* Sir Henry Ellis publishes a letter written by one Ottwell Johnson, in London, to his brother John Johnson, a merchant of the staple at Calais, two days after the executions. Master Ottwell says, "I see the queen and the Lady Rochford suffer within the Tower, whose souls (I doubt not) be with God; for they made the most godly and Christianly end, that ever was heard tell of (I think) since the world's creation; uttering their lively faith in the blood of Christ only, and with good words and stedfast countenances, they desired all Christian people to take regard unto their worthy and just punishment with death for their offences, against God heinously from their youth upward, in breaking all his commandments, and also against the king's royal majesty very dangerously: wherefore they being justly condemned (as they said) by the laws of the realm and parliament, to die, required the people (I say) to take example at them, for amendment of their ungodly lives, and gladly to obey the king in all things, for whose preservation they did heartily pray; and willed all people so to do: commending their souls to God, and earnestly calling for mercy upon him: whom I beseech to give us grace." The writer of this letter was evidently a Protestant; and the Protestants were as ready to believe in the guilt of the Papist Catherine Howard, as the Papists had been to believe in the guilt of the Protestant Anne Boleyn. But, after all, the London merchant's expressions are perfectly inconclusive as to the nature and amount of the confessions; and it had become the fashion (for many reasons easily understood) for all state victims to die, acknowledging the king's justice and mercy, and praising his numerous other virtues.

was best for their own souls, and to find their own way from error to truth. Toleration, at the time, was utterly unknown to religious sects—the poorest and meanest of which pretended to a divine mission to correct and coerce all others. Even the men who had started with the glorious doctrine that the word of God, and the intellect which God had given them, were not to be shackled by human authority, soon showed that they were not ready to concede this privilege to those who differed from them on the most abstract dogmas. As an inevitable consequence of their sudden emancipation from the ancient authority of Rome, and of the new principle, that they were to read the Scriptures with the light of their own reason, people indulged in great freedom of speculation, and sects and subsects were produced with a wonderful rapidity. Many of these bodies were characterised by a deplorable fanaticism—some by an anti-social spirit, sullen and dangerous. There were in England Anabaptists, who, besides their peculiar theological dogmas, acknowledged no judge or magistrate, no submission to civil law, no right of war or of capital punishment, except in so far as they were moved individually by what they interpreted to be the inspiration of the Holy Ghost: there were Antinomians, who maintained, both by their teaching and their practice, that the chosen were at liberty to help themselves to whatever food, raiment, goods, and chattels their necessities required; and that no sin or abomination of the outward man was of any significance, provided only that they sinned not in the inner man: there were Fifth-Monarchy men, of whose hallucinations we shall find some melancholy proof as late as the days of Charles I. and the Commonwealth: there were men of the Family of Love, or Davidians, as they were called, from one David George, who sometimes represented himself as Christ, and sometimes as the Holy Ghost: there were Predestinarians, who preached that the elect could not sin, nor the regenerate fall from grace—a very wordy and disputatious sect: there were Arians and Unitarians; there were Libertines, and there were many other sects of stranger names, some native, some exotic, but all intolerant.* Henry, later in his reign, in a strange speech in parliament, lamented the absence of love and concord, and the spirit of disorder and dissension which bore rule in every place. "Behold," cried this royal preacher, who had himself set the worst example of what he condemned; "behold, what love and charity is among you, when the one calleth another heretic and Anabaptist, and he calleth him again Papist, hypocrite, and Pharisee. . . . Alas! how can the poor souls live in concord when you, preachers, sow amongst them in your sermons debate and discord? Of you they look for light, and you bring them to darkness. Amend these crimes, I exhort you, and set God's word, both by true preaching and good example giving; or else I, whom God hath appointed his vicar and high minister here, will see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duty; or else I am an unprofitable servant and an untrue officer. Although I say the spiritual men be in some fault, that charity is not kept amongst you, yet you, of the temporalty, be not clear and unspotted of malice and envy; for you rail of bishops, speak scandalously of priests, and rebuke and taunt preachers, both contrary to good order and Christian fraternity. If you know surely that a bishop or preacher erreth or teacheth perverse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our council, or to *us*, to whom is committed by God the high authority to reform and order such causes and behaviours, and be not judges yourselves of your fantastic opinions and vain expositions; for in such high cause, you may lightly err; and although you be permitted to read holy scripture, and to have the word of God in your mother tongue, you must understand it is licensed you so to do only to inform your own consciences and instruct your children and family, and not to dispute and make scripture a railing and taunting stock against priest and preachers, as many light persons do. I am very sorry to know and hear how unreverently that most precious jewel the word of God is disputed, hymned, sung, and jangled in every alehouse and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same; and yet I am even as much sorry that the readers of the same follow it, in doing, so faintly and coldly; for, of this I am sure, that charity was never so faint amongst you, and virtuous and godly living was never less used, nor God himself amongst Christians was never less reverenced, honoured, or served."*

As early as 1536 certain articles were set forth by the convocation of the clergy, which had for their title, 'Articles devised by the King's Highness's Majesty to stablish Christian Quietness.' In 1537, just after the publication of the whole Bible in English, there appeared the 'Institution of a Christian Man,' or the 'Bishops' Book,' as it was called, after its authors, who had worked under the eye of his majesty. In 1543 Henry ordered the publication of another work, entitled 'A necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christian Man.' This book, which was called the 'King's Book,' differed materially from the 'Bishops' Book,' which only six years before had been given to the world as an unchangeable standard of faith and practice; thus affording a glaring proof that the king's own mind was not settled. The 'King's Book' did not lean so much towards the doctrines of the Reformation as the 'Bishops' Book.' It established that, for those "whose office it was to teach others, the reading and studying of holy scripture was not only convenient, but also necessary; but for the other part of the church, ordained to be taught, it ought to be deemed, certainly, that the reading of the Old and New Testament was not so necessary for all those."†

* Latimer's Sermons.—Strype's Cranmer.—Blunt.

* Hall.

† Preface to the book itself.

And soon after it was enacted in parliament, that the Bible should not be read in public; that it should not be read aloud in any private families except such as were of noble or gentle degree; that it should not be read privately to one's self except by men who were householders, and by females who were well born. By any other woman, or any artificer, apprentice, journeyman, servant, or labourer, the opening of the book was unlawful, and an offence to be punished by one month's imprisonment! Cranmer and *all* the bishops, whether Papists or Protestants, or half-and-half, concurred in these regulations, and parliament authorised the king to make whatever alterations *he* might deem proper. Same time, Cranmer was obliged to order that the 'King's Book,' which contained all the dogmas which he most detested, should be published in every diocese, and followed by every preacher as an infallible rule. It is generally held that, in these measures, the predominating influence of Gardiner and the Roman party is visible; and that that stirring prelate maintained an ascendancy during nearly all the rest of this reign; and yet Cranmer retained no small share of the king's favour, and was enabled to triumph over the plots of his spiritual opponents, who more than once thought they had placed him within an inch of the stake. On one occasion, in speaking of the Six Articles, the king dwelt upon that which related to celibacy, and asked the archbishop if *his* bedchamber could stand the scrutiny. Cranmer replied that it could; for, although he had taken a wife previous to the act, he had sent her into Germany when it became law. The fury of persecution was, however, now somewhat allayed. Probably from seeing the indiscriminate executions done upon the two sects, the Papists thought it unwise to inform against the Protestants; the Protestants deemed it prudent to be silent as to the Papists with their breaches of the oath of supremacy; and, during the four years which closed this reign, it is said, that *only* twenty-four persons were put to death for religion—fourteen of them being Protestants, who were burned; ten Papists and recusants on the subject of the supremacy, who were hanged.*

In politics Henry was scarcely more moderate than in religion. The wisest of his measures had been adopted as early as 1536, when it was enacted that the whole of Wales should be united with the realm of England, and be governed by the same laws. Up to this period the principality had been in an anomalous state, from which, without any particular benefits to the Welsh people, there flowed many serious evils to the English. It had been divided into two parts, one of which was governed by English laws, and the other subdivided into feuds or independent lordships, which acknowledged no laws or customs save their own, and were amenable only to their several feudal chiefs. Hence it happened that all criminals who could escape across the English lines, could procure, by favour or purchase, the protection of some petty sovereignty, and bid defiance to English law. The little lordships—141 in number—were frequently engaged in hostilities with one another, like the baronies of the middle ages. It was now, of course, provided that no lord should have the power of protecting or pardoning any criminal; and it was also established that the Welsh shires, with one borough in each, should return members to the English parliament. The most important of the regulations made for Wales were extended to the independent county palatine of Chester, which had, up to this time, been another anomaly in the political system.

The transactions in Ireland, which have been recently illustrated by a mass of the most curious and minute information,* would form a large chapter of themselves, but we can only touch briefly on the chief events. Soon after the recal of the Earl of Surrey (in 1522) the Earl of Kildare was invested, for the third time, with the high office of lord-deputy. The factions of her great lords were the curse of Ireland, keeping her disunited, weak, and poor. The Butlers, under their chief, the Earl of Ormond, or Ossory,† had entertained for ages an inveterate feud with the Fitzgeralds, of whom the Earl of Kildare was chief. Their complaints induced the suspicious Henry to recall the lord-deputy to England, and to commit him to the Tower on the usual charge of treason. The Earl of Kildare had been in the Tower before, and had then had a narrow escape from the block. On his present departure from Ireland (in 1533) the chief power fell into the hands of his son, the Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, a brave and generous young man, in his twenty-first year, who was soon deceived by a report, purposely circulated, that his father had now been beheaded in reality. He flew to arms, and bade defiance to the King of England. He had then five uncles, brothers to his father, three of whom, at first, dissuaded him from these extreme proceedings; but the passion of vengeance excluded reason, and at length they associated themselves with their nephew Thomas, and were all involved in the same ruin. At first many of the Irish flocked to their standard, and the minstrels, in wild strains, sang the sacred duty of revenge, and inflamed them to fury. They surprised Allen, the Archbishop of Dublin, who was supposed to be one of the accusers of the Earl of Kildare, and they murdered him in presence of

* Strype, Memor. of Cranmer.—Blunt, Hist. Reform.

* Published by the Record Commission. It fills vols. 2 and 3 of the important *State Papers* to which we have so frequently referred, and which, indeed, have been our most valuable guides through this reign.

† The Butlers, formerly Earls of Carrick, were made Earls of Ormond by Edward III. In 1524 the then Earl of Ormond was induced by Henry VIII. to resign that title (which the king conferred upon his father-in-law, Thomas Boleyn, created also Viscount Rochford, and afterwards Earl of Wiltshire, in the English peerage), and to accept in lieu of it the earldom of Ossory. But, on the death of the Earl of Wiltshire, in 1538, without issue male (his only son, George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, having, as above related, been attainted and executed in 1536), the earldom of Ormond was restored to the Butlers, who thenceforth were earls of Ormond and Ossory.

the earl's son and brothers.* They sent an agent to the Emperor Charles, then irritated by the recent divorcing of his aunt Catherine; and they opened communications with Rome, offering, upon conditions, to prevent Henry, or any of the English, from carrying their church reforms into Ireland. But they were repulsed by the citizens of Dublin, who entertained different notions; they were assailed by the whole power of the rival faction of the Butlers, and were compelled to retreat in want and disorder into the wilds of Munster and Connaught. "The poor earl (the prisoner in the Tower), already afflicted with a palsy, was so stricken to the heart with the news of this tumult that he survived but a few days the knowledge of his unhappiness."† Sir William Skeffington, the newly appointed lord-deputy, took the field with a numerous army of regular troops; and in the month of August, 1535, Lord Leonard Gray, son of the Marquess of Dorset, arrived in Ireland, and put himself at the head of other forces, which went in pursuit of Lord Thomas. This Lord Leonard bribed some of the rebels, who agreed to betray their leader. He found the county of Kildare miserably wasted; out of *eight* hundreds or baronies, *six* were all burnt; "few or no people inhabiting there, but leaving their corn on the ground to the traitors." Meath was scarcely in a better condition; and, to add to the miseries of insurrection and civil war, all the towns of the south of Ireland were "sore infected with pestilence, and especially Dublin." As Henry sent little or no money to his troops, they lived at large upon the unhappy country, plundering first, and burning and destroying afterwards, wherever they went. Lord Thomas Fitzgerald was soon reduced to such straits that he offered to surrender upon terms; and he wrote a letter to Lord Leonard Gray to be "intercessor between him and the king, that he might have pardon for life and lands, which, if he could not obtain, he had nothing to do but shift for himself the best that he could." It appears pretty certain that Gray promised him a full pardon, for he voluntarily surrendered, and was not taken in arms: but Skeffington gave a different account of the matter in a letter which still exists. He told the king that O'Connor, perceiving that there were "no ways else but his utter destruction and banishment, came in and yielded himself;" and that the "traitor Thomas Fitzgerald, with divers others his accomplices, considering that he could not be su[illegible] the said O'Connor, and that his band and [illegible] by policy allured from him, had in [illegible] submitted and yielded himself to his h[illegible] and pity, without condition either of p[illegible], lands, or goods, but wholly submitting h[illegible] grace; so that his desire was, now th[illegible] brought to uttermost extremity, to be con[illegible] his highness by the Lord Leonard Gray." A few days after, however, the whole coun[illegible] land, headed by the chief justice, besou[illegible] highness most humbly, "that according [illegible] fort of their words spoken to Lord Th[illegible] gerald, *to allure him to yield himself*, [illegible] be merciful to the said Thomas, especially [illegible] cerning his life."† But the council ough[illegible] have known the king better than to suppose [illegible] would regard "the comfort of their words spoken" (a curious periphrasis for *promises*), or show any mercy to the captive. O'Connor had been too wise to surrender in person,—he only delivered certain hostages as security for his good behaviour; but his ally, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, was forthwith carried over to England by the Lord Leonard Gray, and committed to the Tower. Gray soon returned to Ireland, where he was named marshal, and appointed to the command of the whole army. One of his main objects was to secure the persons of the five uncles of Thomas Fitzgerald, who were still at large. On the 14th of February, of the following year (1536), the council of Ireland, with great glee, informed Cromwell that "the five brethren" had been apprehended by the Lord Leonard, the chief justice, and others; which, in their opinion, was the best deed that ever was done for the weal of the king's poor subjects of that land. "And we assure your mastership," they add, "that the said lord justice, the treasurer of the king's wars, and such others as his grace put in trust in this behalf, have highly deserved his most gracious thanks for *the politic and secret conveying of this matter*, which was no less beyond the expectation of all men here, than it was joyful to all the king's subjects to see the same brought to such a perfection." They did well to avoid particulars; for, by "the politic and secret managing of this matter," was to be understood, that Lord Leonard Gray and the others, in defiance of the sacred rights of hospitality, had treacherously seized the five Fitzgeralds at a banquet! After a long and cruel imprisonment in the Tower they were all beheaded, with their nephew, the young earl, in the month of February, 1537. Their betrayer, the Lord Leonard Gray, though, as a reward, he was promoted to be lord-lieutenant or deputy, did not long survive them: on charges and suspicions he was committed to one of the cells they had occupied, and on the 28th of June, 1541, he was beheaded as a traitor on Tower Hill; where, it is said, he ended his life very quietly and godlily.‡

Of the ancient and powerful family of the Fitzgeralds there remained but one, a boy twelve

* They caught the archbishop in the month of July, 1534, as he was on the point of sailing to England. The following is an extract of a letter to the king:—"Furthermore, it may please your highness to be advertised how, the last day of July, certain knowledge was brought to your grace's city of Waterford, that the Archbishop of Dublin, being in ship to depart towards England, Thomas, son to the Earl of Kildare, caused him to be taken, and brought before him, and there, in his sight, by his commandment, was cruelly and shamefully murdered, and other divers of his chaplains and servants that were in his company; which tyranny, without mercy, cause the people much more to fear: and it is greatly doubted that he will do what he can to subdue and destroy your grace's English subjects, in fault of aid and defence; for such as were thereunto appointed did little good. He hath also allured O'Connor unto him, and all other Irishmen that he can get be in aid, burning and destroying your grace's English subjects."—*State Papers.*

† Godwin.

* State Papers. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.—Stow.—Godwin

years old, named Gerald, the younger brother of the Lord Thomas. According to one account he was seized and conveyed to the Tower, and, "trusting not to the weak plea of his innocence, then sick of the measles as he was, he sought, by making an escape, to set himself out of the reach of malice: and being, therefore, packed up in a bundle of clothes, he was privately conveyed to one of his friends, with whom he lurked until he found an opportunity of escaping into France." There is, however, a better ground for believing that the young Fitzgerald was never brought to the Tower at all, but that he was secretly carried out of Ireland into France by a sea-captain or merchant that dwelt at St. Malo, and who chanced "to be with his ship on merchandise in Ireland," where certain monks entreated him to take charge of the noble boy.* The remainder of his history is as authentic as it is romantic. Driven from France at the desire of Henry, who claimed the fulfilment of the old treaty, by which neither power should give refuge to the enemies of the other, the boy sought an asylum in Flanders. There he soon found himself in no less danger than before; upon which he fled into Italy, and implored the protection of his kinsman, Reginald Pole, who received and maintained him very nobly. Under the care of the cardinal the young Irish fugitive received a good education at Rome; and at length, in the reign of Mary, by means of the same protector, he was restored to his country, and to the honours and estates of his ancestors, the earls of Kildare.

The Fitzgeralds had derived a large portion of that power with which they made themselves formidable to the English government by setting themselves against the innovations in the church, and declaring themselves the champions of the old religion. Upon their arrest, Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, prolonged the opposition to Henry, on the same grounds, being generally supported by the native Irish, who had no hope whatever of sharing in the spoils of the abbeys and monasteries, and as generally opposed by the Anglo-Irish nobility, who had good expectations of enriching themselves, as their brethren in England had done, by the processes of suppression and confiscation. If matters had been carried with a high hand in England, we may be sure that the government was not very observant of law and constitutional right in Ireland. By a stretch of authority the whole body of the Irish clergy was excluded from the Irish parliament, in which they had hitherto voted by their proctors; and then statutes were passed abolishing the authority of the pope for ever, declaring Henry supreme head of the Irish church, and giving to him the first fruits and tenths and the estates of the suppressed monasteries. George Brown, a friend of Cromwell, who had been promoted from the office (now abolished) of provincial of the Augustine Friars in England to the archbishopric of Dublin, in lieu of Allen, who had been slain by the Fitzgeralds, was very zealous for the new system in church matters, and equally eager for a share in the spoils of the monasteries; but he encountered many difficulties in both ways; and at the same time the lord-deputy "treated him contemptuously, and vilipended him;" nay, according to his own account, often imprisoned him, and expelled him from his own house! In a letter to Cromwell, dated the 8th of January, 1538, he complains of the great obstinacy of the Irish priests, who, before the king was declared supreme head of the church, "could preach well enough, after the old sort and fashion, holding on even till good Christians were weary of them;" while, now, not one of them would open his lips in any pulpit for the manifestation of the king's right; "but in corners, and with friends of their own, they could full earnestly utter their opinions in favour of the old learning." All, he declares, were bearing against him, but especially the Friars Observants; "which," he says, "be the worst of all others, for I can neither make them swear nor yet preach among us, so little regard they mine authority." A little later he tells his friend Cromwell that he has committed unto ward a suffragan of the Bishop of Meath, who, in a sermon, had prayed first for the Bishop of Rome, then for the emperor, and, last of all, for the king's grace, saying, "I pray God he may never depart this world until he hath made amends." And he complains continually of the great difficulty he finds in dealing with such obstinate and sturdy Papists as the Irish priests. He had also committed "unto ward, for perversity and negligence," another man, a prebendary of St. Patrick's. "Howbeit," he continues, "spite of my beard, yea, and to my great rebuke, while that I was at a house of Observants to swear them, and also to extinct (extinguish) that name, naming them Conventuals, my lord deputy hath set him at liberty—so doth his lordship aid me in my prince's causes! I think the simplest holy-water clerk is better esteemed than I am. I beseech your lordship, in the way of charity, either cause my authority to take effect, or else let me return home again unto the cloister; where, when that I was at the worst, I was in better case than I am now, what with my lord-deputy, the Bishop of Meath, and the *pecuniose* prior of Kilmainham."* It is quite clear, from the frequent lamentations of this prelate, that there was far from being a unanimity of opinion in the Irish council of government, and that the lord-deputy (Lord Leonard Gray) was not over-zealous in asserting the supremacy, and suppressing the religious houses.

Very soon after, in the same year (1538), the archbishop informs Cromwell that he has received his letters, purporting the suppression of religious houses in Ireland, and that he greatly regrets proper orders should not have come to hand sooner; "for," says the careful prelate, "the fame thereof is so notably known that the king's highness will

* State Papers.

* State Papers, Letters from Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, to Cromwell.

lose five thousand marks at least; because all incumbents leave their lands in manner as waste, and nothing tilled, and also continually conceal their moveables; yea, and also alienate their jewels, and others their church ornaments, for which I fear that the king's grace shall have small commodity." He assures the minister that, according to his bounden duty and promises made unto his good lordship, he is doing what in him lieth, being prompt to set forth the gospel of Christ and his prince's just cause, though he finds himself greatly maligned at for the same. He then proceeds to more personal concerns, telling Cromwell that my lord deputy is a heavy lord unto him, having not only sundry times abused his person, but also withheld from him his halves, with other commodities unto him belonging.* The personal quarrels were not confined to the archbishop and the lord deputy: all the functionaries had their feuds and differences, arising out of conflicting religious beliefs, and still more out of jealousy as to the apportioning of the confiscated lands; and it seems to have been the practice of nearly every one of them to play the informer, and to intrigue with the English court for the destruction of his associates. They could never agree as to the proper mode of treating the native Irish, though it is evident that the notion more generally adopted was, that they were to be treated without mercy, for we find continual complaints of there being overmuch favour shown to the Irishry. O'Connor was soon again in arms; and a still more formidable enemy to the English, or to the new system of church government, rose up in the person of O'Neil, the great chieftain of the north. The royal troops, and the Irish kernes acting with them, fell upon O'Neil's country, and plundered and burnt it for six whole days. The *plundering* evidently retarded the operations of the war, which was allowed to linger on for nearly three years; nor was the pacification of the country promoted by the constant breach of faith on the part of the government. One Patrick Barnwell ventured to tell the Earl of Essex that the course pursued was a wrong one, and that, to tranquillise the unhappy country, the lord deputy and the other officers must be men of greater honesty and probity. "His grace's deputy," says this sensible person, "should be faithful, sure, and constant in his promises, and, in especial, in any concluding of peace; and he should be such a person that shall have more regard to his own honour and promise *than to any covetous desire of plunder or booties of cattle;* and he should make no wilful war, but when war is made upon a good ground, that same should be followed till a perfect conclusion, and not left to run large."*

The foreign enemies of Henry were not slow in perceiving his weak point. The Scots occasionally succoured and encouraged the Irish insurgents; and the king was kept in a constant state of alarm by reports of armaments, from Spain or from France, being in Bantry Bay. It was not to be expected that the English would have all the plundering and burning to themselves; in the vicissitudes of war they were often the victims of the same practices. In 1540, soon after the recall of Lord Leonard Gray, O'Connor invaded Kildare, burning every village and every town that he could take; O'Neil fell upon Dundalk; M'Mordo and the O'Tholes moved on another line; and the English pale was visited in its whole length by fire and sword. But in the end of the year O'Connor submitted upon promise of being made a baron, and after a sanguinary victory gained over the kernes, a certain degree of tranquillity was restored.

Hitherto Ireland had been but a lordship; in 1541 Henry resolved to elevate it to the rank of a kingdom. At the same time he adopted the policy of attaching some of the most powerful of the native chiefs, and also such of the great Anglo-Irish proprietors as had not already been ennobled, by admitting them to the honours of the peerage. The allurement thus held out was run after with wonderful eagerness by both. The De Burghs, the O'Briens, the O'Neils, the O'Tholes, the Cavanahs, and the rest were all ready to make a sacrifice of independence for the title and privileges of peers. They consented to hold their lands of the crown by the tenure of military service; they swore fealty to Henry; and they accepted from him houses in Dublin, which they were to inhabit when summoned as peers to the Irish parliament. Thus Ulliac de Burgh became Earl of Clanricarde; Murrock O'Brien, Earl of Thomond; and the formidable O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone. Though not without difficulty, Henry was prevailed upon to follow the advice of Sir Thomas Cusake, and give the Irish chiefs letters patent, securing them in possession of all their lands, with assurances that they should not be encroached upon. This measure somewhat quieted the suspicion which the Irish had long entertained, that the English intended one day to banish them and put them from their lands for ever; a misgiving which caused them to persevere in war and mischief.† The king was pleased to express his hope that the Irishry would now benefit by discreet training, learn to know and reverence Almighty God and their lawful prince, and grow in wealth and civility. He instructed his Irish council to go on with the work of reformation, and suppress the

* He goes on to state one particular grievance which may serve as a specimen of some hundreds of the same kind:—"And whereas I wrote unto your lordship for the attainment of a very poor house of friars, named the New Abbey, a house of the obstinates' religion, which lay very commodious for me at Ballymore, to repair unto in times of need. I am clean dispatched of any pleasure there, and the profit thereof given to an Irishman, so that I am counted an unworthy parson. Wherefore to you, my especial good lord, I make my moan, having none other refuge, beseeching your lordship that, if the Abbey of Gracedieu be suppressed, that I may have it in farm, before another, for it lieth even within the midst of my lands; yea, and also I am founder of the same; and rather than I would lack it, would give the king's highness, yearly, 10*l.* above any other, or else make permutation with his grace for other lands of mine about Ballymore, which be more commodious for his highness."—*State Papers.*

* State Papers.

† Cusake's letter to the council in England, given at length in *State Papers.*

monasteries in the territories of the chiefs who had submitted, setting aside their lands for his use and profit: but feeling the great difficulty of executing these measures in Ireland, he recommended them to be slow and cautious,—to "make good experiment beforehand of their faith and willingness, and not overmuch press them in any vigorous sort," but only persuade them, "discreetly," that the lands of the church were "his proper inheritance." In all these measures there was considerable prudence and ability, and the effect of Henry's general policy was greatly to extend the English power in Ireland.*

We left the affairs of Scotland in a most embarrassed state, at the second departure of the Regent Albany for France, in October, 1522. Henry, who had pretended that the sole cause of his hostility was the presence of that prince, on the retirement of Albany, sent Clarenceux to declare, in a solemn manner, that he held the war to be unnatural, and that he was most desirous of living in peace with his dear nephew James. Nearly at the same moment his troops, collected in the east marches, ravaged and burnt the greater part of Teviotdale; and the Earl of Surrey (the Duke of Norfolk of later times), with 10,000 men, burst into the Merse, burning and destroying all before him, without even respecting the beautiful old abbey of Jedburgh, which he left a heap of ruins. Lord Dacre continued his ancient practices; and whenever there was a traitor in Scotland he was ready to bribe him. In 1523 Albany returned with a fleet of 87 small vessels, 4000 foot soldiers, 500 men-at-arms, 1000 hackbutters, 600 horse, and a decent train of artillery, which had been furnished to him by the French. He found his former close and dear ally, Margaret, the queen-dowager, who had taken to herself another lover, deep in negotiations with Dacre and Surrey, and sold to promote the English interests at the expense of the independence of the Scottish nation and her son's crown. His position was more than ever difficult; the Scots were jealous of the foreign army with which he was surrounded, and, being well informed of what was passing on the continent, they maintained that Albany wished to urge them into a war with England for the sole object of obliging France. At the same time, the English court pretended to be anxious for peace; and the Earl of Surrey, who had coolly proposed to Wolsey to lay waste the Scottish border to the breadth of twelve miles, and make it a desert unfit for the habitation of man, had now nothing but peace upon his lips. But it was always thus—when the Scots were in a condition to make war, they were deluded with pacific protestations; and when they were defenceless Henry attacked them without any formal declaration. The Scottish parliament, however, assembled, and a proclamation was issued for a muster of the whole military force of the kingdom on the 20th of October, that the defeat of Flodden might be avenged, and reprisals made for the incursions of Shrewsbury, Surrey, and the other leaders who had committed such havoc on the borders. By means of money Albany won over some of the most venal of the nobles, and even shook the English politics of the queen-dowager, who, with great delicacy, informed the Earl of Surrey that, unless her brother Henry remitted her more cash, she might possibly join the French interest, and co-operate with Albany. On the appointed day the Scottish army appeared in array near Edinburgh; but Argyle, the Lord Forbes, the Earl of Huntley, and other great lords, were absent; some openly condemning the invasion of England, some pretending sickness. Albany, however, marched to the Tweed with about 40,000 men; but the season was far advanced; the roads were almost impassable for his artillery; the Scots quarrelled with the foreign auxiliaries, and many of their chiefs had engaged with Surrey and Dacre to check the regent's progress. When they reached the wooden bridge of Melrose, a large body of troops refused to cross the Tweed; and, soon after, the divisions which had passed halted, wavered, and then, in spite of Albany's entreaties and reproaches, recrossed the bridge to the Scottish side. The regent then attempted to keep them close on the left bank of the Tweed, and he laid siege to Wark Castle with his foreign troops and artillery. But he was foiled even in this paltry enterprise; and on the 4th of November, after losing some three hundred Frenchmen in an assault, he was compelled to beat a retreat, being speedily followed by the Earl of Surrey, who had been allowed time to collect a formidable army. On his way to the monastery of Eccles, Albany's greatest fear was from the Scottish troops; for he had discovered that some of the lords had concerted a plot for delivering him into the hands of the English, and he was right glad when the mass of the army broke up, and dispersed in the midst of a snow-storm, leaving him with the Frenchmen, who alone had shown courage and good will.* On his return to the capital, some of the Scottish peers accused him of being the cause of the disgrace they themselves had brought about; and, notwithstanding the presence of Surrey on the borders, and the inclemeney of the season, they insisted on his instantly dismissing the foreign auxiliaries. The poor Frenchmen were compelled to embark: the winter storms drove them out of their course, and a considerable part of them were shipwrecked and drowned among the Hebrides. Soon after, in the spring of 1523, Albany, in disgust and despair, returned once more to France, whence he marched with the French king into Italy in the following year. The defeat and capture of Francis at the battle of Pavia completed the ruin of his party in Scotland, where the queen-dowager once more mismanaged affairs for a short time. Henry had opened a correspondence with her husband, the Earl of Angus, who had been living in exile on the continent, and who, upon certain conditions,

* State Papers.

* Buchanan.—Tytler.

engaged to forward the views of the English in his native country. But before this project could be carried into execution, Margaret, assisted by the Earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, and others of the great nobles, got possession of the person of her son, carried him to Edinburgh, and there caused him to be declared of age, and to be proclaimed king. James was twelve years old when he was thus invested with the supreme power, and received the oaths of allegiance of such of the spiritual and temporal peers as had espoused his mother's party. The whole plan was transparent, and all patriotic minds dreaded to see the government of the kingdom again in the hands of so capricious, unwise, and anti-national a person as Margaret. James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, resisted and threw ridicule on the notion of a boy of twelve years being king; for which they were committed to prison. Wolsey flattered Beaton with the promise of a cardinal's hat, if he would renounce his engagements to support the regency established by the Scottish parliament, and become the tool of England; but Beaton, with all his faults, had a high and patriotic spirit; and he rejected these proposals. Henry cared not by what means he obtained the ascendancy: giving up Angus, who was now residing at his court, he determined to support this precious revolution, by which Margaret might reign in her son's name, and he might rule in hers. He sent her and the Earl of Arron some money and two hundred men-at-arms, as a body-guard for the young king; but Margaret was as wilful as her brother: she soon found fault with him for permitting the return of her now odious husband, and she threatened to throw herself into the arms of the enemies of England, unless Angus were kept away from Scotland. At the same time, she clamoured for more money, and demanded the order of the garter for her friend the Earl of Arran. But, very soon after, she disgusted the powerful Arran by taking to herself another paramour, in the person of Henry Stewart, second son of Lord Evandale, a very handsome but inexperienced youth, whom she instantly raised to the important office of lord treasurer. Upon this, her party fell from her rapidly, and she did not mend matters by making her young lover chancellor soon after. She continued, at the same time, to excite the suspicions of Wolsey and her brother Henry, who thereupon renewed negotiations with her husband Angus, who was still at the English court. After many shameful intrigues, Angus, having agreed to do the will of Henry, was sent into Scotland; and, with English assistance, he was enabled to obtain possession of the young king, and, with that, the exercise of the royal authority. After a bold but unsuccessful attempt at resistance, Margaret consented to a treaty by which she was removed from any dependence as a wife upon Angus, and permitted to enjoy a voice in the council and the disposal of a portion of the patronage of the church. She would not have obtained such mild terms had it not been for the mediation of the English court, and the manœuvres of its skilful agents; yet the treaty was scarcely signed when she opened a secret negotiation with Albany and the French court, profession a readiness to go to all extremities against England, provided only they would assist her in expelling her husband Angus, and in getting a divorce from Rome. But by this time Francis was a prisoner and Albany powerless; and, to complete her misfortunes, her brother's agents intercepted her letters, and laid them before the enraged majesty of England, who wrote his loving sister such a philippic, that she burst into tears as she perused it, and complained that the style was more fit for a vulgar railer than to be employed by a king to a noble lady. She was now deprived of the very limited share of authority she had possessed; and her husband Angus, with the rest of the Douglases governed the country. Angus consented, at last (in 1526), to a divorce, and Margaret married her paramour, and fell into deserved contempt with all parties.*

The young King James soon felt a desire to free himself from the thraldom of the Douglases; and in July, 1528, when he was in his seventeenth year, with the assistance of Archbishop Beaton, he escaped from the honourable confinement in which he was held, disguised as a yeoman of the guard, and threw himself into Stirling Castle, where he was soon joined by the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Eglintoun, and Murray, and by many other powerful noblemen, who saluted him as their free and uncontrolled monarch—and, for the first time in his life, James *was* free. He instantly issued a proclamation, forbidding Angus, or any lord or retainer of the House of Douglas, to approach within six miles of his court, under pain of treason, and he presently levied an army, which enabled him to drive his enemies across the borders. Angus became the pensioner of Henry, and remained for some years an exile in England. The young James soon proved that he was very capable of the duties of government; and his frank, generous disposition, and easy popular manners, gained him the hearts of his subjects. He resolved to free his country from foreign dictation and the interference of England; and to that end he sought the alliance of the emperor and the French king. In 1532 the intrigues of the Earl of Bothwell, who had traitorously allied himself with England, and the desperation of Angus and the banished Douglases, brought on a war between the two countries; but hostilities were confined to the borders, where, properly speaking, peace never reigned; and a treaty was soon concluded under the mediation of the French king. The treaty, on terms very honourable to Scotland, was signed on the 12th of May, 1534. James was now in his twenty-second year. His ministers were very anxious that he should marry; but unfortunately he inherited his father's propensity to irregular amours, and, in

* She died in 1539, having, with great difficulty, been prevailed upon *not* to divorce her third husband.

the society of his [illegible], he felt no very earnest desire to become [illegible] England. To secure him in his interests, the Emperor Charles, who was then smarting under the insults offered to his aunt Catherine, proposed that he should espouse his niece, the Princess Mary of Portugal; but James evaded the [illegible] care, however, to deplore the king of [illegible] conduct, and to express his own determination of supporting in Scotland the religion [illegible] ancestors. His counsellors were chiefly [illegible] whose intolerance was heightened by the [illegible] fact, that many of the Scottish nobles who [illegible] to a reform of the church were bad patriots, [illegible] in the pay of England. These priests induced [illegible] king to preside in person at the trial of David Straiton and Norman Gourlay, who were convicted as heretics, and burnt at the rood of Greenside, on the Calton Hill, Edinburgh, on the 27th of August, 1534. Other individuals suspected of entertaining the opinions of Luther were driven into exile. An act passed some years before against the importation of the works of the great heretic Luther was renewed; the discussion of his opinions, except with the view of overthrowing them, was prohibited; and all Scotsmen possessing heretical books were commanded to deliver them up within forty days, under penalty of confiscation and imprisonment. The more Henry attacked the Roman church, the more James seemed determined to defend it. The English court was much distressed by this diversity of opinion; and, to win over his nephew, Henry made him an offer of the hand of his own daughter Mary, and sent him one of his own priests, Dr. Barlow, to preach to him. This Barlow found slight encouragement at the Scottish court, and the Scottish clergy shut up all the pulpits against him; upon which he described the clerical counsellors of James as being "the pope's pestilent preachers, and very limbs of the devil." The matrimonial negotiation fell to the ground, and so did a proposal made by Henry for a meeting with his nephew at York; and James soon after concluded a treaty of marriage with Marie de Bourbon, a daughter of the Duke of Vendome. Irritated by some delays—to the causes of which it is supposed that Henry was no stranger—and anxious to see his affianced bride before marrying her, James sailed for France, where the lively king received him with great honour. James was not pleased with the personal appearance of Marie de Bourbon, but he was charmed by the Princess Magdalen, the daughter of the French king, a beautiful girl of sixteen; and Francis and the other parties interested were easily induced to agree that he should marry her instead of Marie. The ceremony took place in January, 1537, in the church of Notre Dame, at Paris; and on the 19th of May the royal couple landed safely at Leith. But Magdalen, who was in a delicate state of health when she married, died of a rapid decline on the 7th of July, leaving her husband in great affliction, from which, however, he was soon sufficiently roused to send David Beaton, afterwards the celebrated cardinal, to look out for another wife in France. Beaton, who was accompanied by Lord Maxwell and the Master of Glencairn, presently concluded a match with Mary of Guise, the widow of the Duke of Longueville, a lady who had refused the hand of his uncle of England. Mary of Guise arrived in Scotland, and the king's second marriage was celebrated in the cathedral church of St. Andrew's within a year after the death of his first wife. The Pilgrimage of Grace and other events in England, the Catholic feelings of his wife Mary, and other circumstances, confirmed James in his opposition to religious reform; and the affairs of the Scottish church, and in good part those of the nation, were chiefly intrusted to David Beaton, who, in the autumn of 1539, succeeded his uncle, James Beaton, in the primacy. The pope had addressed flattering messages to the king, and David Beaton had received a cardinal's hat—a melancholy effect of which high honours was soon seen in the burning of more heretics. These detestable executions drove all those who favoured the new doctrine into an alliance with the banished Douglases, who could only work by English means, and by modes perilous to the national independence. And this course again exasperated the king more than ever against the Protestants. For a long time patriotism was allied with the old religion, and the new religion was banded with disaffection and anti-nationality. James was under no great obligation to his uncle Henry, who had striven hard to ruin him and his kingdom, from his childhood upwards. When the pope published the sentence of excommunication against the heretical and impious ex-king of England, James was pressed to join the league which, it was supposed for a time, the emperor and the French king had formed for the purpose of executing the papal sentence upon Henry; and it is quite certain that Cardinal Beaton, and the other priests that directed the Scottish councils, were disposed to go all possible lengths. At the moment of Henry's greatest anxiety, when Cardinal Pole was at Cambray, Sir Ralph Sadler, a gentleman of the privy chamber, and as adroit a diplomatist as ever took the field, was dispatched as ambassador to Edinburgh, with instructions to penetrate into James's plans,—to assure him that his loving uncle had none but the most friendly intentions towards him,—and to win over the Scottish king to Henry's anti-papal politics, by tempting him with the easy prospect of seizing all the monastic property in Scotland. He was to labour to remove all ancient grudges,—to represent that, after all differences, Henry was a nearer relation to James than any of the continental princes,—and to make use of all his art and address in order to prevent James from permitting the publication in Scotland of the bull of excommunication and forfeiture. The Scottish king received Sir Ralph Sadler very courteously; and, as it was soon seen that neither of the two great Catholic powers on the continent had any serious intention of involving itself in a war with England on account

of the pope and the English monks, James became still more friendly to the skilful envoy, assuring him that he would not in any way embarrass his uncle, if his uncle would leave him the quiet sovereignty of his own states. But Henry, who knew the zeal of Beaton and the other Papist ministers of James, who had taken no care to conceal their opinion of his reforms and suppressions, could rest satisfied with nothing less than their overthrow, and the conversion of his nephew to his own peculiar system of religion, which was neither Roman nor Protestant, and which certainly would have given satisfaction to no party in Scotland, though the Reformers of that kingdom might lean towards it as an opening to better things. In February, 1540, he sent his dear nephew six fine stallions, in presenting which Sadler was to request a private audience, and to exact a promise that what passed between them should be kept strictly secret. Cromwell, by some means, had obtained possession of certain letters addressed by Cardinal Beaton to Rome; these Sadler was to lay before the king, and to argue from their contents that that minister aimed at usurping the royal authority. Accordingly, at the private conference, the envoy produced them, but without any other effect than exciting a laugh from the king, who assured him that Beaton had shown them to him long ago. Sadler then observed that his uncle Henry was quite ashamed at his meanness in keeping great flocks of sheep to increase his income, as if he were a mere farmer, and not a crowned king. A more kingly manner of supplying himself with money would be to sequestrate the property of the monks, the immorality of whose lives was as notorious in Scotland as in England. But Sadler soon found that his horses and arguments, not excepting the taunt about the sheep, were wholly thrown away upon James, who, while he admitted that some of the monks were bad enough, and swore an oath that he would make them amend their lives, praised the virtue, learning, and loyalty of the Scottish churchmen as a body, and declined enriching himself at their expense. Sadler then tried to dazzle the Scottish king with the notion that his uncle Henry might think seriously of naming him heir to the crown of England in the event of his only son Prince Edward's death; and he finally proposed that James should consent to meet his uncle at York, where all these high matters might be discussed personally between them. But here, again, Sadler failed: James evidently feared to put himself so much in his uncle's power; and, after some expressions of gratitude for the good intentions of his grace of England, he proposed that his ally, the King of France, should be present at the interview. Sadler very correctly ascribed his failure to the Scottish clergy. As to the lay lords, if we may believe his letters to his employers (and we see no reason for doubting them on this point), he found them ready enough to enrich themselves with the spoils of the monastic establishments, as their brethren had done in England.* But here there was a marked difference between the two countries; and policy alone might have kept James to a different path. In England the mighty power of the aristocracy was broken before Henry began his weakening of the church; but in Scotland that power was almost intact,—the lay barons were almost as formidable and lawless as in the early days of the feudal system; and it was only by opposing to them the wealth and power of the church that the king could keep his seat. James, indeed, continued to support the church with all his might, not hesitating to adopt from his priestly counsellors a fierce spirit of intolerance and persecution. Early in the following year his parliament passed more severe statutes against heresy. It was declared to be a capital offence to question the supreme authority or the spiritual infallibility of the pope; no person with the least taint of heresy was to enjoy any office under government; no private meetings, or conventicles or societies for the discussion of religious subjects, were allowed, and informers against them were invited by high rewards; no good Catholic was to hold intercourse with any man or woman that had *at any time* entertained heretical notions, were it his own brother or sister; the casting down of images of saints and the Virgin was declared to be a damnable offence; and a reference was made in the act to that rage for destroying the sacred edifices, which was now in its infancy, but which gathered strength under persecution, and which in a few years left the beautiful abbeys and churches of Scotland heaps of sightless ruins. At the same time, however, the parliament exhorted all churchmen, high or low, to reform their lives and conversation, in order to remove a great ground of scandal and reproach.†

Soon after this Cardinal Beaton, and Panter, the king's secretary, proceeded on an embassy to Rome, *with secret instructions*. Alarmed at this mission, and at some new demonstrations on the continent, Henry again pressed his nephew to meet him at York; and James, it appears, either consented or deceived the English envoys with vague and ambiguous language. The English king, in the month of August, took the northern road (it was the fatal journey which preceded the arrest of Catherine Howard), travelled on to York, and waited there six days for the coming of the Scottish king. But James came not; and Henry, furious at what he considered a flaming insult, retraced his steps to London, whence he soon issued orders to Sir Robert Bowes to levy troops near the borders, and to the Archbishop of York to make search into the records and muniments, so as to ascertain and establish the just title of the kings of England to the kingdom of Scotland,—which absurd claim he was resolved to revive.‡ James sent an embassy to deprecate his uncle's wrath; but Beaton and the Catholic party gene-

* Sadler's State Papers.
† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.
‡ State Papers.—Sadler.—Tytler.

rally were not averse to an open war, fearing greatly that their needy king might not always resist the tempting proposals of the English suppressionists. But, in good truth, peace had never been established on the borders; on the one side of which were the banished Douglases, eager to recover their estates with their swords; and on the other, English exiles, the victims of the Pilgrimage of Grace, who were animated with the same desire. The first great movement, however, proceeded from the English lines: in August, 1542, Sir James Bowes, the warden of the east marches, with the Earl of Angus, Sir George Douglas, and other Scottish exiles, with a body of three thousand horse, rushed into Teviotdale. The invading force was met at Haddenrig by the Earl of Huntley and Lord Home, who gained a complete victory, taking no fewer than six hundred prisoners of note. Henry, after proclaiming by manifestoes that the Scots were the aggressors, ordered a levy of forty thousand men, and sent the Duke of Norfolk, the earls of Southampton, Shrewsbury, Derby, Rutland, and Hertford to take the command of this army, which was joined by Angus and all the banished Douglases that had survived the fight at Haddenrig. It is generally stated that James, by opening a negotiation, detained Norfolk, who had the chief command, for several days at York, during which time he put his own army in readiness; but we believe that the true reason of Norfolk's delay arose out of a want of money, and a consequent difficulty in raising the forty thousand men. At last, in the end of October, preceded by a fresh manifesto, in which Henry claimed the sovereignty of Scotland, Norfolk crossed the border, and burned two towns and twenty villages on the left bank of the Tweed. There he continued ransacking the country without any opposition, and without venturing to advance, as James was gathering an army in his front, while Huntley, Home, and Seton were watching him on the flank. Thirty thousand men gathered round the standard of James on the Borough Muir, near Edinburgh; but there was disaffection in his camp: many of the nobles favoured the doctrines of the Reformation, either from a conviction of their truth or from an earnest desire to possess themselves of the lands and houses of the monks; others were led wholly by their hereditary attachment to the banished Douglases, whose standard floated on the side of the English; others, again, felt the unprofitableness of a war with England, and were of opinion that they should only act on the defensive. The provocation was great, but the latter would have been the wisest course; for, before James reached the Lammermuir Hills, Norfolk, in want of provisions, and distressed by the inclemency of the weather, was in full retreat. Having halted on Fala Muir, and reviewed his troops, which were exceedingly well appointed, though, like the enemy, somewhat short of provisions, James proposed that they should follow Norfolk, and make retaliation for his raid in England; but, to his great dismay, nearly every chief refused to cross the borders, alleging the lateness of the season, the difficulty of obtaining provisions, and the imprudence of exposing the person of their sovereign, who, like his father, might find a Flodden Field. It was in vain that the gallant James called them cowards and traitors, and attempted to excite their revenge by pointing out the still smoking towns, and villages, and Scottish farms that marked the line of Norfolk's destructive march;—they would not move forward—they began to disband—and the king was obliged to ride back, with a bursting heart, to Edinburgh. The clergy, with a few of the peers, resolved to make an effort to retrieve the disgrace under which the king was sinking; and Lord Maxwell contrived to get together a force of ten thousand men, with which he proposed to burst suddenly into England by the western marches, and to remain there as many days as Norfolk had remained in Scotland, burning and destroying in the like manner. James rode with this little army to the castle of Caerlaverock, where, by agreement with his council, he halted: Maxwell dashed across the border; but, no sooner were the Scots on English ground, on Solway Moss, than Oliver Sinclair, the king's minion, as he is termed, produced a commission appointing him to the supreme command of the army. Upon this many of the proud chiefs swore they would not serve under any such leader; and the clans and most of the troops broke out into open mutiny. In the midst of this scene of hopeless confusion a body of three hundred English horse came up to reconnoitre. The Scots took them for the van of Norfolk's army, and, without attempting to ascertain the fact, fled in the greatest disorder. The English horse, charging the fugitives, took nearly one thousand prisoners,—among whom were included the earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, the lords Somerville, Maxwell, Gray, Oliphant, and Fleming, the masters of Erskine and Rothes, and Home of Ayton,—and then marched back towards merry Carlisle.* This disgraceful and unparalleled defeat was a death-blow to James: he rode slowly back to Edinburgh, and from Edinburgh he proceeded to his palace at Falkland, where he shut himself up, brooding over his disgrace, and sitting for hours without speaking a word to any living being. There are few such authenticated cases of dying of what is called a broken heart. He was in the flower and prime of life, being only in his thirty-first year, and, up to this last calamity, his constitution was vigorous, and he had scarcely known sickness; but now a slow fever fixed upon him, and he sank most rapidly. His wife, Mary of Guise, had borne him

* State Papers. — Hall. — Herbert. — Some accounts make the English horse five or six hundred, instead of three hundred; but no increase of numbers can explain what happened to the honour of the Scots. We are justified in suspecting that many of them, who had been traitors before, and who agreed to sell their country afterwards, were taken willing prisoners. Others, according to Bishop Godwin, were taken by *Scottish* freebooters, and *sold* to the *English*.—"We charge them furiously; the Scots amazedly fly; many are slain, many taken; more plunged into the neighbouring fens, and, taken by Scottish freebooters, sold to us."—Godwin.

two sons, but they had both died in their infancy; she was now a third time *enceinte*, and near her time, and it was hoped that a seasonable turn might be given to his consuming thoughts by the birth of a son and heir; but the queen was delivered of a daughter,—the unfortunate Mary; and James died, on the 14th of December, seven days after her birth, foreseeing the dismal fate of his child and his country, and muttering in his last moments, "it came with a girl, and it will go with a girl."*

A.D. 1543.—The news of his nephew's death possessed Henry with new hopes of uniting Great Britain under one head. England had a young prince, and Scotland a queen, and he determined to marry his son Edward to the infant Mary. If he had been content with an arrangement for the future he might have succeeded, and, had Edward lived, a great blessing for both countries would have been achieved; but Henry was anxious for an *immediate* enjoyment of the united sovereignty, and resolved to demand, as the natural guardian of the young princess, the entire government of the Scottish kingdom; and this selfishness and precipitancy defeated his scheme. He, however, proceeded at first with considerable craft, and found noble and powerful Scots, who, from a ghostly anxiety to establish the reformed religion in Scotland, and, still more, from motives of self-interest, were ready to throw their country in fetters at his feet. Foremost among these were the Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas, who had both long been in his confidence, and bound to his service, soul and body. But the earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, the lords Somerville, Maxwell, Gray, and the other nobles who had been taken prisoners in the disgraceful rout at Solway Moss, and had been at first (at least in outward appearance) very harshly treated by Henry, who shut them up for a few days in the Tower like rebels and traitors, were also ready to second his views, in order to obtain their liberty. As soon as they showed this disposition Henry treated them with great honour and kindness, and under these blandishments their last faint feelings of patriotism departed. They concluded a formal and a solemn treaty, agreeing to acknowledge Henry as the sovereign lord of Scotland, to exert their influence in order to procure for him the government of the kingdom, with the possession of all the fortresses and the person of the infant queen, Mary, who was to be delivered into his hands, to be kept in England. They swore to this treaty; they delivered hostages for its execution, promising that, if they failed, they would return into England to the same state of captivity in which they were before the treaty was made. Sir George Douglas, the brother of Angus, was entrusted with the chief management of the business; and all these unpatriotic lords were bound to proceed with great caution, and to feel their way, at first, by merely speaking of the benefits of the marriage, without alluding to any of its immediate consequences.*

As soon as James was dead, Cardinal Beaton produced a will, by which *he* was appointed guardian to the infant queen, and regent or "governor" of the realm, with the assistance of a council composed of the Earls of Argyle, Huntley, and Murray. The Earl of Arran, now presumptive heir to the throne, and as much wedded to the reforming party as Beaton was to the papists, declared that this will was a forgery, and he had sufficient power to drive the cardinal from his office, and to acquire possession of it himself in the course of a very few days. Arran became regent or governor on the 22nd of December, 1542, upon which the current set wholly in favour of the Protestant party. It was determined that Angus and the Douglases should be recalled from their long exile of fifteen years. It was not then known that they had agreed to sacrifice the independence of the kingdom; and they did not leave England until after the 10th of January, 1543, when they received a safe conduct from the Earl of Arran,† permitting them freely to return to their homes. In order to ruin Cardinal Beaton and his party, a scroll was produced which was said to have been found upon the king's person at his death, and which contained a list of above three hundred and sixty of the Scottish nobility and gentry, who were marked out as heretics, and, as such, recommended as proper objects for confiscation and other penalties. There is at least as good ground for believing that this scroll was a forgery, as that the will produced by the cardinal was a forgery; but it had the effect of uniting all the Protestant party, and many men who had been neutral, in a most hostile feeling against Beaton, who was by them universally accused of having drawn up the list, after the refusal of the army to march with the king into England. At the very head of the list stood the name of the Earl of Arran, now regent! The cardinal dispatched agents to France to represent to the House of Guise the danger of the queen-dowager and her infant, and to beg for a supply of money and troops to resist the encroachments of the King of England and the manœuvres of the Scottish party sold to that monarch. As soon as the marriage was whispered, he saw all that Henry intended thereby, and he everywhere denounced the project, as tending to nothing less than the enslaving of Scotland. To quiet his dangerous eloquence, Arran, who found it necessary to seek the support of the men who had engaged to sacrifice their country, ordered his instant arrest; and the cardinal was seized on a charge of high treason, and carried off to the castle of Blackness, before he could get his own party together. Beaton had been recently appointed

* Lesly.—Drummond.—Maitland.—Sir W. Scott.—Tytler.—The crown of Scotland was brought into the family of the Stuarts by a daughter of the Bruce.

* State Papers.

† Sir George Douglas went first about the 10th of January; but the Earl of Angus, and those noblemen who had been prisoners of war, did not leave England until some weeks after.—*State Papers.*

legate *a latere* for Scotland; and his influence with the clergy was as boundless as was their conviction that his talent and energy alone could prevent their ruin. They now shut up their churches; they refused to administer the sacraments, or to bury the dead; and, as the great mass of the people were as yet Catholics, this conduct produced a deep impression; while, being relieved from other duties, the priests and monks had more time to devote to politics. A cry was soon raised that the Douglases had become the pensioners of England, and that Arran, the regent, had leagued himself with them to sell his country, under cover of a marriage and friendly alliance; and, whatever may be the merits of that party in other respects, with the evidence we have before us,* we cannot deny that this charge was mainly true, or question, for one moment, that the Roman priesthood was still on the patriotic side. Henry, in the mean time, was far too impatient. As if to proclaim his intentions, he demanded that Cardinal Beaton should be delivered into his hands; and he pressed Angus and the Scottish prisoners to begin by putting him in possession of the Scottish fortresses at once. The traitors told him that, if he would wait patiently, all would go well, and they would fulfil all that had been stipulated between them: but patience was a virtue unknown to Henry; he would only allow them a given time—he would only consent to prolong the truce till the month of June; and he at once collected what troops he could in the northern provinces. The heart of Wallace and the Bruce still beat in the general bosom of the brave Scottish people, though the proudest of the aristocracy—the barons of "the broken faith and the bloody hand"—were Baliols and Comyns. The traitor Sir George Douglas soon told Henry that to demand the government for him would be a perilous and fatal step; "for," quoth he, "there is not so little boy but he will hurl stones against it; and the wives will handle their distaffs, and the commons universally will rather die; yea, and many of the noblemen, and all the clergy, be fully against it."† With all this patriotism, however,—with all their passion for national freedom,—the papist party seemed resolved to allow of no liberty of conscience in religious matters. The Earls of Huntley, Bothwell, and Murray had demanded that Cardinal Beaton should be set at liberty, offering themselves in bail for his appearance, to answer the charges brought against him. Arran, the regent, refused. They then called to their assistance the Earl of Argyle, and repaired to Perth, where they were soon joined by a great number of bishops and abbots, and many barons and knights. They then drew up certain articles, which were presented to Arran and the council of regency by the Bishop of Orkney and Sir John Campbell of Caldour, uncle to the Earl of Argyle. One of the principal of these articles was, that the New Testament should not go abroad; by which was meant, that it should not be published in the vulgar tongue, or circulated among the people:—another was, that the cardinal should be set at liberty. By the third article they demanded a share in the council; and, by the fourth, they insisted that the ambassadors appointed to go to England should be changed for men of less questionable integrity and patriotism. Arran replied that he would grant them no such unreasonable desires; and the bishop and knight were presently followed to Perth by his herald-at-arms, who charged them, under pain of treason, to break up their meeting, and repair to the capital, to serve the government. The assembled lords, both lay and spiritual, readily obeyed, and, with a very few exceptions, went to attend the parliament, which was summoned for the 12th of March, 1543; but they had come to a good understanding among themselves—they were on their guard, and it was scarcely possible that any measure dangerous to the independence of Scotland should be carried, or even proposed in their presence, and in the state to which *they* had brought the popular mind. The parliament, which met on the appointed day, is described by the traitors Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas to the English court, as being the most "substantial parliament that ever was seen in Scotland in any man's remembrance, and best furnished with all the three estates."* The Archbishop of Glasgow, as chancellor, introduced the English proposals of peace and marriage: all voices were in favour of the union, but not one dared to propose the other demands which the king of England had advanced as indispensable preliminaries — as conditions, without which he would do nothing. The parliament, in recommending the marriage, recommended also that their young queen should, on no account, be sent into England; and they made, with jealous care, sundry regulations for preserving the national independence under all circumstances.†

Henry flew into a paroxysm of rage when he heard the turn this affair had taken; and Sir Ralph Sadler was instructed to reprimand Angus and his associates. If Sadler tells the truth, he executed his scolding commission with great effect; and Angus, Sir George Douglas, and the rest excused themselves by assuring him that they could not do more on his majesty's behalf, and that to attempt to do more, without the presence, on the frontiers, or in Scotland, of a very powerful English army, would be fatal. At the same time, Sadler, who would not have doubted lightly of the success of those intrigues of which

* Chiefly in Sadler's State Papers, and in the volumes of State Papers so often referred to, the *two* last volumes of which, relating wholly to Scotland, have just been published by government. Mr. Tytler had the merit of searching these last papers in their MS. state, and of deriving from them much valuable information, which, in some instances, throws an entirely new light on Scottish history—in others, gives positive proof and certainty to what before was doubtful.—See his *Hist. Scot.*

† Sadler.—State Papers.

* State Papers.—Letter from the Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas to the English Lord Lisle.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.

he was so expert a manager, wrote to one of the English ministers, that, in his opinion, "the Scots would rather suffer any extremity than come to the obedience and subjection of England,—that they would have their own realm free, and live within themselves after their own laws and customs."* Henry then attempted to terrify or cajole the Regent Arran—a weak and corrupt man, but not wholly destitute of honour and national feeling. He promised that he would give his daughter Elizabeth in marriage to Arran's son; but here a consideration of a selfish nature intervened; for Arran contemplated uniting his son to the young Queen Mary. The regent's passion for church reform was not overlooked; but here, again, Arran could hardly agree with the English reformer, who continued to maintain the chief dogmas of the Catholic church with fire and fagot; for Arran was at this time a thorough Protestant, entertaining in his house one John Rough, and one brother William, whom Henry most indubitably would have burned as pestilent heretics. At this very moment Cardinal Beaton recovered his liberty. By what means this was effected is not very clear, but the consequences were soon apparent. The Earl of Lennox, who had served Francis I. in his Italian wars, and who was very nearly related to the royal family of Scotland, was set up as a rival to Arran; and supplies of money and ammunition were brought over from Francis, who undertook to exert himself to the utmost, in order to prevent altogether the English marriage and alliance. But, at the same time, Angus, Sir George Douglas, and the other paid and pensioned agents of Henry, were not idle; and there is full proof that they really intended—at one time confidently hoped—to do the will of the English king, and sacrifice the liberties of their country. By their advice, Henry relaxed in the harshness of his demands, and agreed to wait the effect of time and intrigue. On the 1st of July his commissioners met Sir George Douglas, the Earl of Glencairn, Sir James Learmont, Sir William Hamilton, and Balnavis, the Scotch secretary, at Greenwich, and there finally arranged a less objectionable treaty. It was agreed, that Queen Mary should marry Edward Prince of Wales, as soon as she was of proper age, and that a perfect peace should be established, from the signing of the treaty, between the two countries; that Mary should remain in Scotland until she completed her tenth year—Henry being permitted to send thither an English nobleman, with his wife and family, to form part of her household; and that two Scottish earls and four barons should be sent forthwith into England as hostages. It was provided in the treaty, and set down as an indefeasible part of it, that in all cases the ancient kingdom of Scotland should keep her name, and be governed by her own laws.† It was afterwards made matter of grievous complaint, that the Scots should depart from so rational and fair a treaty; and if there had been nothing more meant than was expressed in these articles, the complaint might be well founded. But, in effect, this outward parchment was but a cover to a scheme of the utmost perfidy—a scheme which must have been suspected by the Scottish statesmen of those days, though it has only been fully brought to light in our own by the research of a national historian.* Under the treaty of Greenwich there was what was called a *secret device*,—a name which very happily expresses the nature of the thing. By this precious compact, Angus, his brother George, Maxwell, Glencairn, Cassillis, and the rest, bound themselves once more to the service of Henry,—undertook, in case of need, to arm in his favour, and to adhere solely to his interests; "so that he should attain all the things then pacted and covenanted, or, at the least, the dominion on this side the Firth;" by which last expression was meant the whole of the south of Scotland.†

But the treaty was scarcely concluded, when Cardinal Beaton and the Earl of Huntley collected an army in the north of Scotland, when Argyle and Lennox rose in the west, and Bothwell, Home, and the Laird of Buccleugh, mustered their vassals along the borders. Their manifesto stated that they were forced into these hostile measures by Arran and the Douglases, who threatened their holy church, and who had sold their country to Henry. At this crisis, or a little later, Arran, who was receiving money from the English court, sent to request the assistance of an English army. Before this, Henry tried every possible means for seizing Beaton, and getting possession of the person of Queen Mary. The cardinal dreaded his stratagems and the effect of his gold; and he resolved to put the infant Mary in safer keeping. She was living with her mother, Mary of Guise, in the palace of Linlithgow, guarded by a great force appointed by Arran and the Hamiltons. By combined movements, the cardinal brought all the forces of Lennox, Huntley, Argyle, and Bothwell, together with the Buccleughs and the Kers, to act suddenly at one moment on Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. Arran and the Douglases yielded to the storm; and the infant queen, with the queen-dowager, were given up to Beaton's party, and conveyed for safety to Stirling Castle.‡ Arran, however, retained the office of regent or governor; and in the month of August of the same year (1543) he caused the treaties with England to be ratified by the nobles, and himself swore to their faithful observance.§ Cardinal Beaton and his party represented, with perfect truth, that this ratification was made contrary to the wishes of the great body of the nation,

* *State Papers*, published by government.
† Rymer.—Sadler's State Papers.

* Mr. Tytler.
† State Papers. "Copy of the Secret Device," dated July 1, 1543. Further information as to these treacherous transactions exists in the "Hamilton MSS." in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton, and quoted by Mr. Tytler.
‡ "Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, from Death of James IV. to 1575, 4to. Edin. 1833:" a valuable volume, printed by the Bannatyne Club.
§ Sadler.—State Papers.

—that it was unauthorised by parliament, and in consequence illegal. Henry chose this very moment for offering a fresh provocation. As soon as the treaty of peace was published, some Scottish merchants ventured to send to sea a number of ships; these ships were driven by stress of weather into an English port, where, by the king's orders, they were seized, and their cargoes confiscated, under pretence that they were carrying provision to his majesty's enemies in France.* This measure excited such a fury in Edinburgh, that Sir Ralph Sadler found his life in danger from the populace; upon which Henry threatened the magistrates of that capital with his high displeasure. Angus, Cassillis, Glencairn, and the other pensioners of England, now thought that it would be better to bring matters to a crisis openly, and they strongly recommended Henry to send a main army for the conquest of the realm—the time, they said, being come: but Arran, the regent, seems to have trembled at the exasperation of the Scottish people; and, to the surprise of most men, on the 3rd of September, only six days after protesting to Sadler that no prince alive should have his heart and service save only the English king, he met the cardinal by appointment at Callendar House, and entirely reconciled himself with that party, agreeing to renounce all former pledges, and even his attachment to the reformed doctrines. Very soon after, he publicly abjured his heresy in the Franciscan convent of Stirling, and received absolution for his late wandering from the holy Catholic faith. Beaton then applied himself to win over the Earl of Angus and his traitorous associates; but these men seemed determined to earn their pensions, and, withdrawing to Douglas Castle, they assembled their vassals, and drew up a new bond or covenant, to employ their whole strength in fulfilling their engagements with the king of England. Lord Somerville undertook to deliver this bond to Henry, and to concert with him proper warlike measures. Beaton, on the other side, caused the infant queen to be crowned at Stirling, appointed a new council, and made Arran, as governor or regent, take a most solemn oath to govern according to the advice of this council. He would have referred the subject of the treaties, and all other disputes with England, to the consideration of a great convention of the nobles and to the national parliament; but Henry had already determined upon war, and was mustering forces to co-operate with Angus and the other traitors. On a sudden, the Earl of Lennox, whom the cardinal had played off with good effect against Arran, disgusted with the reconciliation that had taken place between Beaton and the regent, and led by other base motives, threw himself into the English interests. Lennox was a scoundrel worthy of his new associates. To him had been intrusted the recent negotiations with the French court; and when the Sieur de la Brosse arrived with a few ships, bearing fifty pieces of artillery, some military stores, and ten thousand crowns to be distributed amongst the anti-English party, he anchored at Dunbarton, *because* the town and castle were devoted to his friend the Earl of Lennox. Taking good care not to inform him of his sudden change of politics, Lennox got all the gold, and then left the poor ambassador to discover his mistake. In his eagerness for the money, Lennox lost the rest of the cargo on board the French ships, which landed a papal legate, Marco Grimani, who was commissioned to confirm Arran in his new zeal for Papistry, and to attend to the affairs of the church generally. The more patriotic of the Scottish nobles entertained this clever and polished Italian with great hospitality; and one great effect of his long visit was to confirm the Scots in their determination of remaining steady to their French alliance, and resisting the English king in all things.* But there wanted no legate from the pope to excite the Scottish people. Somerville was seized, and the traitorous bond recently signed at Douglas Castle was found upon his person, along with other letters, which disclosed the full extent of that treasonable plan. Maxwell, another chief agent of the English party, was seized at the same time. Angus, with the Douglases and others, took up arms; but they were disconcerted by the decisive steps of the regent, who now acted under the control of Cardinal Beaton. Dalkeith and Pinkie, two of the chief places of the Douglases, were occupied by government troops, and Angus was obliged to take refuge in his strong castle of Tantallon, carrying with him his dear friend Sir Ralph Sadler, whose life, by all law, was forfeited to the Scots. The Scottish parliament met in unusual numbers; and Grimani, the legate, and the French ambassadors, De la Brosse and Mesnage, were introduced at proper moments. Arran would have hesitated, but Beaton boldly caused Angus, and all of his party whose names were to the infamous bond signed at Douglas Castle, to be accused of treason; and, not stopping here, the parliament, under the same energetic direction, declared that the late treaties of peace and marriage with England were void and at an end, in consequence of the unjust conduct of the king in seizing the Scottish ships, promoting incursions on the borders, and refusing to ratify the peace in proper time. De la Brosse and Mesnage delivered a message from Francis, who was expecting to be invaded by the English. The ambassadors reminded the parliament that the steady friendship of the French for the Scots was far preferable to any alliance with their dangerous neighbours, the English; that it was pure and disinterested; and the Scots knew very well that the French were not likely to covet possession of their country. Cardinal Beaton, with a part of the council, carefully revised the ancient treaties with France, and renewed them with sundry additional clauses. Scottish embassies were sent to France, to Denmark,

* Henry had just declared war against Francis.

* State Papers.—Sadler.—Diurnal of Occurrents.—Hamilton MSS., as quoted by Tytler (Hist. Scot.) and Chalmers (Life of Mary).

to Bavaria, to Spain; and all diplomatic measures were adopted to give respectability and strength to the cause.* A pause in the affairs of Scotland will now allow us to bring up our account of the contemporary matters.

Henry had for some time been greatly dissatisfied with his ally Francis. They had never been good friends since the marriage with Anne Boleyn; but it was the steady encouragement given by the French king to the Scots that brought about an open rupture. Before declaring himself Henry sought a reconciliation with their old and common enemy, the emperor; and Charles, though greatly grown in power and in experience, had still such respect for the might of England as to be ready to make many concessions to her capricious king, in order to obtain her alliance. He was willing to admit that, as his aunt Catherine, and her rival Anne Boleyn, were both in their graves, all causes of difference ought to be buried with them; but still Charles was anxious to remove an insult to his family that had been made permanent in the person of Catherine's daughter, the Princess Mary. Here, as on other occasions, Henry's "subtle devisings" saved his pride, and the service to be done was thrown upon that slave of all-work—the parliament. Without mentioning her legitimacy, which would have been to declare that the king had acted most unlawfully by her mother, they passed an act restoring Mary to her place in the succession, and both her and her half-sister, the Princess Elizabeth, to their civil rights; so that it was now treason to hold the marriages of the king with Catherine of Arragon and Anne Boleyn to be legal,—it was treason to hold the children by the said marriages to be illegitimate,—it was treason to be silent upon the subject,—and it was treason to refuse to take an oath upon it when required.† The emperor, who had suffered severe losses in his last campaign, was fain to be satisfied with this very extraordinary act, and a treaty was concluded in the month of February (1543) upon the following rational conditions:—1. To begin like good Christians, they agreed to require Francis to renounce his unholy alliance with the Great Turk, and make reparation to the Christians for all losses sustained in consequence of that confederacy with infidels. 2. They engaged to enforce payment to his majesty of England of the arrears of his French pensions, and to make Francis give security for more punctual payments in future. 3. Francis was to be allowed forty days to deliberate on these terms, and if, in that time, he did not assent, Charles was to claim again the whole of Burgundy, Henry all the possessions his ancestors had ever held in France, and both of these allies were to hold themselves in readiness to invade France.‡ In the month of June Francis refused even to listen to their demands, and this they considered as a declaration of war. Henry talked largely of campaigns and conquests, but, in effect, he did little more than send six thousand men to the continent under Sir John Wallop, and this insignificant force acted merely as auxiliary to the army of the emperor, who only thought of recovering some towns he had lost in Flanders, and of reducing the Duke of Cleves, then in close alliance with the French. Instead of taking the field, Henry, after an unusually long widowhood, took to himself a sixth wife, in the person of Catherine Parr, a very matronly, learned, discreet, and sagacious woman, widow to Neville Lord Latimer. It is said that Catherine was well versed in the new learning, and a sincere convert to the Protestant faith: it is quite certain that the Protestant party rejoiced at the union; and yet it is equally certain that, only sixteen days after the nuptials, three Sacramentarians or Protestants were burnt alive in Smithfield.*

Notwithstanding this encouraging demonstration of orthodoxy, the Papist party took the alarm: a plan was laid for the overthrow of Cranmer, who was still rejoicing in the favour of the royal countenance; and a watchful eye was kept upon the heretical queen, whose heresy, however, was not of a very resolute kind. Cranmer, it is said, escaped the snare through the affection which the king, his master, bore to him; but Catherine seems to have crawled with the axe hung by a thread over her neck, till death relieved her of her dangerous husband.

The council in London had represented to the council with the king that there was a right good prospect of invading Normandy and taking Rouen, as also of "fastening their foot in that country, the lawful inheritance of the king, on account of the proximity thereof to the Bretons, who were at this present ready to rebel against the French king;" but Henry could send no more troops to the continent; and Sir Thomas Wallop, after failing miserably in the siege of Landreci, and losing a considerable portion of his army, withdrew to winter quarters.†

A.D. 1544.—With an exhausted exchequer, it was resolved, in the wisdom of the king and his council, to conquer both Scotland and France at one and the same time; and, with an obese body, no longer fit even for the mere parade and spectacular part of war, Henry resolved to take the field in person. We will follow his movements in France before we return to the longer affairs of Scotland. By immense and ruinous efforts an army of thirty thousand men was raised, and in the month of July, about a year after his last marriage, of which he was probably already tired,‡

* Sadler's State Papers.—Diurnal of Occurrents.—Lesly.
† Raumer. ‡ Rymer.

* A few months before the king had issued proclamations to license the eating of white meats in Lent, but enjoining people under a heavy penalty to abstain from flesh during that season. Subsequent regulations and ordinances prove that Henry was becoming more and more scrupulous as to matters of this kind.

† State Papers.—Godwin.—Du Bellay.

‡ He, however, appointed Catherine Parr to be regent during his absence; commanding her, in all her proceedings, to act by the advice and counsel of Cranmer, Wriothesley, the Earl of Hertford, the Bishop of Westminster, and Sir William Petre. The precautions he took were numerous. One of them was to discharge all the ladies and gentlemen out of the house of the young Prince Edward, and to appoint him an entirely new household. All the five members

QUEEN CATHERINE PARR. From a Painting by Holbein.

the king's gracious majesty, in his royal person, passed the seas from Dover to Calais. A part of the army, led by the Duke of Norfolk and "the gentle Lord Russell," had taken the field, and laid siege to Montreuil, "where they lay a long time, and left the town as they found it." When Henry, "like a very god of war," assumed the command of the English forces and of fifteen thousand Imperialists sent by Charles to act with him, wonderful things were expected. The plan of the campaign had been nicely defined by the two allies. Charles was to strike across France by Champagne, Henry by Picardy; and neither was to stop till he reached Paris, where, in their united might, they were to dispose of the French monarchy. It was the old plan which had failed twice or thrice already, but this time they were to profit by past experience, and on no account to loiter on their way in besieging towns and castles: and yet the very first thing which Henry did was, to sit down with the mass of his army before the town of Boulogne, and to swear one of his biggest oaths, amidst the roar of his biggest guns, that he would do nothing else until he had taken it. In vain Charles implored him to advance: he justified his delay by saying that the emperor, on his side, had stopped to take some castles; and he continued burning an enormous quantity of gunpowder before Boulogne, which badly fortified city detained him and his great army for nearly two months! When the garrison of Boulogne at last capitulated, and marched out with bag and baggage, "the king's highness having the sword borne naked before him by the Lord Marquess Dorset, like a noble and valiant conqueror rode into the town, and all the trumpeters, standing on the walls of the town, sounded their trumpets at the time of his entering, to the great comfort of all the king's true subjects."*

Before Henry had made this solemn entrance Charles had very wisely opened negotiations with the French king, and shortly after (in the month of September) the treaty of Crespi was signed, and fully ratified. His majesty of England, who had refused to be included in it, was left to carry on the war by himself; and Francis and the emperor agreed to forget all former grievances, and to unite their families and their politics by intermarriages. Having garrisoned Boulogne, and destroyed the church of "Our Ladye" there, Henry returned to England sorely impoverished. During the siege of Boulogne he had dispatched circular letters into England, begging all the trusty and well-beloved to favour him immediately with loans of money to assist him in his league and amity with his good brother the emperor, with whom he had covenanted to invade the realm of France, as well for the pre-

of the council were instructed to be constantly about the queen, but this was more particularly expected from Cranmer and Sir William Petre.—*Minutes of Council, in State Papers.*

* Hall.—Du Bellay.—Godwin.—Rymer.—Rymer gives Henry's own journal, which is a curious document.

servation of Christendom, as for sundry just and lawful quarrels against the French king.* But no means of raising money were neglected; and between France and Scotland the disbursements were immense. Nor did Henry gain more glory by his lieutenants in Scotland than he had gained personally on the continent. Some time before his departure for Boulogne he sent the Viscount Lisle, admiral of England, and the Earl of Hertford, uncle of Prince Edward, with a fleet of two hundred sail, having on board an army of ten thousand men, to make a sudden attack upon Leith and Edinburgh, and to demand the immediate surrender of the young queen and of sundry fortresses. Arran, as regent, had made no suitable preparations; and Cardinal Beaton, by burning some poor people at Perth (for denying the efficacy of prayer to the saints and the Virgin, for treating an image of St. Francis irreverently, for breaking the fast of Lent, and for other heresies), had revived the keen hostility of the reforming party, which still continued on the increase. At the same time the noble pensioners of England were not idle, and there was nothing but division or distrust at a moment when all Scotsmen ought to have been united by the common danger. On the 4th of May the English landed at Leith, which they plundered and occupied with little opposition. Though left almost entirely to themselves, the citizens of Edinburgh barricaded their gates, and determined to defend their ancient town. When Otterburn of Reid Hall, their provost, went with a flag of truce to remonstrate with the English commander, and to propose an amicable adjustment, Hertford told him that he came as a soldier, not as an ambassador,—that they must instantly deliver up their young queen; for, if they did not, he was commanded to ravage their country with fire and sword.† Otterburn thought proper to remain in the English camp, but the people of Edinburgh chose a new provost, and held out. They even compelled Hertford to retreat to Leith, but, when he brought up his heavy artillery, they found it a hopeless attempt to defend their wooden gates; and, removing as much of their property as they could, the citizens for the most part evacuated the town during the night, leaving the brave Hamilton of Stenhouse to hold the castle. The English entered the Cannongate, put a few stragglers to the sword, and plundered such property as was left. But Hertford was foiled before Edinburgh Castle; his guns were dismounted by a sure fire from the ramparts, and he beat a retreat, which was covered by the smoke and flame of the city, to which he barbarously set fire. Being reinforced by a motley host of four thousand borderers, partly English and partly Scots, the retainers of the House of Douglas, he employed himself in executing his king's commission to the letter, burning and destroying all the open country round the Scottish capital. In the vain hope of reconciling that faction, the Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas, who had been arrested, were set at liberty; upon which Sir George forthwith repaired to Leith, and had a private interview with the Earl of Hertford, to whom he betrayed all that he knew concerning the plans adopted by his countrymen. But the English soon found that they could not maintain their ground even at Leith, which they had fortified; and, in the middle of May, as Arran and Cardinal Beaton were marching towards them with a superior force, they abandoned the shores of the Forth, part sailing away with the fleet, and the rest, under Hertford, marching rapidly alongshore towards Berwick. The fleet carried off two large ships, and burnt and destroyed all the other craft they could find, scarcely leaving a fishing-boat afloat between the mouth of the Forth and St. Abb's Head. Nor was the land division more moderate. Seton, Haddington, Dunbar, and Renton—all the towns between Edinburgh and Berwick—were plundered and burnt, and every village and cottage near the road partook of the same fate. This was too much even for the traitors, and for those Scots who had wished for the presence of an English army in order to curb the fierceness of the Catholic party. The Earl of Angus joined the cardinal, who was the real director of the campaign; and even his brother, Sir George Douglas, was induced to pursue the same course, apparently giving up his English treaties and pensions. Indeed, in a very short time Henry had no traitorous ally in Scotland except Lennox and Glencairn; and the popular feeling of hatred against him and the English amounted almost to a phrenzy. Glencairn was defeated in a sanguinary battle near Glasgow; and Lennox, having delivered the castle of Dunbarton into his keeping, fled by sea into England. A coalition took place between the Catholics and Protestants, but the energetic Beaton maintained his ascendancy; and not only the Protestants, but many of his own sect, became jealous of his great authority. Fierce feuds broke out in different parts of the kingdom, and they were made the fiercer by the religious hate of the rival sects. Lennox soon returned from England with a fleet of eight ships; and, "hanging over the coast of Scotland, like a cloud uncertain where to disburden itself, he deterred

* State Papers.—A specimen of these letters, which were dispatched from the camp before Boulogne, on the 11th of August, 1544, is given entire. The sign manual was *stamped* upon them, in imitation of the king's signature. They promised the lenders "assuredly to cause the money to be repaid again."

† Here is part of the infernal commission given by the king to the Earl of Hertford:—"You are there to put all to fire and sword; to burn Edinburgh town, and to raze and deface it, when you have sacked it, and gotten what you can out of it, as that it may remain for ever a memory of the vengeance of God alighted upon it, for their falsehood and *disloyalty*. ..... Do what you can out of hand, and, *without long tarrying* (it was felt that this would not be safe with ten thousand men), to beat down and overthrow the castle, sack Holyrood-House, and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye conveniently can; sack Leith, and burn and subvert it, and all the rest, *putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword*, without exception, when any resistance shall be made against you; and this done, pass over to the Fife land, and extend like extremities and destructions in all towns and villages whereunto ye may reach conveniently, not forgetting, amongst all the rest, so to spoil and turn upside down the cardinal's town of St. Andrew's, *as the upper stone may be the nether*, and not one stick stand by another, *sparing no creature alive* within the same, specially such as either in friendship or blood be allied to the cardinal. ..... *This journey shall succeed most to his majesty's honour*."—Hamilton MSS., as quoted by Mr. Tytler.

the Scots from undertaking anything against England during the absence of the king in France." He took the isles of Arran and Bute; and, according to agreement, delivered them up to Sir Rice Mansel and Richard Broke, who accompanied him in the expedition with a small force of English archers and pikemen; but when he attempted to get possession of Dunbarton Castle, the key of the west of Scotland, he failed; for his designs were obvious; and, though the garrison consisted chiefly of his own dependents, they forced him and his English allies to fly for their lives. Lennox then plundered Kentire, Kyle, and Carrick, and returned loaded with booty and disgrace to an English port. While he had been plundering like a pirate by sea, Sir Ralph Evre, Sir Richard Broke and other English officers, ravaged the Scottish borders in their whole length, and with a fury that but too plainly showed the intention of making those parts a desert. At the same time, the two factions disagreed on every important point, and it was soon discovered, or suspected upon very good grounds, that the Douglases had renewed their plots with the English. Confidence disappeared,—the men could not trust their officers,—and when Arran took the field, with six thousand men, Angus, Cassillis, and others of the lords who had formerly bound themselves to Henry, would not fight; and the whole force fled disgracefully before two thousand English troops. Scotland had so many enemies at home, that it needed not any abroad; "but their home-bred dissensions," says Godwin, "had caused war from us, and the way to set them at peace was to invade them." The old historian alludes to the usual consequence of a protracted English war; and it appears that Angus and the Douglases were now made really patriotic and true to the national cause, by a report that Henry had promised all their hereditary estates to Sir Ralph Evre, if that officer could conquer them. Angus swore a great oath, that he would give Sir Ralph his *seisin** on his skin, with sharp pens and bloody ink. Nothing deterred the fierce Englishman: in the following year he re-entered Scotland, making all the country a desert about Jedburgh and Kyle. His host consisted of English archers, foreign mercenaries collected during the late expedition into France, and seven or eight hundred freebooters from the Scottish borders; in all, about six thousand men. They burned the tower of Broom-house, and in it a noble old lady with her whole family. They penetrated to Melrose, where they vented their barbarous spite on the beautiful old abbey and the tombs of the Douglases within it.

Angus's temporary patriotism was increased by the last-mentioned deed, and he joined the Regent Arran with all the vassals he could collect. Yet even at this moment his brother Sir George Douglas was corresponding with Sir Ralph Evre, and is supposed to have betrayed the movement of his countrymen to the English, who surprised Arran and Angus in an unfavourable position, and forced them to retreat with some loss. After burning Melrose, Sir Ralph Evre turned down the Tweed, being followed or watched in flank by Arran and Angus, who had re-collected their forces behind the Eildon Hills. Their recent successes had made the English commanders confident and careless. They marched upon Jedburgh with very little precaution; but when they came to Ancrum Moor, on the Teviot, they found the Scots drawn up in order of battle. On a near approach, Arran and Angus were disposed to decline battle, on account of the great inequality in numbers; but Sir Walter Scott, the veteran laird of Buccleugh, galloped up to announce that his followers were close at hand; and Norman Leslie arrived on the field with twelve thousand lances. Still, however, the Scots were very inferior in number, and they had recourse to some skilful manœuvring, which was recommended and directed by Walter Scott. A part of their army was concealed; their horses, mounted by the camp-boys, were posted on the crest of a hill, so as to look like a second army; and every fighting-man put his foot to the heather, having both sun and wind at his back, and in the faces of the enemy. The English advanced in a great hurry on horseback, as if loth to let the Scots escape them: the foremost line of the Scots retreated, but only for a few yards, when the assailants found themselves suddenly chased by a dense phalanx of Scottish pikemen, with spears an ell longer than those of the English.* Sir Brian Latoun and Sir Robert Bowes, who led the English van, were thrown back in disorder upon the main body, which was charging up the hill with great assurance under Sir Ralph Evre; and then the battle became general. It was, however, short: as soon as the English began to give way the Scottish borderers, who had followed their standard, threw away their red crosses and fell upon their former allies. Upon this, there ensued a general panic; the English fled in the greatest confusion, and the Scots pursued them with great slaughter. Wherever the fugitives turned, they found infuriated enemies in the peasantry, who had suffered so sorely from their recent excesses. Even the women and children joined in the carnage, and all pity was dismissed by their cries of "Remember their cruelty at Broom-house!" Eight hundred of the English were killed in this battle, and a thousand, maimed and wounded, were taken prisoners. The joy of the Scots was at its height when they discovered among the dead the bodies of Evre and Latoun.† The Earl of Angus, who

* seisin, in the Scotch law, is the instrument or attestation of a notary, that possession of the land has been actually given by the superior to the vassal: it is the evidence or record of the infeftment or investiture.

* The length of the Scottish pike or spear was fixed, by act of parliament, in 1471, at six ells—that is, eighteen feet and a half.

† The place where the battle was fought received the name of Lilliard's Edge, "from an Amazonian Scottish woman of that name," says Sir Walter Scott, "who is reported, by tradition, to have distinguished herself in the same manner as Squire Witherington at Chevy Chase. The old people point out her monument, now broken and defaced. The inscription is said to have run thus:—

"Fair maiden Lylliard lies under this stane;
Little was her stature, but great was her fame.
Upon the English loans she laid many thumps,
And when her legs were cutted off, she fought upon her stumps."

had done well in the battle, congratulated himself for having, like a good Scotsman, avenged upon Ralph Evre the defaced tombs of his ancestors; but he attempted soon after to reconcile himself with King Henry; and his brother Sir George continued to plot as before.*

A.D. 1545.—Henry's great conquest of Boulogne, achieved at an expense of four hundred thousand pounds of English money, was very nearly lost almost as soon as won, and the place was only saved by the gallantry and skill of Sir Thomas Poynings. Francis saw how greatly the English pale in France would be strengthened by the addition of Boulogne, and he made great efforts, both by sea and land, to retake it. Large gallies were built at Rouen, others were ordered round from Marseilles and the French ports on the Mediterranean, and all manner of great ships,—Venetians, Aragonese, Italians, or whatsoever they might be,—were pressed into the French service either by fair means or foul.† When Francis saw this formidable navy safely collected on the coasts of Brittany and Normandy, he conceived the bold notion of striving for the mastery of the sea, and seizing upon the Isle of Wight, which he calculated might be fortified and maintained, if he should not be enabled to take and destroy Portsmouth, with the navy arsenals. Henry received timely warning that Francis intended to attempt an invasion, but he did not know where the blow might fall. His exchequer was very bare, but the people hastened to fortify the banks of the Thames, the coasts of Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire; and sixty ships of war were collected at Portsmouth under the flag of Dudley Lord Lisle, the high admiral. On the 16th of July the French fleet, amounting to one hundred and thirty-six sail, under the command of Annebaut, put to sea, and two days after they fell down the channel that separates the Isle of Wight from the main, and cast anchor at St. Helen's. These were not days for heroical achievements: Lisle, after a distant cannonading, retired into Portsmouth harbour, where the king then was, and whence he saw a foreign fleet insulting him to his face, and riding triumphant in the Channel. The next day Annebaut, favoured by an unusual calmness of the sea, without wind or current, put out his flat-bottomed galleys and vessels that drew little water; and, while these went up to the very mouth of the port, he ravaged the coast and did whatever he could to provoke the English to come out and give battle; but, by Henry's orders, the lord admiral stirred not. During a cannonade that most goodly ship called the Mary Rose went down, with her captain, Sir George Carew, and four hundred men. The French said that they had sunk her by their fire,—the English said that she had gone down through great negligence, being overladen with ordnance and having her ports very low. The French lost a galley, which went down with all her men, and a great many soldiers were killed in other vessels. Annebaut, on account of the land-batteries, would not venture to give battle within the port, and the English seemed resolved not to come out of it, though greatly exasperated by the taunts of the French, and by the sight of burning villages and farm-houses along the coast. After holding a council of war, the French admiral determined to attack the Isle of Wight, and a descent was made in three several places; but the brave inhabitants drove the invaders back to their ships, though not before much of their property had been plundered or given to the flames. Then another council of war was called, at which it was determined to defer the conquest of the isle for the present. Annebaut sailed away towards Dover, landing occasionally to burn and destroy. In some places, however, his men got worse than they gave, being cut to pieces by the inhabitants, who lay in ambush to receive them. It was now the object of the French admiral, who stood off-and-on in the narrow part of the Channel, to prevent the English from victualling Boulogne, and from sending reinforcements of ships from the Thames to Portsmouth; but he executed his commission with very indifferent success: provisions were thrown into Boulogne, which greatly wanted them, almost under the shadow of his own flag; and the lord-admiral at Portsmouth was reinforced with thirty sail. When Dudley received the king's orders to put forth against the enemy, he said, with proper spirit, that he would lose no time in so doing,—that he was grateful for being restored to his liberty, having never thought himself in prison till now, since the time of his lying there doing nothing. His orders were that, when a convenient time for battle should be perceived, he should attack the French, taking advantage of the wind,—that the English vice-admiral should seek to board their vice-admiral,—and that every captain should choose his equal as near as he might. The watch-word for the fleet in the night was, "God save King Henry!"—to which the answer was, "And long to reign over us!" The two fleets were soon in presence between Brighton and the French coast, but "thought it best to eschew the fight that day for a better day," and, in the end, they did nothing but exchange a few long shots. The English commander went back to Portsmouth, the French withdrew to Brest.*

As he expected that the French might repeat their enterprise,—as Boulogne was threatened with a formidable siege,—and as the Scots were giving him great uneasiness,—Henry and his ministers clamoured for more money. Wriothesley, who had become chancellor on the death of Audley, was put to his wit's end. On the 7th of September, writing to the council with the king, from Ely Place, he thus expresses himself:—"As concerning the preparation of money, I shall do what is possible to be done; but, my lords, I trust your wisdoms do consider what is done and paid already. You see the king's majesty hath this year and the

* State Papers.—Godwin.—Tytler
† State Papers.

* State Papers.—Du Bellay.—Hollinshed.—Godwin.—Southey Naval Hist

last year spent 1,300,000*l.* or thereabouts; and, his subsidy and benevolence ministering scant 300,000*l.* thereof, as I muse some time where the rest, being so great a sum, hath been gotten, so the lands being consumed, the plate of the realm molten and coined, whereof much hath risen, I sorrow and lament the danger of the time to come, wherein is also to be remembered the money that is to be paid in Flanders; and, that is as much and more than all the rest, the great scarcity that we have of corn, wheat being in all places, in manner, Norfolk excepted, at twenty shillings the quarter, and a marvellous small quantity to be gotten of it. And though the king's majesty should have a greater grant than the realm could bear at one time, it would do little to the continuance of these charges, which be so importable that I see not almost how it is possible to bear the charges this winter till more may be gotten. Therefore, good my lords, though you write to me still, 'Pay! pay!'—'Prepare for this and that!'—consider it is your parts to remember the state of things with me, and by your wisdom to ponder what may be done, and how things may be continued. I have done nothing in these money matters alone. You were all privy to the state of them, both before and after the king's majesty went to Portsmouth, at which time things were considered and drawn to the uttermost; and therefore you shall do me wrong if you seem to charge me thus alone, without remembrance of things, as they have passed."*

Henry's father had left him the richest sovereign in Europe, but that money had long been gone. The seizure of the church property, after all deductions, had furnished him with immense sums, but they, too, were all gone. The parliament had voted such subsidies as had never been voted before, but they were all spent as soon as raised. In his constant and recurring need he had already adopted all kinds of illegal measures to extract more money from his people. His officers had obtained returns which showed the value of each man's estate; and with this clue he now addressed a royal letter to every person rated at 50*l.* per annum, requesting a certain sum by way of loan. To refuse was dangerous: in most cases he got the money he asked for, and then he made parliament vote him a grant of all the money so raised, as well as whatever sums he had borrowed from any of his subjects since 1539, or the 31st year of his reign! After this he had recourse to a benevolence, and the people, who had made a spirited opposition to that illegal mode of raising money in the time of Cardinal Wolsey, were now fain to submit and pay. The commissioners began first with the citizens of London, among whom two showed themselves more strait-laced than the rest, namely, Richard Reed and William Roach (both aldermen); but their resistance to illegal measures, which the king called parsimony, cost them very dear. Poor Alderman Reed, a stout old man, utterly inexpert of martial discipline, was sent to serve in person in the Scottish wars, was taken prisoner by the furious Scots in the very first engagement, and was made to pay a heavy ransom. Alderman Roach, on the other hand, was accused of using uncivil and seditious words to his majesty's commissioners, was for some months punished with close imprisonment, and was at last obliged to purchase his liberty from the king. Henry had long since adopted the common but ruinous system of adulterating the coinage: now he debased it to such an extent that what was called the silver shilling contained twice as much alloy as silver. This practice greatly embarrassed the trade of the country, and tended to dry up his resources at the fountain head. In the month of November he made a very tender appeal to parliament, explaining his increasing wants, and parliament not only voted him an enormous subsidy, but also granted him the disposal of all colleges, charities, and hospitals in the kingdom, with all their manors, lands, and hereditaments, receiving, in return, his gracious promise that they should all be employed to the glory of God and the public good. This was the last grant that the tyrant got from his slaves, and he did not live to employ the whole power the act gave him. Had he survived a little while longer, he would not have left an hospital for the cure of the sick, or a school for the instruction of youth.

A great deal of the money thus wrung from the *loyal* English was spent among the traitors of Scotland.* The victory of Ancrum had raised the spirits of the Scottish people. It was scarcely gained, however, when Angus, his brother George, Glencairn, Cassillis, and the rest of that vile league, renewed their intercourse with Sir Ralph Sadler, who was appointed treasurer of an army that was levying in the north of England, under the Earl of

* State Papers. Wriothesley expresses himself as if he were in an agony of alarm at his plainness in writing, but he adds that the desperateness of the case must plead his excuse,—that he is ready to do everything that may be commanded,—that he will shrink as little as any man living,—and, finally, as a crowning flattery, "that all these things must be directed by the wisdom which God hath given the king's majesty." A few weeks after he announced to Sir William Paget, one of the two principal secretaries, that he had got a little money, and that there was an alarming scarcity of provisions even in London. "It may like you also to declare to the king's majesty that, against Monday next, he shall have in readiness here, to be conveyed whither it shall please him, the sum of 20,000*l.*, which is gotten after this sort; the mint, our holy anchor, doth prepare 15,000*l.*, the augmentation 3000*l.*, the duchy 1000*l.*, and the wards 1000*l.* The tenth and first-fruits hath nothing, the surveyor nothing, nor the exchequer above 1000*l.*, which must serve towards the setting forth of your ships now in preparing for the seas, to relieve the debt of the ordnance, and to help other necessaries." Matters did not mend, for, on the 11th of November, he assured Mr. Secretary Paget that he was at his wit's end to know how they should possibly shift the three months following, and especially the two next. The Mint, he said, was so drained that if they took another penny from it they would utterly destroy the trade of it, and make men withdraw their resort thither.—*State Papers.*

* In one entry, at the end of 1543, we find the following sums, which had just been distributed:

"To the Earl of Angus	200*l.*
To the Earl of Glencairn	200 marks.
To the Earl of Cassillis	200
To the Master of Maxwell	100*l.*
To the Sheriff of Air	100
To the Laird of Drumlanrig	100
To the Earl of Marshall, John Charters, the Lord Gray's friends in the north	300 marks.
To Sir George Douglas and his friends in Lothian and Merse	200 £."

Hamilton MSS., in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton: a quoted by Mr. Tytler.

Hertford. On the 17th of April, Cassillis endeavoured to induce the convention of the Scottish nobility, held at Edinburgh, to ask pardon of the King of England, and to solicit a renewal of the treaty of marriage; but Cardinal Beaton, who was encouraged by assurance of assistance from Francis, who was then preparing his great naval expedition, kept alive the spirit of the more patriotic among the nobles: the proposals were rejected; the treaty of marriage was declared to be at an end for ever: upon which, Cassillis advised Henry to try a fresh invasion of his native land. But Henry, as we have seen, found other business of more urgency; and fancying that all opposition in Scotland would cease if he could only remove Beaton, he entertained the project for assassinating the cardinal. In the month of May, Cassillis, acting with the other noble traitors, sent a letter to Sir Ralph Sadler, very coolly making an offer "for the killing of the cardinal, if his majesty would have it done, and promise, when it was done, a reward." These high-born villains never moved a step without bargaining beforehand. Sadler showed the letter to the Earl of Hertford and the council of the north, who evidently thought the plan a good one, and transmitted it to the king. Henry's reply was worthy of Cassillis's proposal. On the 30th of May, his privy council wrote to the Earl of Hertford:—"His majesty hath willed us to signify unto your lordship, that his highness, reputing the fact not meet to be set forward expressly by his majesty, will not seem to have to do in it; and yet, not misliking the offer, thinketh good that Mr. Sadler, to whom that letter was addressed, should write to the earl, of the receipt of his letter containing such an offer, which he thinketh not convenient to be communicated to the king's majesty. Marry, to write to him what he thinketh of the matter, he shall say, that if he were in the Earl of Cassillis's place, and were as able to do his majesty good service there, as he knoweth him to be, and thinketh a right good-will in him to do it, he would surely do what he could for the execution of it; believing, verily, to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the king's majesty, but also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland, and would trust verily the king's majesty would consider his service in the same; as you doubt not, of his accustomed goodness to them which serve him, but he would do the same to him."* Sir Ralph Sadler accordingly wrote, in the indirect manner pointed out by Henry, to Cassillis; and Thomas Forster, an Englishman of some note, who had recently been a prisoner-of-war in Scotland, at the request of the Scottish conspirators, and by order of Henry, who commanded that no time should be lost, was sent across the borders, to consult with Cassillis, Angus, and Sir George Douglas. Forster entered Scotland at Wark, and, without provoking much suspicion, reached Dalkeith, where he had an interview with Sir George, who wished him to go to Douglas, where he would cause the Earls of Cassillis and Angus to meet him; for he, Sir George, said he could not get them to Dalkeith without great suspicion. These secret agents, going towards Douglas, met the Earl of Angus at Dumfries, where, as he was hunting, he gave Forster welcome, saying, that he would give him hawks and dogs, and he caused him to pass that night with him. And on the morrow, Angus conducted him to Douglas, and that afternoon sent for the Earl of Cassillis, who, riding all night, came thither the next day early in the morning; upon which he and the Earl of Angus went into a chamber together, and called Forster to them, who then declared the "occasion of his coming, by whom he was sent, and the full of his instructions." But Angus and Cassillis were as cunning and cautious as their English friends; and, as Sadler had made no specific proposal and fixed no certain reward, they would not speak to Forster of the murder,* but kept to the grand treason of co-operating with the English army of invasion. Cassillis said that he was still the same true man to Henry as he was at parting with his majesty; and Angus promised his cordial assistance, declaring that he would either go to the field or stay at home, as Henry judged it best. But on his departure, Cassillis gave Forster a letter, in cipher, to Sir Ralph Sadler; and Sir George Douglas, in his heat, was betrayed into the following expressions, which he sent as a message from himself to the Earl of Hertford:—"He willed me," says Forster, "to tell my lord-lieutenant, that if the king would have the cardinal dead, if his grace would promise a good reward for the doing thereof, so that the reward were known what it should be, the country being lawless as it is, he thinketh that that adventure would be proved; for he saith, the common saying is, the cardinal is the only occasion of the war, and is smally beloved in Scotland; and then, if he were dead, by what means that reward should be paid."† The revelation of these atrocious secrets, which had been concealed for centuries amidst the dust and cobwebs of the State Paper Office, is enough to make the villains turn in their graves! As his majesty of England had still some sense of shame, he hesitated at committing himself so far as to make a direct bargain—he wished the deed done, but in such a manner, that it could never be brought clearly to his own door; and as the most noble Scots would not commit murder otherwise than as they had bargained, Beaton was permitted to live a few months longer, when he was taken off by less conspicuous assassins. Before the journey of Forster into Scotland, the Sieur Lorges de Montgomerie had arrived from France, with a body of three thousand infantry and five hundred horse; and in the month of August these foreign auxiliaries, well appointed and disciplined, took the field with an army of about twenty-five thousand Scots. By the advice of Beaton, the whole of this

* State Papers.

* Sir Ralph Sadler, in obedience to Henry's orders, recommended the assassination as if of himself, and told them, that the project had *not* been communicated to King Henry.

† State Papers.

force was thrown across the English borders; but the vanguard was commanded by Angus, who, not a month before, had promised Forster to do what King Henry might think best; and after two days, which were ingloriously employed in plundering and burning a few villages, the army returned, through the deceit of George Douglas and the vanguard.* That there might be no mistake in the matter, the lords in the interest of England wrote a letter to claim the whole credit of the failure of the expedition, and to advise the instant advance of an English army.†

On the 5th of September the English put themselves in motion under the Earl of Hertford; but the army was but indifferently supplied; the money-chests were empty; and, at the moment of crisis, several of the Scottish traitors hung back, and, instead of joining the English with all their retainers, they began to think of opposing them. They had requested that the old system of warfare might this time be abandoned; but Hertford burnt and destroyed even more savagely than before, employing on this work a vast number of Irish kerns, who had been brought over for the purpose. He had also with him a great number of foreign mercenaries—Spaniards, and even Italians, who had been engaged in this service by means of the emperor; and this class of troops, though brave and admirably trained, were ferocious and lawless. At Kelso the poor monks attempted to defend their abbey, and boldly repulsed the Spanish adventurers; but Hertford brought up his heavy guns, made a breach, and carried the church. Retreating to the tower or belfry, the monks there prolonged the struggle, but the tower was battered and stormed, and every monk butchered. As the savage invaders poured through Tweed-dale, the abbeys of Melrose and Dryburgh were again plundered and fired, and every village, every farm, castle, or mansion on the pleasant banks of that Scottish river, was sacked and burnt. All this havoc was grateful to the sight of the noble Seymour, who wrote boastingly to his royal master, that he had done more damage in Scotland by fire than had been done for the last hundred years.‡ But this ruthless destroyer could not maintain himself even on the borders; his army soon felt the effects of the ruin they had spread around them; the country was become a desert, furnishing no food for man or horse; the impoverished government could forward no adequate supply of provisions; and in less than three weeks Hertford retreated and disbanded his starving forces. During the campaign a few French soldiers had deserted from the Scots to Hertford, who asked the king's advice as to the way in which they should be treated. Henry, through his privy council, informed the earl that it was not considered good policy to trust these Frenchmen or any of their nation, unless they would show their sincerity by some previous service,* such as the "trapping or killing the cardinal, Lorges, the governor, or some other man of estimation, whereby it may appear they have hearty good-will to serve; which thing, if they shall have done, your lordship may promise them, not only to accept the service, but also to give them such reward as they shall have good cause to be therewith right well contented."

The cardinal did not lose heart in the midst of these difficulties. After the retreat of Hertford, he held a parliament at Stirling, and proposed several energetic measures for the defence of the national independence. Seeing, however, the impoverishment and exhaustion of the country, he proposed passing over to France, in order to procure a fresh supply of money and troops. Nothing was now done or projected without a note of advice and warning to the English court. The present project was communicated to Henry by one of the most unscrupulous of his agents, Crichton, the Laird of Brunston, in a letter dated from Ormiston House, the 6th of October. After mentioning what is in the wind, the laird expresses some hopes that the intended journey of the cardinal may be cut short; for, that at no time were there more Scottish gentlemen desirous of doing his highness good service. A day or two after, this cautious assassin wrote to Lord Wharton, one of the English wardens, that he was very anxious for a private interview with him, that he might know whether his majesty would be plain with them what he would have them do, and as to what reward they might count upon. On the 20th of October he wrote to the king himself, requesting a private conference with Sadler at Berwick, where he would communicate such things as should be greatly to the advancing of his majesty's affairs.† From all this, it is very evident that the project for murdering Cardinal Beaton had been resumed. It has been usual for historians, wanting the light which has been recently thrown upon these long-hidden transactions, to attribute the assassination of Beaton solely to the fanaticism of certain converts to the new religion, and their desire of avenging the cruelties he had committed upon their persecuted sect; but it now appears very evident that the deed was undertaken and done from baser motives, though some who engaged in the plot at its last stage may have been moved by a desire of destroying the arch enemy of their faith.

George Wishart, commonly called the Martyr, was a man of obscure or uncertain birth, but of considerable learning. He had been patronised in his youth by John Erskine of Dun, Provost of Montrose, one of the first Scotsmen that declared against the church of Rome. Wishart kept a school at Montrose, where he introduced the teaching of Greek, and made his pupils read the New Testament in the original language. On account

* Diurnal Occurrents.
† This letter appears in the State Papers.
‡ State Papers.

* State Papers.—Tytler.
† Tytler, from the originals in the State Paper Office.

of some persecution to which this exposed him, he fled into England, where, in 1538, in the city of Bristol, he preached against the worship paid to the Virgin Mary. In consequence, he was thrown into prison, and he only escaped the penalties of heresy by openly recanting, upon which a fagot was burnt instead of himself, and he disappeared from that part of the country. When he next attracted attention it was at Cambridge, where he was admired for his learning, and hated for his zeal and bitterness. Some time in 1543 he returned to his native country, where he denounced the Popish doings of Cardinal Beaton, and most closely connected himself with those chiefs who leaned towards the Reformation, and who had sold themselves to the English court—the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, the Earl Marshall, Sir George Douglas, and the Lairds of Brunston, Ormiston, and Calder. Protected by these great lords and lairds, Wishart preached publicly against the errors of Popery and the wickedness of the monks; and his fiery eloquence inflamed the people in sundry places. At Dundee his converts or audience destroyed the houses of the black and grey friars; and when he preached at Edinburgh the religious houses were only saved by the prompt interference of the civil authority. In the ears of the people his denunciations of coming vengeance sounded very like prophecy; and when the Earl of Hertford set the south of Scotland in a blaze, it was remembered how the preacher had predicted that event. But these State Papers and other documents recently brought to light must deprive Wishart of the prophetic character. He was in the full confidence of the traitors who invited the English into the realm; and, when he spoke of the coming vengeance of heaven, he knew that King Henry was arming.

For two years the preacher was left at large, for it was not easy to seize one who was always surrounded by an armed host, and who never moved any where without being preceded by a trusty disciple bearing a two-handed sword, and watched by other followers with pikes, halberts, and morrions. It is said that Cardinal Beaton was to a certain degree aware of the plot laid against his own life, and that in dread of Wishart, who was always in the closest communication with Cassillis, Glencairn, Brunston, and the rest, he attempted to anticipate and laid plots for murdering Wishart; but there is no good evidence of any kind to support the latter part of the assertion; and Beaton, though no mild or merciful man, was certainly not addicted to secret assassinations. After a time the preacher's popularity declined. Some of his great friends fell from his side, and he was obliged to take refuge in West Lothian with the laird of Brunston, Sandilands of Calder, and Cockburn of Ormiston, who concealed him by turns in their houses. One night when he was at Ormiston with his friends, expecting the arrival of the Earl of Cassillis, the house was suddenly surrounded by a party of soldiers led by the Earl of Bothwell, who was then devoted to the cardinal. Upon an assurance that his life would be spared, Wishart surrendered. Brunston contrived to escape, but Cockburn and Sandilands were taken and conveyed to Edinburgh castle. Bothwell took the preacher to his own house of Hailes; but soon after he sold him to Beaton, who summoned a council of the bishops and abbots at St. Andrew's, and on his own authority brought him to trial as a heretic. The assembled clergy found him guilty, and sentenced him to be burnt, and he was burnt accordingly at St. Andrew's. This execution was as impolitic as it was barbarous: the dead Wishart became more formidable than the living preacher; many of his converts, quoting the Old Testament, showed how it would be a virtue to avenge his death, and cut off his wicked persecutor and destroyer; and Cassillis, Glencairn, Sir George Douglas, and their fellow conspirators, derived great strength from the popular feeling excited against the cardinal, which feeling, however, was confined to certain towns and districts, the vast majority of the nation being as yet attached to the old religion, and seeing nothing very remarkable in the burning of a man who attacked its dogmas.

Shortly after the death of Wishart, Cardinal Beaton went into Angus, and was present in the abbey of Arbroath at the marriage of his eldest daughter by Mrs. Marion Ogleby—for the cardinal, in practice, had paid no respect to the law of celibacy. This marriage ceremony was very magnificent, and the cardinal gave the bride a dowry fit for a princess. He then hurried back to his castle of St. Andrew's, and being alarmed at the threats of his enemies in Scotland, and rumours of a fresh invasion, he immediately employed masons and carpenters to strengthen the place. He also called around him the gentlemen of Fife, to concert means for the defence of the coast. At one of these meetings he had a violent quarrel about a piece of land with Norman Lesly, commonly called the Master of Rothes. After using language not likely to be forgiven, Norman hurried to his uncle, John Lesly, who had already declared that Beaton's blood ought to be shed for the blood of the martyr Wishart. Both uncle and nephew consulted with William Kirkaldy, the laird of Grange, with James Melville, a religious enthusiast, with Carmichael, and with several others; and at a secret conclave it was determined that the cardinal should die forthwith. On the evening of the 28th of May, Norman Lesly rode into the town of St. Andrew's, and in the course of the night he was followed by a whole troop, who stole into the town in small parties, without being perceived, or without exciting any suspicion. At an early hour on the following morning, they surprised the castle by entering with the workmen, and the cardinal was roused from his sleep to meet his death. John Lesly and Carmichael appear to have been the first to stab him, and then Melville, with great gravity, advanced to execute what he called the judgment of God, and passed his long sword through the body of the unresisting victim several times. Then covered with

the blood of the cardinal, the conspirators, who had taken care to raise the draw-bridge and close the gates, ascended to the battlements to address the people of the town, who now, headed by their provost, crowded in alarm around the castle, and shouted that they must restore the lord cardinal. Norman Lesly dragged up the body, and suspended it by a sheet over the wall. "There," said he, "there is your god; and now that ye are satisfied get home to your houses!" Kirkaldy of Grange, Norman Lesly, and others of the conspirators were at the moment receiving pensions from the English king—were described by Henry as his good friends and supporters; and almost as soon as the murder was finished, they opened communications with the king, offered to hold the castle for his behoof, and received from him assurances of assistance and support.*

But though the death of Cardinal Beaton was fatal to the Roman church in Scotland, the event was not followed by all that Henry had fondly expected from it. The embarrassments of his government increased daily; and in the month of June he was glad to conclude a treaty of peace with the French king, who insisted that Scotland should be comprehended in it. By this treaty, known as the treaty of Campes, Francis agreed to pay up the arrears of Henry's pension, and to submit a claim upon him for 500,000 crowns to the consideration of commissioners; and Henry agreed that when all this money was paid, he would deliver up Boulogne, which town, by this time, had been fortified at an immense expense.†

The six remaining months of Henry's life were occupied by vile attempts at devising reasons for excluding the Scots from the benefit of the treaty of peace, by the intrigues and struggles of the two great religious factions, and by more executions for treason. The most wretched being, in this most wretched state of things, was the king himself, whose mind and body were alike diseased. In the absence of other pleasures he had given himself up to immoderate eating, and he had grown so enormously fat that he could not pass through an ordinary door, nor could he move about from room to room without the help of machinery, or of numerous attendants. The old issue in his leg had become an inveterate ulcer, which kept him in a constant state of pain and excessive irritability. It was alike offensive to the senses and dangerous to life and property to approach this corrupt mass of dying tyranny. The slightest thing displeased him, and his displeasure was a fury and a madness, and nothing on earth could give him a wholesome agreeable feeling. How his last wife, Catherine Parr, escaped destruction appears almost miraculous; she was more than once in imminent peril. The court, which no longer presented any of the pageantries and gaieties of earlier days, had become a gloomy conventicle, where men and women too gave themselves up to polemics. Catherine ventured to read some of the prohibited works put forth by the Reformers, and as the king grew worse and worse, and more and more helpless, she took courage to dispute with him upon faith and doctrine. Henry was greatly exasperated. "A good hearing this," cried he, "when women become such clerks, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old age to be taught by my wife." Gardiner, it is said, took advantage of this state of mind, and received orders, with Wriothesley the chancellor, to prepare articles of impeachment against her. But Catherine was warned in time, and adroitly recovered the ground she had lost by venturing upon polemical controversy. On the next evening, when the conversation, as usual, was turned upon the subject of religion, she spoke in a submissive manner of the inferiority of her own understanding, and of the great blessing she enjoyed in having so learned a prince for her husband and instructor. "Not so, by St. Mary," exclaimed Henry, "I know you, Kate, you are become a doctor." She replied that his majesty had much mistaken her meaning and her motive: true it was she had ventured to argue with his grace, but it was only to amuse him, for she had seen that in the heat of religious controversy he could forget his bodily pains. "Ah!" cried Henry, "is it so, sweetheart? Then we are friends again; and it doth me more good to hear these words of thine own mouth, than it would have done had I heard that a hundred thousand pounds had fallen unto me." On the following morning, when the chancellor Wriothesley came with forty men of the guard to take Catherine into custody, the king's majesty called him knave, an arrant knave, a fool, and a beast, and so dismissed him.* But if Catherine Parr escaped, the ladies through whose agency (as was suspected) the heretical books had been introduced at court, were much less fortunate. One of these is presented in an interesting light, as being young, beautiful, and learned. Anne Kyme was the second daughter of Sir William Askew, of Kelsey, in Lincolnshire: she was married at an early age, and, it is said, against her will, to Kyme, a rich neighbour, who had originally courted her elder sister, but had been disappointed by that young lady's death. After bearing her husband two children she left him, and assumed her maiden name, and went to London to obtain a legal divorce, and to preach the gospel, or recommend it in private society. According to one account, her husband, who was as much attached to the old religion as she was to the new, drove her from his house—and unhappy family quarrels of this kind were very common during the first stages of the Reformation. Being in London, Anne Askew not only spoke boldly against transubstantiation and other popish dogmas, but attempted to convert several of the ladies about the court, giving them books and tracts. She was soon arrested, and brought before Bonner Bishop of London, who induced her to sign a recantation, in which she professed to believe "all manner of things con-

* Tytler. † Rymer.

* Lord Herbert.

tained in the faith of the Catholic church;" and she was soon after discharged from prison upon bail. Her enthusiasm continued, however, unabated, and she was again taken into custody and examined before the privy council. We are not told whether Cranmer attended, but it appears almost certain that he did, though the keenest examiners were Bishop Gardiner, and Wriothesley, the very Catholic chancellor. Anne defended herself by quoting the Scriptures, in which she was wonderfully well read, but the council committed her to Newgate, and shortly afterwards she and some others were condemned as heretics at Guildhall. Whilst she lay under sentence of death she was visited by Nicholas Shaxton, formerly Bishop of Salisbury, who advised her to follow his example and save her life. Shaxton, with a most rare courage, had resisted the passing of the Six Articles, and when they were passed he resigned or was deprived of his bishopric. Ever since the bloody statute became law he had languished in prison, and about the time of Anne Askew's second arrest he was tried for asserting his disbelief of the corporeal presence, and sentenced to the flames. He had borne the most wretched captivity and poverty, but he could not face the stake: he professed his submission to the superior learning and orthodoxy of Bishops Bonner and Heath, who, by the king's command, visited him after his sentence, and he signed a full recantation, upon which he received the royal pardon. He immediately became a wretched suppliant at court for some benefice or place that might support him, and seems to have been chosen as a proper instrument for the conversion of other protestants. Anne Askew, however, had more courage, and she rejected the advice of the apostate, telling him it had been good for him if he had never been born. After this visit the young woman was suddenly removed to the Tower, and there examined touching her connexion with the ladies of the court. She denied that she had ever had any such connexion. She was told that the king knew better, and her brutal examiners asked her how, if she had no powerful friends, she had contrived to get food and comfort in her prison. "My maid," she replied, "bemoaned my wretched condition to the apprentices in the streets, and some of them sent me money, but I never knew their names." The inquisitors insisted that many ladies had been known to send her money, and that some of the council abetted her. "My maid once told me," was her reply, "that a man in a blue coat had given her ten shillings for me, saying that they came from Lady Hertford; and at another time, that a man in a violet coat had given her eight shillings for me, saying that they came from Lady Denny; but whether these accounts are true I have no certain knowledge: I can speak only as to the young woman's report. To the charge of being supported by any of the council, I say nay." By this time the rack was almost invariably applied to extort confession (we are almost made to regret those ruder ages when an English judge could declare that there was no instrument of torture to be found anywhere in England!), and Anne Askew was tortured in the presence of the chancellor, Wriothesley, and of Rich, both of whom are said to have applied their own bestial hands to the infernal instrument. It was difficult for any writer to obtain exact intelligence as to what passed on such occasions; but that Anne Askew was firm under her anguish, and made no such confession as was wished, seems to be proved by the fact that none of the court ladies and none of the council were arrested or brought into trouble. Before her frame had time to recover from the effects of the rack, she was carried to Smithfield and chained to a stake. There were three other stakes close by; one for John Lascelles, a gentleman of the royal household, who did not believe in transubstantiation; one for Nicholas Belenian, a Shropshire clergyman; and one for John Adams, a poor tailor of London, who had also offended against some of the Six Articles. Near to the stakes there was a pulpit, and in it was the recently reclaimed Nicholas Shaxton, who preached what was considered an appropriate sermon. When he had finished his discourse, a pardon sent by Wriothesley was offered to the victims, if they would recant, but one and all preferred death, and they were burned forthwith.* The other lady who was accused of circulating heretical books within the precincts of the court was Joan Bourcher, who was persecuted and imprisoned, though not burnt till the following reign, when Archbishop Cranmer himself sent her to the stake. It was a few months after the burning of Anne Askew and the rest, that the king delivered that speech to parliament upon Christian love and charity, of which we have already quoted a part, and in which he requested his subjects "to be in charity with one another, like brother and brother."

There had long been a bitter rivalry between the old House of Howard and the new House of Seymour, which owed its sudden exaltation to the king's marriage and the birth of a son, Prince Edward, by Jane Seymour. The Duke of Norfolk, the head of the Howards, was, as we have repeatedly noticed, a zealous Papist: Lord Hertford, the uncle of Prince Edward, and the real founder of the greatness of the Seymours, almost as a natural consequence, leaned towards the Reformation, though he took good care to conceal this fact from the king. The two names became rallying points to the two rival sects. With the evidence we have before us we may confidently pronounce them both to have been men of a cruel and base character, ready to execute if not to suggest some of the worst actions of the king, and to crawl in the dust at his feet at the slightest sign of his displeasure; but the real nature of both has been overlooked by their respective sects. Hertford, in family alliances, connexions, and landed property, was far the inferior of Norfolk, but he had the grand advantages of being uncle of the heir to the throne, and of

* Bale.—Fuller.—Herbert.—Stow.—Foxe.

being almost constantly about the court. Favoured by these circumstances, he already aspired to the protectorship of the kingdom during the minority of his nephew; for, though the fact was concealed from the public with all possible care, it was evident that the king was hastening to the grave.*

Hertford felt that the grand obstacle to his promotion would be found in the Duke of Norfolk and his son, the accomplished and poetical Earl of Surrey; and mere self-preservation gave him a strong motive to destroy both father and son while there was yet time. Henry Earl of Surrey, upon being superseded in a military command in France by the new man Hertford (and Surrey always expressed a great contempt of the new nobility), was excessively irritated; and it is said that he vowed revenge upon Hertford as soon as the king should be dead. Nothing was so easy as to excite the jealousies and fears of Henry,—fears probably increased by the reflection that Hertford, who would be in a manner the natural guardian of his son, was without influence among the high nobility, and was at enmity with Norfolk, the most powerful of them all. There were also men in the king's council, who were Protestants in their hearts, and ready to go great lengths against the champions of the rival faith. The first blow was struck at Bishop Gardiner, but it was warded off by that prelate. A few days after, on the 12th of December, the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey, "upon certain surmises of treason," were sent to the Tower, the one by water, the other by land, and neither aware of the apprehension of the other. From his dungeon, Norfolk, ignorant of the cause of his sudden seizure, wrote to the king. "Undoubtedly," said the duke, "I know not that I have offended any man, or that any man was offended with me, unless it be such as be angry with me for being quick against such as have been accused for sacramentaries." Immediately after their arrest, the king, in the presence of the Earl of Hertford, and of five of the council, altered his will, excluding the Duke of Norfolk and others from the number of his executors. On the 13th day of January, when the king was lying dangerously sick, the gallant and accomplished Surrey, who appears to have been dreaded more than his father, who was grown old, was arraigned at Guildhall on a charge of treason, for having borne the royal arms of Edward the Confessor mixed and quartered with the coat of his own family. It may seem strange that no more serious charge should be produced; but even this much had been obtained in the most nefarious manner, and in part by means which are not calculated to raise our very low estimate of the domestic virtues of those times. The court, preparatory to the trial, had terrified and tampered with the women of the Howard family. The Duchess of Norfolk had long been on bad terms with her husband, living separated from him; and one of her daughters, the Duchess of Richmond, bore an unnatural hatred to her brother Surrey. On Sunday night, the 12th of December, immediately after the arrest of the duke and his son, Gate, Southwell, and Carew were dispatched with all haste to Kuming Hall (seven miles from Thetford), the principal house of the Howards, and they arrived there by break of day on Tuesday, "so that the first news of the Duke of Norfolk and the son came thither by them."* After taking care "of all the gates and back-doors," they desired to speak with the Duchess of Richmond and her sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Holland, who were found "at that time newly risen, and not ready." The two ladies, however, appeared in the dining-chamber without delay, and the court agents imparted to them "the case and condition wherein the duke and his son, without the king's great mercy, did stand." "Wherewith," continue these respectable gentlemen, "we found the Duchess of Richmond a woman sore perplexed, trembling, and like to fall down; but, coming unto herself again, she was not, we assure your majesty, forgetful of her duty, and did most humbly and reverently, upon her knees, humble herself in all unto your highness; saying that, although nature constrained her sore to love her father, and also to desire the well-doing of his son, her natural brother, whom she noteth to be a rash man, yet for her part she would, nor will, hide or conceal anything from your majesty's knowledge, specially if it be of weight, or otherwise, as it shall fall in her remembrance; which she hath promised, for the better declaration of her integrity, to exhibit in writing unto your highness and your honourable council." They then tell the king, whom they address directly, that they desired sight of the chambers and coffers, and got the keys from the Duchess of Richmond. They go on to express their disappointment at the poorness of the prize; but we suspect that, in all these domiciliary visits, the agents concealed a portion of the spoils, and kept it for themselves. "Her coffers and chambers be so bare as your majesty would hardly think; her jewels, such as she had, sold, or lent to gage (pawn), to pay her debts, as she, her maiden, and the almoner do say. We will, nevertheless, for our duty, make a further and more earnest search." When they had done with the duchess's chambers and coffers, they searched those of Mrs. Elizabeth Holland, her sister, where they found divers girdles, beads, buttons of gold, pearls, and rings set with stones of divers sorts, whereof, with all other things, they were, they say, making inventories to be sent to his highness. They also report that, having made sure of the house and property at Kuming Hall, they with all speed, and at one instant, sent some of their most discreet and trusty servants to all the other houses of the duke in Norfolk and Suffolk,

* The first notice of the king's failing health—a subject on which Henry was so jealous that those around him seem to have been afraid of mentioning it in writing to their colleagues—occurs in a letter from Yetsweirt to Sir William Paget, dated the 17th of September, 1545. But, in this letter, it is added that his Majesty was recovered. —*State Papers.*

* State Papers.

not omitting the house of his daughter, Elizabeth Holland, "newly made in Suffolk, which was thought to be well furnished with stuff." The duke's almoner had engaged to deliver into their hands all, or the greater part, of the family plate, "but money of the duke had none, but supposes that the steward upon his last account had such as did remain." As another important duty the agents had informed themselves as to the clear value of the duke's possessions, and all other his yearly revenue, as near as they could learn, by his books of account and other his records. The Duchess of Richmond and Mrs. Elizabeth Holland they had taken into custody, and would send on their journey towards London on the morrow; but they represented that there remained unattached in the house the Earl of Surrey's wife and children, with certain women in the nursery attending upon them, and they humbly besought his majesty to signify what they were to do with the servants, seeing that the said earl's wife was near her time, and expecting to lie in at Candlemas.*

The duchess of Norfolk was arrested near London, and the three ladies were travailled with and examined by some of the council. But though the wife was ready to speak against the husband —the sister against the brother—their depositions amounted to almost nothing. The Duchess of Richmond said that she had heard her brother Surrey speak bitterly against the Earl of Hertford, and these women also stated (what was notorious to all) that Norfolk and his son had quartered the arms of the Duke of Buckingham, a lineal descendant from Edward III.† When the council could get no more from the women, they set forward the evidence of two obscure men, who asserted that the Earl of Surrey had entertained certain Italians who were suspected of being spies; that the Duke of Norfolk had expressed great dissatisfaction at the changes in the church, had spoken about the king's diseases, and greatly abused some of the new nobility, who, he said, did not love him.

Before the court at Guildhall, Surrey, who, in the words of Lord Herbert, who knew him well, "was a man of deep understanding, sharp wit, and high courage," made a most spirited and eloquent defence. And the cause he had to plead was most simple. He admitted that he had borne the arms of Edward the Confessor, but he exhibited a decision of the heralds which allowed him so to do; and he told them (what most of them must have known perfectly) that he had borne those arms for years, even in the king's presence, without giving any offence. Notwithstanding all this, the court pronounced that there was proof sufficient, in the fact of his wearing the arms, that he had aspired to the throne; and the jury, doing their duty as usual, found him guilty. "And so the flower of the English nobility was, on the 19th of January, beheaded, the king being then in extremity, and breathing his *last* in blood."*

Norfolk, from his cell in the Tower, repeatedly requested to be confronted with his accusers, either before his royal majesty, or, if his pleasure should not be to take that pains, then before his council.† But it may be questioned whether his letters ever reached the king, who, at the moment (though not aware of it), "was feeling the inevitable necessity of death;" and it had been fully determined, by the Seymours and others who surrounded the bed of the expiring tyrant, that no more justice or leniency should be shown to the duke, than *he*, in his days of favour and might, had meted out to others. After several private examinations, the duke, upon some promises tendered to him in the name of the king, consented to write or sign a confession. But even in this document there was nothing that could reasonably be construed into treason; for he only

* State Papers.

† Norfolk had done this in right of his wife, who was daughter of the unfortunate Duke of Buckingham, executed in the early part of this reign.

* Godwin.

"When Surrey of the deathless lay
Ungrateful Tudor's sentence slew!"

Lay of the Last Minstrel.

There were other grounds of suspicion against Surrey which it was thought proper to suppress in public. He was suspected of a design upon the king's daughter, the Princess Mary! In the State Papers there is a remarkable document, without title or date, in the hand-writing of Wriothesley, the chancellor, with interlineations written by the king himself, in a tremulous hand. It consists of a set of queries evidently preparatory to the prosecution of the Howards. We here give it entire, marking in italics the words put in by the king.

"If a man coming of the collateral line to the heir of the crown, who ought not to bear the arms of England but on the second quarter, with the difference of their ancestry, do presume to change his right place, and bear them in the first quarter, leaving out the true difference of the ancestry, and, in the lieu thereof, use the very place only of the heir male apparent; how this man's intent is to be judged; and whether this import any danger, peril, or slander to the title of the prince, or very heir apparent; and how it weigheth in our laws.

"If a man *presume* to take into his arms an old coat of the crown, *which his ancestor never bore, nor he of right ought to bear*, and use it without difference; whether it may be to the peril or slander of the very heir of the crown, or be taken to tend to his disturbance in the same; and in what peril they be, that consent that he should so do.

"If a man compasseth *with himself to govern the realm, do actually go about to rule the king, and should for that purpose advise his daughter or sister to become his harlot, thinking thereby to bring it to pass, and so would rule both father and son, as by this next article doth more appear; what this importeth.*

"If a man say these words of a (man) or woman of the realm, 'If the king die, who should have the rule of the prince, but my father or I?' what it importeth.

"The depraving of the king's council.

"If a man shall say these words of a (man) or woman of the realm, 'If the king were dead, I should shortly shut him up;' what it importeth.

"If a man, provoked and compelled by his duty of allegiance, shall declare such matter as he heareth touching the king, and shall be continually threatened by the person accused to be killed or hurt for it; what it importeth.

"If a man take upon him to use ——— in his lordship, or to keep places ——— himself free warren in his grounds (without) licence; what it importeth.

"If a subject presume without licence to give arms to strangers; what it importeth."

† We have seen that the duke attributed his misfortunes to the "sacramentaries," or Protestants. He suspected that they had inflamed the king's mind against him by suggesting doubts as to the sincerity of his belief in the usurpations of the pope and the sacred supremacy of the king; and, to remove these doubts from the royal mind, this noble author of the memorable letter on his own niece, Catherine Howard, had recourse to various manœuvres and protestations. Among other requests addressed to the council from the Tower, he begged them to permit him to purchase a copy of 'Sabellicus,' "who doth declare, most of any book that I have read, how the Bishop of Rome, from time to time, hath usurped his power against all princes, by their unwise sufferance."—*Lord Herbert.* In another mean-spirited application to the council, he said, "If I had twenty lives, I would rather have spent them all against him (the Bishop of Rome) than ever he should have any power in this realm; for no man knoweth better than I, by reason of stories, how his usurped power hath increased from time to time. Nor such time as the king's majesty hath found him his enemy, no living man hath, both in his heart and with his tongue, in this realm, in France, and also to many Scottish gentlemen, spoken more sore against his usurped power than I have done, as I can prove by good witness."—*Burnet, Records.*

admitted that, during his long and difficult services, he had occasionally communicated to others some of the secrets of the privy council, contrary to his oath; that he had concealed the treasonable act of his son, in assuming the arms of Edward the Confessor; and that he had himself treasonably borne on his shield the arms of England, with the difference of labels of silver, which of right belonged only to Prince Edward. The Seymour party, who had got from Henry a promise that the spoils of Howard should be shared amongst them, and whose promises to the duke were only meant to extract the confession, thought this matter sufficient upon which to proceed to judgment. Norfolk, however, who was well practised in business of this kind, knew perfectly well that, if his estates were divided among many, his family would find a great difficulty in getting them back in case of a reversal of his attainder, and he sent a petition to the king, to implore, as a favour, that all his "good and stately gear" might be settled on Prince Edward. This petition was not likely to disarm the enmity of the rival party. Instead of arraigning him before his peers, they proceeded by the system which Cromwell had introduced, and by which he had himself suffered. A bill of attainder, founded on the confession, was brought into the House of Lords, and read three times on three successive days.* The Commons did their work with equal dispatch —returning the bill, passed, in three days more. It had been usual, even in these murderous times, to wait till the close of the session for the royal assent to such bills of attainder; but two days after the bill had passed the king grew so much worse, that Norfolk's enemies saw there was no time to lose; and, accordingly, on the 27th of January, Wriothesley, the chancellor, informed the two Houses of Parliament that his majesty had been pleased to appoint certain lords to signify his assent to the bill. And thereupon the commission, under the sign manual, was read; the royal assent was given by the lords appointed; and, without losing precious moments, an order was dispatched to the lieutenant of the Tower to execute the Duke of Norfolk at an early hour on the following morning.†

But by the good fortune of Norfolk, and many a better man, the tyrant died in the intervening night. His last scene of all has been very differently represented by the opposite sects; but the account usually inserted in our histories is supported by respectable authority, and is—at least in part—very like truth. As several people had been put to death at various times for saying the king was dying or likely to die, the persons about him were afraid to tell him of his true condition; and the Seymour party had strong motives for concealing his danger both from himself and the public as long as possible. The physicians, on the approach of certain symptoms, wished his courtiers—friends he had none—to warn him of his state; but they all hung back in affright, like unarmed men in the presence of a wounded and dying beast of prey. At last Sir Anthony Denny undertook the task, and, going directly to the bedside of the fainting monarch, told him, in few and plain words, that the hope of human help was vain, and recommended him to turn his thoughts to heaven,—an advice not very acceptable to him: but, finding it was grounded upon the opinion of his physicians, he submitted to the hard law of necessity, and, reflecting upon the course of his life, which he much condemned, he still professed himself confident that, through Christ, all his sins, though they had been more in number and weight, might be pardoned. He was then asked whether he desired to confer with any divines? "With none other," said he, "but the Archbishop Cranmer, and not with him yet; I will first repose myself a little, and, as I then find myself, will determine accordingly." After a sleep, or stupor, of an hour or two, he felt that he was going; and then he commanded that the archbishop should be sent for in all haste. Cranmer, after being present in the House of Lords on the three several days on which the iniquitous bill of attainder against the Duke of Norfolk was read, had retired for quiet to Croydon, where he was on the evening when he received the royal summons. He posted to court with all possible speed, but before he arrived the king was speechless. It is added that, when he bent over the bed, Henry grasped his hand; that, then, Cranmer exhorted him to hope for God's mercy through Christ, on which the king grasped his hand as hard as he could, and expired a few moments after, having lived fifty-five years and seven months, and reigned thirty-seven years, nine months, and six days.*

It is generally set down, somewhat vaguely, in our annals, that the party which succeeded to power did not think it advisable to begin a new reign by shedding the blood of the first nobleman of England; but, from the character of the majority of those men, we are inclined to believe that they were deterred merely by the dread of consequences to themselves in case of a failure of their schemes. If Henry had lived two or three hours longer the head of Norfolk would have been upon the block; but, then, it might have been made to pass as the act of a living king. As it was he was respited, and the sentence was never carried into effect, although the aged duke remained in confinement till the accession of Queen Mary, who, not wholly without reason, considered him as a victim of the Protestant party.

The most just and fitting conclusion to the life and reign of Henry VIII. is, to state that, between

* On the 18th, 19th, and 20th of January.

† Journals.—Burnet. The Journals of the Lords (the best, and an unquestionable authority) prove Burnet to be wrong in stating that Cranmer, to avoid concurring in the act of attainder, withdrew to Croydon before the bill was introduced. The primate was in the House of Lords *every* day that the bill was read—nay, he was even there on the 27th of January, when Wriothesley read the royal assent. Thus, he could only have left town a few hours when he was called back to attend the expiring monarch.

* Bishop Godwin.

his accession and his death, some thousands of individuals were executed. If, in the course of this narrative, our views of certain historical characters, and of their motives of action, be found to vary somewhat from those of preceding writers, the reader should bear in mind that those views have been opened to us and illuminated by the unerring light of the State Papers.

Edward VI.

Edward VI. From a Drawing by Holbein.

Great Seal of Edward VI.

A.D. 1547.—Although King Henry, as has been stated, had breathed his last at an early hour on the morning of Friday, the 28th of January, it is remarkable that the parliament, which, as the law then stood, was dissolved by his death, met, pursuant to adjournment, on Saturday, the 29th, and proceeded to business as usual. In fact, the demise of the crown was kept concealed till Monday, the 31st, when it was announced to the two Houses, assembled together, by the Chancellor Wriothesley. The news, according to the entry in the Lords' Journals, "was unspeakably sad and sorrowful to all the hearers, the chancellor himself being almost disabled by his tears from uttering the words." They soon, however, it is added, "composed their lamentations and consoled their griefs" by calling to mind the promise of excellence already held out by the youthful successor to the throne. The same rapid transition "from grave to gay," the ordinary formality on such occasions, was observed in like manner at the first meeting of the privy council with the new king; the counsellors, as Burnet has expressed it, "so tempering their sorrow for the death of their late master with their joy for his son's happy succeeding him, that by an excess of joy they might not seem to have forgot the one so soon, nor to bode ill to the other by an extreme grief."

It is hard to believe that, either in high places or in low, any other feeling than a sense of relief and of freer breathing could have been produced by the dissolution of so terrible a tyranny as that of Henry VIII. had latterly become. It has been the fashion with our historians to hold forth this king, the storm of whose selfish passions fortunately chanced to throw down or to shake some old and strong abuses that might not otherwise have been so readily got rid of, as the object of the love and pride of his subjects, as well as of the respect of foreign nations, to the last. His position and the circumstances of the time must have always given him an importance abroad, and made his movements be watched with considerable anxiety, which would not be diminished by his extreme wilfulness, and the suddenness of those gusts of temper and inclination that chiefly determined his course, although the very same causes impaired his real power of being either serviceable or formidable to his neighbours. But, at home, no higher sentiment than one of self-interest can well be supposed to have attached anybody to so sanguinary and heartless a despot; and it is evident that an oppressive fear and bewilderment was the state into which his ferocious rule had thrown the generality of men in all classes. We see this alike in the prostrate servility of the parliament, and in the silent, despairing submission, after the failure of one or two convulsive local revolts, of the great body of the people. His son Edward, indeed, has set it down in his Journal,* that when "the death of his father was showed in London," the same day on which the announcement was made to parliament, there "was great lamentation and weeping;" and he had no doubt been informed that such was the case, or, possibly, with a simplicity natural to his age and station, he took it for granted that it could not have been otherwise. But it would have been interesting to be told by which of the two great parties that divided the population Henry was thus regretted,—by the adherents of the Roman church, or by the friends of the new opinions. The former could hardly have remembered him with any feelings that would find their vent in tears; to the latter the accession of the new king was the dawning of a fresh day from which they had every thing to hope.

Edward, when the crown thus descended upon his head, had entered his tenth year, having been born, as above related, on the 12th of October, 1537. He had been "brought up," as he tells us himself, "till he came to six years old among the women." He was then placed under the tuition of Dr. Cox and Mr. Cheke, "two well-learned men, who sought to bring him up in learning of tongues, of the Scripture, of philosophy, and all liberal sciences." Burnet states that Cox was appointed "to be his preceptor for his manners, and the knowledge of philosophy and divinity; the other for the tongues and mathematics." Another of the persons entrusted with the direction of his education, according to Strype, was Sir Anthony Cook, "famous for his five learned daughters." He had also masters for the French language and other accomplishments. In all these studies he had made an uncommon progress for his years, and had been distinguished for a docility and diligence that would have been remarkable even in one who was not a prince and the heir to a throne. "He was so forward in his learning," says Burnet, "that, before he was eight years old, he wrote Latin letters to his father, who was a prince of that stern severity that one can hardly think that those about his son durst cheat him by making letters for him."* All Prince Edward's tutors were favourers of the reformed opinions in religion, to which also his mother had been attached; and they had been perfectly successful in instilling their own views into the mind of their pupil, who, even in his early boyhood, was already a very zealous if not a learned theologian. The following picture of him is extracted by Strype from a work called 'The Pilgrim,' written by William Thomas, "one of the most learned men of these times, and afterwards one of the clerks of the council;" and although it was really drawn, not, as Strype states, "when he was scarce yet come to the crown," but after he had been at least

* Printed by Burnet, in his History of the Reformation (Appendix of Records to vol. ii.), from the original, in the king's own hand, preserved in the British Museum, Cotton MS. Nero, C. 10.

* Some of the early Latin letters of Prince Edward to his father and others may be found in Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, ii. 12, 13 (edit. of 1816), and are reprinted in Sir Henry Ellis's Original Letters Illustrative of English History, first series, vol. ii. pp. 131, &c. Others are in Fox's Martyrology, and in Fuller's *Church History*.

a year king, it may very well come in here. It will perhaps be thought to shadow forth something of the character of the clerk of the council, actual or expectant, as well as of his royal master :—"If ye knew the towardness of that young prince, your hearts would melt to hear him named, and your stomach abhor the malice of them that would him ill; the beautifulest creature that liveth under the sun; the wittiest, the most amiable, and the gentlest thing of all the world. Such a spirit of capacity, learning the things taught him by his schoolmasters, that it is a wonder to hear say. And, finally, he hath such a grace of posture and gesture in gravity, when he comes into a presence, that it should seem he were already a father, and yet passeth he not the age of ten years. A thing, undoubtedly, much rather to be seen than believed."

Edward, when his father died, was residing at Hertford,* whither his uncle, the Earl of Hertford, and Sir Thomas Brown, Master of the Horse, immediately proceeded, and, having brought him to Enfield, there announced the event to him and his sister Elizabeth. This was on the next day, according to Hayward, who also informs us that, upon receiving the tidings, both the prince and princess "brake forth into such unforced and unfeigned passions, as it plainly appeared that goodnature did work in them beyond all other respects. Never was sorrow more sweetly set forth; their faces seeming rather to beautify their sorrow than their sorrow to cloud the beauty of their faces. Their young years, their excellent beauties, their lovely and lively interchange of complaints, in such sort graced their grief as the most iron eyes at that time present were drawn thereby into society of their tears."†

The grief of the new king, however, if we may rely upon a better authority, did not last long, any more than that of his subjects. He entered London on the afternoon of the same day (Monday, the 31st) on the morning of which the news of Henry's decease had been made public and his own accession proclaimed, and, amid a great concourse of the nobility and others, took his way straight to the Tower. "At his approaching near to the same," says Strype, "was great shooting of ordnance in all parts thereabouts, as well from the Tower as from the ships; whereat the king took great pleasure. Being there arrived he was welcomed by the nobles, and conducted by them to his lodging within the Tower, being richly hung and garnished with rich cloth of arras, and cloth of estate, agreeable to such a royal guest. And so were all his nobles lodged and placed, some in the Tower, and some in the city. His council lodged for the most part about his highness, who every day kept the council-chamber for determination of main causes, as well about the interment of the king's father, as for the expedition of his own coronation."*

The next day after the king came to the Tower, being Tuesday the 1st of February, the greater part of the nobility, both spiritual and temporal, assembled, about three o'clock in the afternoon, in the Presence Chamber, where, after they had all knelt and kissed his majesty's hand, saying every one of them, "God save your grace!" the Lord Chancellor proceeded to declare the purport of the deceased king's last will and testament, which, however, had been in part read to the parliament the day before. It appeared that Henry had nominated the following sixteen persons to be his executors, and to hold the office of governors of his son and of the kingdom till Edward should have completed his eighteenth year:—Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas Wriothesley, Baron Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor; William Paulet, Baron St. John, Master of the Household; John Russell, Baron Russell, Lord Privy Seal; Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, Lord Great Chamberlain; John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, Lord Admiral; Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown, Master of the Horse; Sir William Paget, Secretary of State; Sir Edward North, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations; Sir Edward Montague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Thomas Bromley, one of the Justices of the King's Bench; Sir Anthony Denny and Sir John Herbert, Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, Treasurer of Calais; and Dr. Nicolas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury. To these were added twelve others, under the name of a Privy Council: they were, Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; William Parr, Earl of Essex; Sir Thomas Cheyney, Treasurer of the Household; Sir John Gage, Comptroller; Sir Anthony Wingfield, Vice-Chamberlain; Sir William Petre, Secretary of State; Sir Richard Rich; Sir John Baker; Sir Ralph Sadler; Sir Thomas Seymour; Sir Richard Southwell; and Sir Edmund Peckham. These latter, however, were to have no real power or authority, their functions being limited to the simple right of giving their opinion or advice when it was asked for. After he had recited the names of the council of government, the chancellor made an announcement which was more important, and

* So he tells us himself, in his Journal. Holinshed, whom some late writers have followed, says he was at Hatfield.

† Life and Reign of Edward VI. in Kennet, ii. 275.

* Eccles. Mem. ii. 21. Strype quotes as his authority for these details an official record in the Heralds' College. Apparently, however, this careful writer must be in error when he says (p. 16) that the Earl of Hertford and Sir Anthony Brown were accompanied when they repaired to the prince by "a great number of noblemen, with knights pensioners, esquires, and gentlemen," who all "did ride in their best manner." This statement is surely inconsistent with the fact that no public notice was given of the king's death till the Monday. It is remarkable that Edward's letters-patent for his proclamation are dated on the 31st, "at Westminster," before he had yet arrived from Enfield. In his Journal, also, he states that he was informed of the death of his father at Enfield *on the same day* on which it was showed in London, and on which he was proclaimed there; and that he was brought to the Tower *the next day*. This account, though seemingly from the best authority, is inconsistent both with the statements of contemporary historians and with the evidence of official records. But the history of the first four days of this reign still requires clearing up. The King's Journal, it may be remarked, does not appear to have the character of a memorandum written at the time till we come to the entry dated the 24th of March 1549. All that precedes this was probably set down from memory long after the events happened.

must have made a greater sensation among his hearers, than anything he had yet communicated. From the first prospect of the new reign the Earl of Hertford, the uncle of the young king that was to be, had begun to intrigue and lay his plans for securing to himself the chief place in the government. The following anecdote is related by Strype:—"While King Henry lay on his death-bed in his palace at Westminster, Sir Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, and Sir William Paget, among others, were at court; and Paget, being Secretary of State, was much about his person, whom, being a man wise and learned, and well versed in the affairs of state, both by reason of his office and his several embassies abroad, the earl prudently made choice of for his inward friend and counsellor. By the king's desperate condition the earl, well perceiving the crown ready to fall upon Prince Edward's (his nephew's) head, before the breath was out of his body, took a walk with Paget in the gallery, where he held some serious conference with him concerning the government. And immediately after the king was departed, they met again, the earl devising with him concerning the high place he was to hold, being the next of kin to the young king. Paget at both meetings freely and at large gave him his advice, for the safe managery of himself and of the mighty trust likely to be reposed in him; and the earl then promised him to follow his counsels in all his proceedings more than any other man's."* At the first meeting of the executors after the king's death Hertford had succeeded in achieving the object of his ambition. When it was proposed that, for the more convenient dispatch of business, one of their number should be appointed merely to be a sort of representative or mouth-piece of the whole, such an arrangement was objected to by the Chancellor Wriothesley, who contended that it would be a violation of the will, which made them all equal, but who at the same time probably hoped to be able, without any formal appointment, to get into his own hands the chief power in the government by means simply of the eminent office he filled. He was also well aware who the president would be if one should be elected, and that with such a choice the whole policy of the government would be turned against the interest to which he attached himself; for Wriothesley was now accounted the head of the Catholic party, as Hertford was the strength and hope of the Protestants. The chancellor, however, seems to have stood alone, or nearly alone, in his opposition; on seeing which he gave up the point, and consented to go along with his colleagues; and in the end, after short debate, the Earl of Hertford was unanimously nominated Protector of the Realm and Governor of the king's person, the paramount authority implied in, and necessarily conveyed by, these high titles being, however, vainly enough, attempted to be limited by the condition that he should not do any act without the advice and consent of the majority of the executors. The chancellor now announced to the nobility assembled around the king in the Presence Chamber that all the executors had agreed "that the Earl of Hertford should be governor of the young king during his nonage." "Whereupon all the said lords made answer in one voice, that there was none so meet for the same in all the realm as he; and said also that they were well content withal. Then the earl gave them hearty thanks, and said he trusted in God so to use himself that it should be to their contentation, and required them in general to afford him their aid and help in the right of the realm; who made answer all in one voice, that they would be ready at all times, with all their might and power, both for the defence of the realm and of the king."* The king then returned them thanks, from himself, by which he may be understood to have intimated his assent to what the executors had done.

Hertford and his associates, however, had a great deal more to do for themselves than they had yet accomplished. A strange clause appeared in Henry's will, requiring them to make good all that he had promised in any manner of way; and it was affirmed that he had reiterated this injunction verbally, with great earnestness, to those of them who were in attendance upon him while he lay on his death-bed. When the matter came to be inquired into, it was found that these unperformed engagements, or rather intentions (for in most cases they do not seem to have amounted to promises), of the deceased king, nearly all regarded certain additional honours and other good things which he meant to bestow upon the executors themselves. Such at least was the testimony of Paget, Denny, and Herbert, to whom alone it appeared that he had communicated the particulars. Burnet gives the following account:—"Paget declared that when the evidence appeared against the Duke of Norfolk and his son the Earl of Surrey, the king, who used to talk oft in private with him alone, told him that he intended to bestow their lands liberally; and since, by attainders and other ways, the nobility were much decayed, he intended to create some peers, and ordered him to write a book of such as he thought meetest." Paget then proposed that the Earl of Hertford should be made a duke, and named, besides, a number of other persons who should be ennobled or raised to a higher rank in the peerage. He "also proposed a distribution of the Duke of Norfolk's estate; but the king liked it not, and made Mr. Gates bring him the books of that estate, which being done, he ordered Paget 'to tot upon the Earl of Hertford' (these are the words of his deposition) 1000 marks; on the Lord Lisle, St. John, and Russell, 200*l.* a-year; to the Lord Wriothesley, 100*l.*; and for Sir Thomas Seymour, 300*l.* a-year; but Paget said it was too little, and stood long arguing it with him. . . . . And he, putting the king in mind of Denny, who had been oft a suitor for him, but he had never yet

* Ec. Mem. ii. 16.

* Strype, Ec. Mem. ii. 21.

in lieu of that obtained anything for Denny; the king ordered 200*l.* for him and 400 marks for Sir William Herbert, and remembered some other likewise." Some of the persons that were mentioned for promotion, however, on being spoken to, desired to remain in their present ranks, on the ground that the lands the king proposed to give were not sufficient for the maintenance of the honours to be conferred on them; and other circumstances also induced the king to change his mind as to some points. At last, after many consultations, the matter was finally settled as follows: "The Earl of Hertford to be Earl Marshal and Lord Treasurer, and to be Duke of Somerset, Exeter, or Hertford, and his son to be Earl of Wiltshire, with 800*l.* a-year of land, and 300*l.* a-year out of the next bishop's land that fell void; the Earl of Essex to be Marquess of Essex; the Viscount Lisle to be Earl of Coventry; the Lord Wriothesley to be Earl of Winchester; Sir Thomas Seymour to be a baron and Lord Admiral; Sir Richard Rich, Sir John St. Leger, Sir William Willoughby, Sir Edward Sheffield, and Sir Christopher Danby, to be barons, with yearly revenues to them and several other persons. And having, at the suit of Sir Edward North, promised to give the Earl of Hertford six of the best prebends that should fall in any cathedral, except deaneries and treasurerships, at his (the duke's) suit, he (the king) agreed that a deanery and a treasurership should be instead of two of the six prebendaries." Paget's testimony was confirmed in all points by Denny and Herbert, who said, that when the secretary left the chamber the king had told them the substance of what had passed between them, and had made Denny read the particulars as set down in writing. "Whereupon," it is added, "Herbert observed, that the secretary had remembered all but himself; to which the king answered he should not forget him; and ordered Denny to write 400*l.* a-year for him." Thus one of these disinterested friends was always at hand, at the moment of need, to help another. The executors now resolved to fulfil their late master's intentions, both, as Burnet puts it, "out of conscience to the king's will, and for their own honours"—that is, we must suppose, for the sake of the honours and profits that would thereby accrue to them. They were in some difficulty about finding the means of paying the various pecuniary allowances, being unwilling, it seems, to sell the royal jewels or plate, or otherwise to diminish the king's treasure or revenue, in case of a war with France or the emperor; but they eventually found a resource in the sale of the chantry lands. Most of the new peerages designed by Henry were conferred, only in most cases other titles were chosen. Essex became Marquess of Northampton; Lisle Earl of Warwick; Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton; Sir Thomas Seymour was made Baron Seymour of Sudley and Lord High Admiral; Rich became Baron Rich; Willoughby, Baron Willoughby; Sheffield, Baron Sheffield. St. Leger and Danby declined both peerage and pension. As for Hertford, he "grew," to borrow the expression of admirer, Strype, "an exceeding great man, swoing with titles." "This," proceeds the historian, "was his style: The Most Noble and Victorious Prince Edward, Duke of Somerset, Earl of Hertford, Viscount Beauchamp, Lord Seymour, Governor of the person of the King's Majesty, and Protector of all his Realms, his Lieutenant-general of all his armies both by land and by sea, Lord High Treasurer, and Earl Marshal of England, Governor of the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter." "*Because* he was thus great," it is added, however, "so he also was a very generous and good man, and a sincere favourer of the gospel; he was entirely beloved of those that professed it, and for the most part by the populacy; and, therefore, was commonly called *The Good Duke*."* Burnet admits, that "when it was known abroad what a distribution of honour and wealth the council had resolved on, it was much censured; many saying that it was not enough for them to have drained the dead king of all his treasure, but that the first step of their proceedings in their new trust was, to provide honours and estates for themselves; when as it had been a more decent way for them to have reserved their pretensions till the king had come to be of age." He even goes the length of insinuating that there was much reason for doubting the whole story of Paget and his fellow deponents, inasmuch as the will on which they pretended to found it bore date on the 30th of December, whereas their account appeared to imply that it was not drawn up till nearly a month later, when Henry was on his death-bed.†

The ceremonies of burying the old, and crowning the new king, were the first affairs that occupied the government. King Henry, after lying in state at Whitehall till the 14th of February, was removed to Sion House, and thence to Windsor, where he was interred in St. George's Chapel, on the 16th, with extraordinary magnificence; the solemnities being finished, as his son records, by the officers of the household and others breaking their staves and "hurling them into the grave." The official account says that they broke them "in shivers upon their heads, with heavy and dolorous lamentation," and "threw them into the vault with exceeding sorrow and heaviness, not without grievous sighs and tears, not only of them, but of many others, as well of the meaner sort as of the nobility, very piteous and sorrowful to behold."‡ But it is the business of the heraldic historians on such occasions to supply the necessary quantity of sighs and tears, as it is that of their brethren the undertakers to furnish the black cloth and the plumes, and the other similar ensigns and trappings of woe. Four days after the funeral of

* Ec. Mem. ii. 24.

† Dr. Lingard has advanced the same objection, without being that he had been anticipated by Burnet.

‡ See the account printed by Strype at full length, in Ec. Mem. vi. 266—291.

Henry, the coronation of his son took place in Westminster Abbey, in a manner varied in some respects from the ancient form, partly, as it was declared in the order or program, "for the tedious length of the same, which should weary and be hurtsome peradventure to the king's majesty, being yet of tender age, fully to endure and bide out; and also for that many points of the same were such as by the laws of the realm at this present were not allowable." The most material innovation, however, was in the commencing ceremony, in which, instead of the king, as heretofore, first taking the oath to preserve the liberties of the realm, and being then presented to the people, who were asked by the archbishop if they were willing to accept him and obey him as their liege lord, the order of the oath and the presentation was reversed—the former not being administered till after the king had been shown by the archbishop, whose address to the people also, as Burnet has observed, was couched "in such terms as should demonstrate he was no elective prince; for he, being declared the rightful and undoubted heir, both by the laws of God and man, they were desired to give their good wills and assents to the same, as by their duty of allegiance they were bound to do." As usual, a general pardon for state offenders was proclaimed on this occasion, from which, however, were excepted, along with a few other names, those of the Duke of Norfolk and Cardinal Pole.

The "Good Duke," with all his eminence of station and sounding titles, was far from being yet satisfied with the position he had attained. So long as the chancellor continued a member of the council, Somerset must have felt that his exercise of supreme power would be subject to a constant check; and the crafty Southampton, on the other hand, seems to have been by no means thrown into despair, or any thought of abandoning his post, by his discomfiture in their first trial of strength. In fact, it may be said to have been the eagerness with which he allowed himself to be carried away and absorbed by his political functions, that brought about his ruin. "Resolving," as Burnet says, "to give himself wholly to matters of state," in order that he might have time to attend the daily meetings of the council, on the 18th of February, without consulting his colleagues in the government, he put the great seal to a commission in the king's name, empowering four masters of his court, or any two of them, to hear and manner of causes in his absence, and giving to their decrees the same force as if they had been pronounced by himself, on condition only that they should be signed by him before their enrolment. This act of imprudence was immediately pounced upon by the opposite party; the subject was referred to the judges, who declared that the chancellor had committed an offence against the king which was punishable at common law with the loss of office, and fine and imprisonment at the royal pleasure. Southampton, after an attempt to maintain the legality of the commission, offered to submit to have it revoked, if it were deemed illegal; but these terms of accommodation were of course rejected; and, at last, on the 6th of March, the council resolved that the great seal should be taken from him, and that he should, in the mean time, be confined to his residence at Ely House, and be fined as should be afterwards thought fitting. He remained a prisoner in his own house for nearly four months, and was only then discharged after he had entered into a recognisance of 4000*l.*, to pay whatever fine should be imposed upon him. "Thus fell the lord chancellor," says Burnet; "and in him the Popish party lost their chief support, and the protector his most emulous rival." The council, in the sentence they passed upon him, professed to be swayed by a conscientious consideration of "his abuses sundry ways in his office, and the prejudice that might follow by the seals continuing in the hands of so stout and arrogant a person;" and he was undoubtedly a man of a most haughty and despotic temper; but still the true reason of his deprivation was discernible enough to all under these transparent pretences. Burnet acknowledges that the proceedings against him "were summary and severe, beyond the usage of the privy council, and without the common forms of legal processes."

The next measure of the Protector was to take into his own hands the entire power of the executive government. A week after the ejection of Southampton, by a commission running in the king's name, and signed by himself and his friends Cranmer, St. John, Russell, Northampton, Cheyney, Paget, and Brown, the duke was declared Governor of the king and Protector of the kingdom, without any participation on the part of the council, which was, indeed, dissolved, by the members being united in a new council with the twelve persons who had been appointed to be their advisers by Henry's will, and the whole being now constituted a mere council of advice, the protector being at the same time empowered to add to their numbers to any extent he pleased. In other words, Somerset was invested with the whole of the royal authority, and, in everything save the name, made king of England.

The frame of the government at home being thus settled, the attention of the Protector was immediately called to foreign affairs. The treaty of Campes (7th June, 1546) had, as already related, both established peace with France and suspended active hostilities with the Scots, although Henry had continued to keep up a secret intercourse with the Protestants in Scotland, as the party opposed to the government of the Earl of Arran, and had, after the murder of Cardinal Beaton, openly sent supplies to the authors of that atrocity, whom Arran was in vain endeavouring to dislodge from the castle of St. Andrew's. Henry, on his deathbed, is said to have enjoined the lords of his council that they should leave nothing undone to bring about the marriage between his son and the infant

Queen of Scots, on which he had so strongly set his heart; and his desire no doubt was that they should pursue that object, as he himself would have done had he lived, either, as opportunity and circumstances might seem to invite, by negotiation and intrigue, or by a "rougher wooing." Somerset, accordingly, now addressed a letter to the Scottish nobility, strongly urging upon them the policy as well as the obligation of fulfilling "the promises, seals, and oaths, which, by public authority, had passed for concluding this marriage."* This appeal, however, produced little effect upon the party that now predominated in Scotland. They dispatched an ambassador, indeed, to the English court; "but neither was anything done," says Hayward, "neither do I find what was propounded to be done." In fact, immediately after this, hostilities between the two countries recommenced, with an encounter between an English vessel called the Pansy, commanded by Sir Andrew Dudley, brother to the Earl of Warwick, and the Lion, "a principal ship of Scotland," which is said to have made the attack, but was in the end boarded and taken by her enemy. After this "many such small actions were enterprised daily, which were but scattering drops of the great tempest which did ensue."†

Both countries were already making preparations for a war on a greater scale, when an event happened that materially affected their position towards each other. Francis I. died at Rambouillet on the 31st of March; thus surviving by little more than two months the King of England, with whom he had been so constantly connected, either as a friend or an enemy, for more than thirty years. He had for some time suffered much from depression of spirits as well as from bodily disease, and it is said that he had become impressed with a belief that Henry's life and his own were fated to terminate in the same year. Since the accession of Edward, however, arrangements had been made for having the late alliance between the two crowns renewed; and the treaty had, in fact, been concluded at London, and wanted only to be formally ratified by Francis at the time of his death. That heaviest blow, as it was considered at the moment, that could have befallen the Protestant cause on the continent, enabling the emperor, as it did, to carry everything before him for a time both in Germany and in Italy, soon appeared likely to be no less disastrous to the same interest in Scotland. Henry II., the son and successor of Francis, preserved for a little while a show of amicable intercourse with England; but it was sufficiently evident from the first what course he was about to take. Under the control of the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorrain, the brothers of the queen-dowager of Scotland, who now, along with Arran, stood at the head of the Catholic party and of the established government in that country, the politics of the new king of France immediately evinced a complete return to the old system of a close alliance with the Scots, as affording the most effective means of annoying and embarrassing England. When the treaty of London was presented to Henry, he refused to sign it; and soon after he openly took part in the war on the side of the Scottish government by sending a fleet of sixteen galleys, under the command of Leo Strozzi, Prior of Capua, to assist the regent in reducing the castle of St. Andrew's. Arran, after lying for five months before this fortress, had made a truce with the garrison in February; and when the French galleys arrived, in the end of June, he was engaged on a plundering expedition beyond the western marches, from which, however, he hastened home, bringing with him, according to the Scottish historians, a great booty, as soon as he heard that the foreign auxiliaries had made their appearance. Meanwhile, the holders of the castle in the beginning of March had concluded two treaties with the English protector, by which they bound themselves by every means in their power to procure the marriage of the infant Queen of Scotland with King Edward, and engaged to give their best aid to an English army which should be forthwith sent to Scotland to obtain possession of the queen. It was also stipulated that as soon as that object should be effected they should deliver the castle to the commissioners of the English king; and that, in any circumstances, they should never surrender it, during the queen's minority, to any Scotsman without a licence in writing from Edward and the protector. But the force that was now brought against them soon put an end to all hope of their continuing to hold out. A blockade by sea, cutting off their usual supplies, was now added to a much more skilful and effective bombardment from the land than Arran's Scottish engineers had been able to direct against them in the former siege; cannons were planted both on the ground and on the steeples of the Abbey Church and St. Salvator's College; at last, on the 29th of July, a great breach was made, and on the following day the besieged, among whom, to add to their other straits and sufferings, a pestilential sickness had for some time been making considerable ravages, agreed to capitulate on condition only that their lives should be spared, and that they should be conveyed to France. The surrender was made to the captain of the French fleet, who immediately, says an old writer, "sent his men to receive the prisoners, and make spoil of all that was in the house. They found of victuals great store, wherewith they furnished the galleys; but the cardinal's treasure and household stuff, which was very precious, pleased them better. All this, with the wealth the defendants had (for they had brought all their substance thither), fell into the hands of the French."* Arran, however, recovered his eldest son, whom the murderers of the cardinal had found in the castle, and whom they had detained in captivity during the fourteen months they had held the place. Among the prisoners carried to France was the famous John

* See an abstract of the letter in Hayward, 278.
† Ibid. 279.

* Archbishop Spotswood, Hist. of Church of Scotland, 88.

who had joined Norman Leslie and his [illegible]tions after the truce made with Arran in the [illegible]ding February. The Castle of St. Andrew's [illegible] demolished by order of the Scottish privy council, according to a popular notion, in obedience to a rule or principle of the canon law, which required that any building in which a cardinal had been slain should be razed to the ground, but in reality, perhaps, only to prevent the chance of its being taken possession of and fortified by the English.* It has ever since remained a ruin.

The English protector, however, had been for some time busy collecting an army for the invasion of Scotland; and by the end of August he was ready to set out for the north at the head of a well-appointed force, which appears to have amounted to above twenty thousand men, of whom six thousand were cavalry; a fleet of sixty-five vessels, of which thirty-five were ships of war, and the remainder laden with ammunition and victuals, being equipped to accompany the expedition, under the command of the Lord Clinton. A journal of this invasion of Scotland is extant, written by a person who served in the protector's army, which is not only one of the most minutely curious records of that age, but one of the most vivid pictures of the realities of war ever drawn.† The author, W. Patten, was conjoint judge-marshal of the army along with the afterwards celebrated William Cecil, and his work is dedicated to Paget, whom he styles "his most benign fautor and patron." He is, of course, a professed worshipper of his grace of Somerset, upon whom he heaps his laudation throughout with unbounded prodigality. "Victory," he says in one place, "to his grace seems no less common and appropred than heat to the fire or shadow to the body." Yet, allowance being made for some courtly embellishment into which he may occasionally run, he evidently, in the main, sets down what he saw with his own eyes, and he tells his story with a hearty gossiping relish that of itself betokens a keen and quicksighted observer. We should guess, from his general style of description, that the business in which he found himself was mostly new to him, and that this Scottish expedition was his first campaign; but this by no means detracts from the *naïveté* and life-like effect of his more animated sketches, or the interest, at least for us in the present day, of the numerous minute details into which he enters. He wrote his account, he tells us, to satisfy the universal curiosity that appeared to be felt on the subject of it. "In every company, and at every table," he says, "where it hath been my hap to be since my coming home, the whole communication was in a manner nought else but of this expedition and war in Scotland."

The army having been collected at Newcastle, the protector rode thither from London, and was met six miles from the town on Saturday, the 27th of August, by Warwick, the lord-lieutenant, and Sadler, the master-treasurer, who had already been there for three or four days, and by "all the nobles, knights, and captains of the army on horseback attending upon them." The next day a muster of the whole force was held in the fields to the north-east of the town; and on Monday, the 29th, they set forward for the borders. Reaching Berwick on Friday, the 2nd of September, they found there Lord Clinton with the fleet, which immediately put to sea, while the army rested a day, and then, on the Sunday, set forward on its march close along the shore. Having made their way, on the 5th, across the deep glen or valley of the Peaths, or the Pease (as it is commonly pronounced), at Cockburnspath,—now spanned by a bridge from which the traveller looks down upon the stream flowing through the chasm a hundred and fifty feet below,—the invaders began the work of war by sitting down before Dunglass Castle, a hold belonging to Sir George Douglas, and summoning it to surrender. The captain, Matthew Hume, the son of a brother of Lord Hume, made no vain show of resistance, but soon came forth, "and brought with him," says our journalist, "his band to my lord's grace, which was of twenty-one sober (poor) soldiers, all so apparelled and appointed that, so God help me (I will say it for no praise), I never saw such a bunch of beggars come out of one house together in my life." Six of the most decent of these scarecrows were detained; the rest were allowed "to gea their gate,"—that is, to go their way,—with an admonition that they would be hanged the next time they were caught. Patten chanced to be one of the party that went to rifle the castle. "The spoil," he says, "was not rich, sure; but of white bread, oaten cakes, and Scottish ale, whereof was indifferent good store, and soon bestowed among my lord's soldiers accordingly. As for swords, bucklers, pikes, pots, pans, yarn, linen, hemp, and heaps of such baggage beside, were scant stoopt for, and very liberally let alone; but yet sure it would have rued any good housewife's heart to have beholden the great unmerciful murder that our men made of the brood geese and good laying hens that were slain there that day, which the wives of the town had penned up in holes in the stables and cellars of the castle ere we came." The castle was afterwards blown up with gunpowder, as were also Thornton and Anderwick,

* The rule of the canon law is stated as the only reason of the demolition by Burnet (Hist. Ref.), whom Robertson (Hist. Scot.) follows. Archbishop Spotswood mentions that notion, but says that the true reason was the apprehension of the fortress falling into the hands of the English. Dr. Lingard, a good authority in such matters, has not thought the supposed law worth noticing, and agrees with Spotswood. Yet it does not appear why this alone, of all the strongholds in the country, should have been demolished out of a fear that the English might obtain possession of it.

† "The Expedition into Scotland of the most worthily fortunate Prince Edward Duke of Somerset, uncle to our most noble Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty Edward the VI., Governor of his Highness' Person, and Protector of his Grace's realms, dominions, and subjects; made in the first year of his Majesty's most prosperous reign, and set out by way of Diary, By W. Patten, Londoner." This narrative, which was first published at London in 1548, was reprinted in (Dalyell's) "Fragments of Scottish History," 4to. Edin. 1798, of which work, however, the whole impression amounted to only 200 copies. Patten's Diary, therefore, is still a tract of great rarity.

two other peels or strongholds belonging to Lord Hume, on the following day.

The ships had already been seen "fair sailing" into the Frith of Forth, somewhere on the southern coast of which great arm of the sea the Scottish army was expected to be found barring the way to the capital. Meanwhile the invading force continued its march close to the German ocean, and, passing within a gunshot of Dunbar, encamped for the night in the neighbourhood of Tantallon castle. Here they received the first certain intelligence of the position of the enemy. The next day, Wednesday, the 7th, turning to the west, they crossed the small river Lynn, the horse taking the water, the infantry passing over by Linton bridge. A number of Scottish prickers, or horse, were now seen on a rising ground not far from Hailes castle, belonging to Earl Bothwell, some of whom appeared to be making towards the river, with the intention probably of picking up stragglers or attacking the rear of the English cavalry, whom a sudden mist had enveloped while they were yet crossing the water. The Earl of Warwick immediately dashed forward, followed only by some ten or twelve troopers, to intercept this attack; but he had nearly paid dear for his temerity, for he soon found himself confronted and almost surrounded by a force much more considerable than he had looked for, and was all but taken prisoner. He maintained the fight valiantly, however, and kept his assailants at bay, till the sight of succour coming up to him from the army alarmed them and made them turn their backs.

A communication was now established with the fleet, which lay over against Leith; and, the lord admiral having come on shore, it was arranged that the ships of war should fall down the Frith, and take their stations opposite to the town of Musselburgh, near to which the army lay. On the evening of the same day, Friday, the 8th, the English encamped in the neighbourhood of Salt Preston, now called Prestonpans.

The two armies were now separated by a distance of little more than two miles, and each camp was to be seen from the high grounds in the neighbourhood of the other. Both had the sea to the north, while on the south, and about midway between them, rose, facing the west, the eminence called Falside, or Fawside Brae, the termination of an inconsiderable range of hills extending in a direction parallel to the sea. Upon this elevation, which was surmounted by "a sorry castle, and half a score houses of like worthiness by it," all the morning of Saturday, the 9th, the Scottish horsemen were seen "pranking" up and down; but in the afternoon a party of English cavalry, having set out to attack them, succeeded in compelling them to retire, though not till after a sharp skirmish, in which several persons were slain and taken prisoners on both sides; among others the son and heir of Lord Hume fell into the hands of the English, and that Lord himself, though he escaped, was severely hurt, and put *hors de combat* by a fall from his horse. After this affair, Somerset, Warwick, and others of the captains, attended by a guard, which Patten calls a small one, but which afterwards turns out to have consisted of three hundred horse, proceeded to the hill to take a view of the Scottish camp. There, on the lower ground between them and the declining sun, glittered the white tents of Arran's numerous host, disposed in four long rows running from east to west and about an arrow-shot asunder, "not unlike to four great ridges of ripe barley." Ripe, indeed, it might have been added, was the living harvest for the sickle! The position of the Scots, however, was a very strong one: the sea, as already mentioned, skirted them to the north; a great marsh covered their opposite or right flank; while their front was strongly defended by the river Esk flowing northward into the sea, with no great volume of water, indeed, but yet with banks so steep and rugged as almost to defy the approach of an enemy. The ancient bridge over this river they had taken possession of and "kept well warded with ordnance;" it stood within twelve score paces of the sea; and in front of the bridge, on the narrow space of ground between it and the sea, they had also planted two field-pieces, and stationed some hackbutters, or musqueteers, under a turf wall. Between Fawside Brae and the Esk stood another little insulated eminence, crowned by the parish-church of St. Michael's of Inveresk. To this, which was within two arrow-shots of the Scottish camp, Somerset and his companions advanced for the purpose of better reconnoitring; and, although many shots were fired at them, they got back without other casualty than the loss of a horse, which was killed under one of the men. On their return they were overtaken by a herald and a trumpeter, the former of whom professed to come from Arran with a proffer of honest conditions of peace, while the latter brought a personal challenge from his master, the Lord Huntley, to Somerset, whom the Scottish earl asked to fight him, either singly, or with ten or twenty more on each side, and so to decide the contest without further effusion of blood, after the fashion of the proposal made by the Douglas to Percy in the old ballad of Chevy Chase. The protector, however, as might have been, and no doubt was expected, declined both propositions: to the herald he answered that he desired no peace but such as he should win by his sword; "And thou trumpet," he proceeded, addressing the other, "say to thy master, he seemeth to lack wit to make this challenge to me, being of such estate by the sufferance of God as to have so weighty a charge of so precious a jewel, the governance of a king's person, and then the protection of all his realms." Warwick eagerly expressed his wish to be allowed to accept Huntley's challenge, and offered the trumpeter a hundred crowns if he should bring him back a favourable answer from his master; but Somerset would not allow this; "If they will meet us," said he, "in the field, they shall be satisfied with fighting enough."

It was now resolved to occupy the hill on which

stood St. Michael's church, and for that purpose on the following morning, that of Saturday, the 10th—long popularly remembered in Scotland as the *Black Saturday*—the army was put in motion by eight o'clock. Upon coming in sight of the ground, they were greatly amazed to find that the Scots had crossed the river, and were there before them; for that Arran would have quitted the advantageous position he held, and have thus left all his strong natural defences behind his back, was the last thought that could have entered their heads. Patten asserts, and his statement seems probable enough, that nobody when they set out on their march in the morning, had any notion they would measure swords with the enemy that day. It should appear, however, that the Scots were afraid of their invaders moving away and escaping them, and that their intention was, if they had not been thus encountered in the intermediate space, to have attacked Somerset in his camp. When they saw the English approaching, they advanced at a round pace; but their course was immediately checked by a discharge of artillery from the admiral's galley, which was so effective as to kill between twenty and thirty of them, their line of march, in consequence of the situation of the bridge by which they had passed over, being close upon the sea. This slaughter, Patten affirms, so scared a body of four thousand Irish (that is, Highland) archers brought by the Earl of Argyle, "that whereas, it was said, they should have been a wing to the foreward (vanguard), they could never after be made to come forward." The whole advancing host now moved away to the right with the object of gaining Fawside Brae; but the English were before them here, and succeeded not only in occupying the brow of the hill, but in planting several field-pieces upon its summit, so as to be enabled to fire over the heads of the men below. For this they were indebted principally to their great superiority in cavalry. As for the Scots, Patten notices it as a remarkable circumstance, that "in all this enterprise they used for haste so little the help of horse, that they plucked forth their ordnance by draught of men." He proceeds to give a curious account of their manner of fighting in general, which is too important a part of his description of the battle to be omitted, although from having been quoted in several modern historical and antiquarian works, it will be familiar to many readers to whom the rest of the narrative is new. "Hackbutters have they few or none, and appoint their fight most commonly always afoot. They come to the field well furnished all with jack and skull, dagger, buckler, and swords, all notably broad and thin, of exceeding good temper, and universally so made to slice, that, as I never saw none so good, so think I it hard to devise the better: hereto every man his pike, and a great kercher wrapped twice or thrice about his neck, not for cold, but for cutting. In their array toward the joining with the enemy, they cling and thrust so near in the fore-rank, shoulder to shoulder together, with their pikes in both hands straight afore them, and their followers in that order so hard at their backs, laying their pikes over their foregoers' shoulders, that if they do assail undissevered, no force can well withstand them. Standing at defence, they thrust shoulders likewise so nigh together, the fore-ranks well nigh to kneeling stoop low before for their fellows behind, holding their pikes in both hands, and therewith in their left their bucklers, the one end of the pike against their right foot, the other against the enemy breast high, their followers crossing their pike points with their foreward, and thus each with other so nigh as place and space will suffer, that as easily shall a bare finger pierce through the skin of an angry hedgehog, as any encounter the front of their pikes."

When they saw the English in possession of the hill-side, the Scots suddenly stopped, in a fallow field, where a great ditch or slough still divided them from the enemy. Undeterred by this obstacle, however, the Lord Gray proceeded to attack them, and, though many of his men stuck in the slough, and they were also impeded by the cross ridges of the ploughed field, he dashed on and made his way up to the Scots, who stood still to receive the attack, only when their assailants were near upon them, "striking their pike-points, and crying 'Come here, louns (rascals), come here, tykes (dogs), come here, heretics,' and such like." It is affirmed that the left wing of the Scots was at first compelled to give way; but this seems to have been only for a moment; the English soon turned round in a body to regain the hill: "some of the number," says our author, "to confess the truth, making a hasty temerarious flight." The flight, in fact, seems to have been general, in so far as the common troopers were concerned; the gentlemen alone for a few moments tried to make a stand; in the vain attempt no fewer than twenty-six of them were slain; Lord Gray himself was severely wounded in the mouth; and the Scots rushing up to the royal standard actually got hold of it, and in the struggle succeeded in carrying away a part of the staff.

Patten's description of what he calls "the countenance of the war," up to this time, bears vivid traces of the alarm and confusion in which he and his countrymen found themselves. "Herewith," he says, "waxed it very hot on both sides, with pitiful cries, horrible war, and terrible thundering of guns beside; the day darkened above head with smoke of shot; the sight and appearance of the enemy even at hand before, the danger of death on every side else; the bullets, pellets, and arrows flying each where so thick, and so uncertainly lighting, that no where was there any surety of safety, every man strucken with a dreadful fear, not so much perchance of death as of hurt, which things, though they were but certain to some, yet doubted of all, assured cruelly at the enemies' hands without hope of mercy, death to fly and danger to fight." "The whole face of the field," he goes on to say, at this moment, was "both to the eye and the ear so heavy, so deadly, lamentable,

furious, outrageous, terribly confuse, and so quite against the quiet nature of man," that if "the regard of their honour and fame" to the nobility, "the estimation of their worship and honesty" to the knights and captains, "and generally to us all the natural motion of bounden duty, our own safety, hope of victory, and the favour of God that we trusted we had for the equity of our quarrel, had not been a more vehement cause of courage, than the danger of death was cause of fear, the very horror of the thing had been apt to make any man to forget both prowess and policy."

Another old English historian admits that "albeit encounters between horsemen on the one side and foot on the other, are seldom with the extremity of danger, because as horsemen can hardly break a battail on foot, so men on foot cannot possibly chase horsemen; yet hereupon so great was the tumult and fear among the English, that had not the commanders been men both of approved courage and skill, or haply had the Scots been well furnished with men at arms, the army had that day been utterly undone.* Warwick, in particular, exerted himself in restoring the self-possession of the men, assuring them that if they would only follow their officers, the day was still their own. It was now seen that the impetuosity of the Scots had involved an inconsiderable part of their force almost within a complete inclosure of their enemies; on which, we proceeded, says Patten, "to compass them in that they should no way escape us,—the which by our power and number we were as well able to do as a spinner's web to catch a swarm of bees." The requisite dispositions were forthwith made by the several officers with great skill and effect. "The master of the ordnance," continues the narrative, "to their great annoyance did gall them with hail shot and other out of the great ordnance directly from the hill-top, and certain other gunners with their pieces aflank from our rear-ward, most of our artillery and marine engines there wholly with great puissance and vehemency occupied thus about them. Herewith the full sight of our footmen, all shadowed from them before by our horsemen and dust raised, whom then they were ware in such order to be so near upon them. And to this the perfect array of our horsemen again coming courageously to set on them afresh." The tide and current of the "heady fight" were in a moment turned. The Scots, staggered and bewildered, first fell back, and then began to take to flight. Arran himself, their general, is said to have been the first to put spurs to his horse—after him Angus; then the Highland archers, who had never yet been engaged, fled in a body. "Therewith then turned all the whole rout, cast down their weapons, ran out of their wards, off with their jacks, and with all that ever they might, betook them to the race that their governor began. Our men had found them at the first as what could escape so many thousand eyes), and sharply and quickly, with an universal outcry, They fly! they fly! pursued after in chase amain; and thereto so eagerly and with such fierceness, that they overtook many, and spared, indeed, but few. . . . . But when they were once turned, it was a wonder, indeed, to see how soon, and in how sundry sorts they were scattered; the place they stood on, like a wood of staves strewed on the ground as rushes in a chamber, impassable (they lay so thick) for either horse or man. Here, at the first, had they let fall all their pikes; after that, every where scattered swords, bucklers, daggers, jacks, and all things else that either was of any weight, or might be any let to their course." The torrent chiefly rolled itself along three great lines:—one multitude took the way by the sands to Leith; another made for Edinburgh, either by the high road, or through the inclosed ground called the King's Park; a third, and that the most numerous, sought Dalkeith, by crossing a marsh, through which the English horse found it difficult to pursue them. What follows is horribly graphic:—"Sundry shifts, some shrewd, some sorry, made they in their running; divers of them, in their courses, as they were ware they were pursued but of one, would suddenly start back and lash at the legs of the horse, or foin him in the belly, and sometime did they reach at the rider also; whereby Clement Paston in the arms, and divers other otherwise, in this chase were hurt. Some other lay flat in a furrow as though they were dead, thereby past bye of our men untouched; as I heard say the Earl of Angus confessed he couched till his horse happened to be brought him. Other some to stay in the river lowering down his body, his head under the root of a willow tree, with scarce his nose above water for breath. A shift, but no succour, it was to many that had their skulls on, at the stroke of the follower, to shrink with their heads into their shoulders, like a tortoise into his shell. Others, again, for their more lightness, cast away shoes and doublets, and ran in their shirts; and some also seen in this race all breathless to fall flat down, and have run themselves to death. . . . . Soon after this notable shewing of their footmen's weapons, began a pitiful sight of the dead corpses lying dispersed abroad; some their legs off, some but houghed and left lying half dead, some thrust quite through the body, others the arms cut off, divers their necks half asunder, many their heads cloven, of sundry the brains pashed out; some others, again, their heads quite off, with other thousand kinds of killing. After that, and further in chase, all for the most part killed either on the head or in the neck, for our horsemen could not well reach them lower with their swords. And thus, with blood and slaughter of the enemy, this chase was continued five miles in length westward from the place of their standing, which was in the fallow fields of Underesk until Edinburgh Park, and well nigh to the gates of the town itself, and unto Leith; and in breadth nigh four mile, from the Frith sands up toward Dalkeith southward

* Hayward.

In all which space the dead bodies lay as thick as a man may note cattle grazing in a full replenished pasture. The river ran all red with blood; so that in the same chase were counted, as well by some of our men that somewhat diligently did mark it, as by some of them taken prisoners, that very much did lament it, to have been slain above thirteen thousand. In all this compass of ground, what with weapons, arms, hands, legs, heads, blood, and dead bodies, their flight might have easily been traced to every of their three refuges. And for the smallness of our number, and shortness of the time (which was scant five hours, from one till well nigh six) the mortality was so great, as it was thought the like aforetime not to have been seen."

The narrator cannot help feeling that this murderous work, so much in the fashion of Hertford's former campaigns, requires some apology or explanation; and he dilates upon the cruelty shown by the Scots on former occasions, and "a tyrannous vow" they were understood to have made before this engagement, that, if they overcame, they would kill many and spare few; but "another," he proceeds, "and not the meanest matter, was, their armour among them so little differing, and their apparel so bare and beggarly, wherein the lurdin was in a manner all one with the lord, and the lord with the laird; all clad alike in jacks covered with white leather doublets of the same, or of fustian, and most commonly all white hosen. Not one with either chain, brooch, ring, or garment of silk, that I could see, unless chains of latten drawn four or five times along the thighs of their hosen and doublet sleeves, for cutting; and of that sort I saw many. This vileness of port was the cause that so many of their great men and gentlemen were killed, and so few saved. The outward show, the semblance and sign, whereby a stranger might discern a villain from a gentleman, was not among them to be seen. As for words and goodly proffer of great ransoms, were as common and rife in the mouths of the t'one as of the t'other. And, therefore, hereby it came to pass, at the examination and counting of the prisoners, we found taken above twenty of their villains to one of their gentlemen; whom no man need to doubt we had rather have spared than the villains, if we could have known any difference between them in taking."

The prisoners taken amounted, in all, only to about fifteen hundred—little more, as we have seen, according to this account, than a tithe of the slain. Still, the writer contends, "touching the slaughter," that not so many were killed as the time and opportunity might have allowed, if the hearts of Somerset and his soldiers had not been inclined to mercy. The most distinguished among those that fell alive into the hands of the English was the Earl of Huntley, lord chancellor of the kingdom, whom, notwithstanding his ostentatious message to Somerset by the trumpeter, the Scottish writers loudly accuse of treachery; the same authorities also assert that the Masters of Buchan, Erskine, and Graham, were put to death in cold blood, "after having rendered themselves on quarter promised."* Soon after five o'clock, however, the lord protector being, if we may believe his judge-marshal, moved with pity at the sight of the dead bodies, and rather glad of victory than desirous of slaughter, staid the pursuit. But by this time it seems to have extended up to the walls of Edinburgh, and no more flying enemies were anywhere to be seen for the sword to cut down. The victorious army then returned to plunder the Scottish camp. It stood, according to Patten's description, in a field called Edmonston Edges, near the village of Gilmerton, half a mile to the west of Musselburgh, and four miles from Edinburgh; the space occupied by the tents being about a mile in compass. The following is the account given of the manner in which the Scots were encamped:—"As they had no pavilions or round-houses of any commendable compass, so were there few other tents with posts, as the used manner of making is; and of these few also none of above twenty foot length, but most far under; for the most part all very sumptuously beset (after their fashion) for the love of France, with fleur de lys, some of blue buckram, some of black, and some of some other colours. These white ridges (as I called them) that as we stood on Fawside Brae did make so great master towards us, which I did take then to be a number of tents, when we came, we found it a linen drapery, of the coarser camrick, indeed, for it was all of canvas sheets, and were the tenticles, or rather cabins and couches of their soldiers, the which (much after the common building of their country beside) they had framed of four sticks, about an ell long a-piece, whereof two fastened together at one end aloft, and the two ends beneath sticked in the ground an ell asunder, standing in fashion like the bow of a sow's yoke; over two such bows (one, as it were, at their head, the other at their feet) they stretched a sheet down on both sides, whereby their cabin became roofed like a ridge; but scant shut at both ends, and not very close beneath on the sides, unless their sticks were the shorter, or their wives the more liberal to lend them larger drapery: howbeit, within they had lined them, and stuffed them so thick with straw, that the weather as it was very cold, when they were once couched, they were as warm as they had been wrapped in horse-dung." Here, as soon as the English arrived, they set up a universal shout of gladness and victory, the shrilness of which is affirmed to have been heard as far as Edinburgh. As for the spoil, there was found in the tents good provision of white bread, ale, oaten cakes, oatmeal, mutton, butter in pots, and cheese; and also, in those of the principal persons, good

* See Sir James Balfour's Annals, i. 288.—According to Patten the master of Graham was one of those killed by the volley fired from the admiral's galley at the commencement of the engagement.

wine and some silver plate. Then they fell to stripping the bodies of the multitudinous dead. As many hands make light work, observes our journalist, it was wonderful to see in how short a time all the bodies were stript stark naked throughout the whole space over which the pursuit and slaughter had extended. He expresses great admiration of the athletic forms of the Scottish soldiers; their tallness of stature, clearness of skin, bigness of bone, and due proportion in all parts, he says, were such, that, unless he had seen them, he would not have believed the whole country had contained so many well-made men. The quantity of armour and weapons that was collected was immense: although many articles were left on the ground, there were sent by ship to England, of jacks (or coats of mail) and swords alone, to the number of more than thirty thousand. Hayward says the English also carried off thirty pieces of ordnance. All the day, during the fight and the subsequent slaughter, the sky had been cloudy and lowering; but now, when the earth lay covered with the naked dead, a heavy rain fell for an hour, lightening the laden atmosphere, and refreshing the face of nature. About seven o'clock the English pitched their camp for the night on the neighbouring height of Edgebuckling-brae, otherwise called Pinkencleugh, beside Pinkie Slough, about midway between their former station at Preston Pans and the spot where the battle was fought. And thus ended the greatest defeat the Scots had sustained since the disastrous day of Flodden Field, almost exactly thirty-four years before.*

The army rested here only till the morning of the following day, Sunday the 11th, when it removed to the neighbourhood of Leith. The fleet now, taking advantage of the universal terror into which the country had been thrown, proceeded to sweep the sea of all Scottish vessels, and to burn and ravage whatever parts of the land it could reach. The island of Inchcolm in the Frith was taken, and Kinghorn and other towns and villages along the Fife coast were plundered and set on fire. Meanwhile many of the neighbouring gentry came in to make their submission—and, for the moment, all active resistance on the part of the Scottish government and people was at an end. Both the capital, however, and its dependent sea-port of Leith still kept their gates shut against the invaders. Nor did Somerset deem it expedient to follow up his great victory by attempting to force an entrance into either of these towns. At first, indeed, he made a show of some intention of assaulting Leith, causing a deep ditch to be begun to be dug to the east of the town in a direction perpendicular to the sea. But at last, on Saturday, the 17th, it was announced to the army that the following morning the tents would again be struck, and the word given for setting out on their march back again to the borders. That same day the town of Leith was set on fire—the writer before us hesitatingly attempts to insinuate, by accident, or at least without any commission from Somerset;—but the act was too much in the spirit of that commander's usual devastating and savage manner of carrying on war to allow us to have any doubt as to its having been done by his express order. When the army set out the next morning at seven o'clock, the sky was still red with the flames that rose from the town, and also from some great ships in the harbour, that are admitted to have been designedly set on fire. As the English took their departure, Patten says that the castle of Edinburgh "shot off a peal of twenty-four pieces;" but none of the shot reached them. The chief part of the army directed their march south-east across the country; "but part of us," he continues, "kept the way that the chief of the chase was continued in, whereby we found most part of the dead corpses lying very ruefully, with the colour of their skins changed greenish, about the place they had been smitten in, as then too, above ground, unburied. Many also we perceived to have been buried in Underesk churchyard, the graves of whom the Scots had very slily for sight covered again with green turf. By divers of these dead bodies was there set up a stick with a clout, with a rag, with an old shoe, or some other mark, for knowledge, the which we understood to be marks made by the friends of the party dead when they had found him, whom then, sith they durst not for fear or lack of leisure convey away to bury while we were in those parts; they had sticked up a mark to find him the sooner when we were gone." These horrors, of a hostility directed not only against the living, but the dead, are worthy of war in its most uncivilised form.

Somerset, meanwhile, pursued his way homewards without losing much more time. He had, indeed, dispatched Clinton with a few ships "full fraught with men and munition" to assault the castle of Broughty, at the mouth of the Tay; and this fortress, which was the key to that river and to the towns of Dundee and Perth, was soon com-

* The temptation to make a rhetorical point here was too strong to be resisted by Dr. Hayward, who observes, "The day of this fight, being the 10th of September, seemeth to me a most disastrous day to the Scots, not only in regard of this overthrow, but for that upon the same day thirty-four years before they were in like sort defeated by the English at Flodden Field." But, unluckily for this ingenious theory, the battle of Flodden was fought, not on the 10th, but on the 9th of September. The present battle is commonly known by the name of the Battle of Pinkie, from a house so called a little to the east of Musselburgh, then a seat of the Douglases. This name, however, does not appear to have been among those at first given to it it either by the Scots or the English. "This battle and field, now, which is the most principal part of my matter," says Patten in his Preface, "the Scots and we are not yet agreed how it shall be named. We call it Muskelburgh Field, because that is the best town (and yet bad enough) nigh the place of meeting. Some of them call it Seton Field (a town there nigh, too), by means of a blind prophecy of theirs, which is this or some such toy: "Between Seton and the sea many a man shall die that day." Some will have it Fauxside (Fawside) Brae, field of the hill (for so they call a brae), upon the side whereof our foreward stood, ready to come down and join. Some other will have it Underesk (Inveresk) Field, in the fallows whereof they stood, when we met. Some will have it Weltiford Field, and some no field at all, for that they say there were so few slain, and that we met not in a place by appointment certain, according to the order and manner of battle, with such like fond arguments."—Page xi.—Patten's account has been closely followed by most of our older historians, especially Holinshed and Sir John Hayward. See also a tract entitled 'Recit de l'Expedition en Escosse, l'an MDXLVI. et de la Bataylle de Muscleburgh; par le Sieur Berteville." Printed by the Bannatyne Club, from the MS in the Cottonian Library, 4to, edit. 1825.

pelled to surrender. The first pause which he himself made was at Hume Castle, in the Merse, before which he sat down on the 19th, and made preparations for an assault; but after two days of negotiation, Lady Hume deemed it most prudent to yield up the place, on condition of the garrison and herself being allowed to depart with their lives and whatever else they could carry away with them. He also halted for a few days at Roxburgh, and built a small fort within the inclosure of an old ruined castle there. After this, many of the persons in that part of the country came in to make their submission. It appears, however, that Arran, with a small body of cavalry, had hung upon the rear of the retreating army all the way from Edinburgh, although he did not venture to do more than watch its motions. At last, on Thursday, the 29th, the English general recrossed the Tweed, and in a few days more arrived in London, after an absence altogether of about six weeks.

It is conjectured that intelligence of certain doings on the part of a "brother near the throne," which will presently engage our attention, hurried Somerset back to the English court; but, independently of any such sudden and secret motive, the moment was as apt a one as he could have chosen in which to make his re-appearance. The Scottish war, indeed, of which he had undertaken the conduct, instead of being ended, was only begun; nor had he even attempted to follow up, or to gather the fruits of, his first great success: but no subsequent achievement was likely to outdazzle the victory of Pinkey; nor could the glory of that victory be enhanced even by the most favourable results, for already it seemed not merely a battle won, but a kingdom conquered. The Protector, however, was careful to assume a demeanour of the most condescending and retiring humility. The citizens of London, Holinshed tells us, had "determined to have received him with great triumph; but he, hearing thereof, forbade them in anywise so to do; for, said he, if anything hath been done to the honour of the realm, it was God's doing; and therefore willed them to give him the praise. Nevertheless, the mayor and aldermen, with certain of the commoners in their liveries and their hoods, hearing of his approach to the city, the eighth day of October met him in Finsbury Field, where he took each of them by the hand, and thanked them for their good wills. The lord-mayor did ride with him till they came to the pound in Smithfield, where his grace left them, and rode to his house of Sheen (Richmond) that night, and the next day to the king to Hampton Court." He was immediately rewarded by Edward,—in other words, by himself,—with a grant of additional landed estates to the value of five hundred pounds a-year. He forthwith also prepared "to meet the parliament (for which the writs had been sent out before he went into Scotland), now that he was so covered with glory, to get himself established in his authority, and to do those other things which required a session."*

The work of carrying forward the reformation of the church had engaged the attention of the government from the commencement of the reign. Cranmer, in the words of the right reverend historian who has just been quoted, "being now delivered from that too awful subjection that he had been held under by King Henry, resolved to go on more vigorously in purging out abuses." In these views the archbishop, besides the cordial assent of the young king, had the entire concurrence of the protector, as also, since the expulsion of Wriothesley, of nearly all the members of the council that were of any influence or consideration. The only formidable opponent of the innovations that remained even nominally a member of the government was Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, and he was relegated on various pretexts to his distant diocese, and excluded from taking any part in public affairs. Of the other bishops, several went along with Cranmer,—namely, Holgate of York, Holbeck of Lincoln, Goodrick of Ely, and especially the able and learned Ridley, who, in September of this year, was appointed to the see of Rochester. On the side of the old opinions, however, was still arrayed a vast force both of numbers and also of other elements of power. If the boy who occupied the throne was an enthusiastic Protestant, his sister, the Princess Mary, generally looked upon as the heiress presumptive, was as zealous and determined a Catholic; Somerset and his adherents of the new nobility had to maintain their position against the envy, the resentment, and the other natural antipathies of the whole faction of the ancient houses, depressed, indeed, for the present, but still deeply rooted and of great natural strength in the country; even of the heads of the church, both the greater number and the most distinguished, including, besides Tunstall, the fierce and unscrupulous Bonner of London, and the courageous, politic, and accomplished Gardiner of Winchester, were opposed to the new opinions; above all, the immense majority of the people of all classes had yet to be roused from their habitual attachment to the doctrines and the ritual of their forefathers. In these circumstances it was prudently resolved, "by Cranmer and his friends, to carry on the Reformation but by slow and safe degrees, not hazarding too much at once."† They did not wait, however, till the parliament met to commence what they deemed so good and necessary a work, but determined at once to proceed upon the statute of the last reign, which gave to the royal proclamation the full force of a legislative enactment. They began by a repetition of the late king's visitation of dioceses. The kingdom was divided into six circuits, to each of which were appointed three or four visitors, in most cases partly clergymen, partly laymen. These visitors were invested for the time with the supreme spiritual authority in

* Burnet. † Ibid.

their several districts, and with power to call before them, for examination, the clergy of all ranks, from the bishop inclusive, and even any of the laity in every parish, whose evidence, as to its ecclesiastical condition, they should deem it expedient to obtain. But their functions were not limited to the taking of evidence. A body of injunctions relating to a great variety of points of religious belief and worship was framed and put into their hands, which they were to publish wherever they went, with intimation that the refusal or neglect to obey them would be punished with the pains of excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation, as the ordinaries, whom the justices of the peace were required to assist, should answer it to the king. These orders were for the greater part the same that had been formerly issued by Cromwell; but it was an important innovation thus to conjoin the civil authorities with the bishops in the execution of them. At the same time a collection of homilies was drawn up, which were required to be read in every church on Sundays and holidays: every parish church in England was ordered to be provided with a copy of a translation made for the purpose of Erasmus's Paraphrase on the New Testament, as well as of the English Bible; the most eminent preachers of the reformed doctrines that could be found were dispersed over the kingdom along with the visitors, that they might with the more authority instruct the people; while, by various regulations, the right of all other clergymen to preach was gradually more and more contracted, till at last it was permitted to no one, even although a bishop, who had not a licence from the Protector or the Metropolitan.

The visitors were sent out upon their circuits about the same time that the Protector set forth on his expedition to Scotland; and when Somerset returned from the north he had the satisfaction of finding that they had completed their mission apparently with as much success as himself. One of the injunctions was, that all monuments of idolatry should be removed out of the walls or windows of churches; "and those," says Burnet, "who expounded the secret providences of God with an eye to their own opinions, took great notice of this,—that on the same day in which the visitors removed and destroyed most of the images in London, their armies were so successful in Scotland in Pinkey Field." Both Bonner and Gardiner, however, had stood out against the new regulations. Bonner, at first, would only promise to observe the injunctions in so far as they were not contrary to God's law and the ordinances of the church: on this he was brought before the council, where, after offering a submission "full of vain quiddities," (as the minute characterises it,) he at last consented to withdraw his protestation unconditionally; but, nevertheless, "for giving terror to others," it was deemed proper that he should be sent for a time to the Fleet. Gardiner's case was different; the injunctions and homilies had never actually been offered for his acceptance, but he had objected to them in a letter to one of the visitors before the visitation of his diocese had commenced. Burnet, who transcribes this letter at length, being "resolved," as he says, "to suppress nothing of consequence, on what side soever it may be," cannot help speaking of it in a tone of honest commendation, which is not the less forcible for the indications of partisanship with which his admission is accompanied. It "has more," he observes, "of a Christian and of a bishop in it than anything I ever saw of his. He expresses, in handsome terms, a great contempt of the world, and a resolution to suffer anything rather than depart from his conscience; besides that, as he said, the things being against law, he would not deliver up the liberties of his country, but would petition against them." He also wrote argumentative letters against some things in the injunctions and homilies both to the Protector and to Cranmer. This was all that he had done when he was summoned before the council, and required to promise that he would obey the royal injunctions. He replied that he was not bound, *then*, to say whether he would or would not, but should be prepared to make his answer to the visitors when they came to his diocese. This defence, however, availed him nothing: he also, as well as Bonner, was consigned to close imprisonment in the Fleet. In this way the two most formidable enemies of the course which the Protector and Cranmer had entered upon, and were bent upon pursuing, were excluded from the parliament that was about to open.

The two Houses met on the 4th of November. The day before, "the Protector," says Burnet, "gave too public an instance how much his prosperous success had lifted him up; for by a patent under the great seal he was warranted to sit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, and was to have all the honours and privileges that at any time any of the uncles of the kings of England, whether by the father's or mother's side, had enjoyed; with a *non obstante* to the statute of precedence." The new parliament, however, began its proceedings with some valuable constitutional reforms, or, rather, restorations of the old constitution. The first bill that was brought in (eventually formed into the act 1 Edw. VI. c. 12), after a preamble reciting that the necessity of repressing the insolency and unruliness of men, had caused the late king to make certain laws, "which might seem and appear to men of exterior realms, and many of the king's majesty's subjects, very strait, sore, extreme, and terrible, although they were then, when they were made, not without great consideration and policy moved and established, and for the time, to the avoidance of farther inconvenience, very expedient and necessary," repealed the late atrocious acts which gave to the royal proclamation the force of law, erased all the additions

to the law of treason that had been made since the 25th of Edw. III., and also swept away at once both the old laws against the Lollards and all the new felonies created during the last reign, including the Statute of the Six Articles, and every other act concerning doctrine and matter of religion. Another act (the 1 Edw. VI. c. 1) made an important innovation in the ritual of religious worship, by ordering that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper the cup should be delivered to the laity as well as to the clergy. A third (the 1 Edw. VI. c. 2) put an end to the old form (afterwards, however, restored in the reign of Elizabeth, and still subsisting) of the election of bishops by *congé d'élire*, on the ground that "the said elections be in very deed no elections, but only have colours, shadows, or pretences of elections, serving nevertheless to no purpose, and seeming also derogatory and prejudicial to the king's prerogative royal;" and appointed that all collations to bishoprics should in future be made by direct nomination of the crown. The same act directed that all processes in the bishop's courts should be henceforth carried on in the king's name, and that all official documents issuing from the said courts should be sealed, not with the episcopal, but with the royal arms. Last in order of these measures of ecclesiastical reform was brought in one in which many of the members of the government had a personal and pecuniary interest,—the bill for making over to the crown all the chantries, colleges, and free chapels throughout the kingdom that yet remained unconfiscated. This bill, which was first brought forward in the House of Lords, was strongly opposed there not only by the bishops attached to the old religion, but by Cranmer himself. It was vigorously pushed, however, by Henry's executors, who, as Burnet intimates, "saw they could not pay his debts, nor satisfy themselves in their own pretensions, formerly mentioned, out of the king's revenue, and so intended to have these to be divided among them;" and they had the eager assistance of every other noble lord who cherished any expectation of sharing in the plunder. The minority against the bill on the first division consisted, in fact, only of Cranmer and six other bishops; and on the third reading the archbishop and one of the bishops were absent, while another of them abandoned his bootless and profitless opposition, and went over to the court. In short, "those that were to gain by it were so many that the act passed." It also met with much resistance in the Commons from some of the burgh members, who particularly objected to the clause giving the lands held by guilds to the king; but they were pacified by an assurance that the lands in question should be afterwards restored; and the act was then quietly allowed to become law. The objects of the confiscation, as professed in the preamble of the act, were, first, the discouragement of superstition; secondly, the converting of the funds obtained by the suppression of the chantries "to good and godly uses, as in erecting of grammar-schools to the education of youth in virtue and godliness, the further augmenting of the universities, and better provision for the poor and needy;"* but whatever may have been gained in the former of these ways, in respect to the latter the measure proved a mere delusion. "For though the public good was pretended thereby, and intended too, I hope," says a writer well disposed to take the most favourable view of all these proceedings, "yet private men in truth had most of the benefit; and the king and commonwealth, the state of learning, and the condition of the poor, left as they were before or worse."† In a sermon preached before the king a year or two after the passing of the act, the preacher, Thomas Lever, after quoting various instances of the manner in which schools had been wronged and the poor damaged, concluded by saying that "who had the profit of such things he could not tell; but he knew well, and all the world knew, that the act made by the king's majesty, and his lords and commons of his parliament, for maintenance of learning and relief of the poor, had served some as a fit instrument to rob learning and to spoil the poor."‡

Another remarkable act, designated by the king, in his Journal, "an extreme law," was also passed for the suppression of the still extending nuisance of mendicity, or, as it was entitled, "for the punishment of vagabonds, and the relief of the poor and impotent persons."§ All the provision that was made for the latter object was merely by a clause directing that impotent, maimed, and aged persons, who could not be taken as vagabonds, should have houses provided for them, and be otherwise relieved in the places where they were born, or had chiefly resided for the last three years, *by the willing and charitable dispositions of the parishioners;* but in the part of it directed against mendicity, the statute has all the ferocity of a law passed in desperation, and fearfully attests, by the barbarous severity of its enactments, the height to which the evil had arrived. It was ordered that any person found living "idly or loiteringly" for the space of three days, should, on being brought before a justice, be marked as a vagabond with a hot iron on the breast, and adjudged to be the slave for two years of the person informing against him, who, it was added, "shall take the same slave, and give him bread, water, or small drink, and refuse meat, and cause him to work, by beating, chaining, or otherwise, in such work and labour as he shall put him to, be it never so vile." If in the course of this term the slave absented himself for fourteen days, he was to be marked with a hot iron on the forehead or the ball of the cheek, and adjudged to be a slave to his said master for ever: if he ran away a second time, he was to suffer death as a felon. Masters were empowered "to sell, bequeath, let out for hire, or give the service of their slaves to any person whomsoever, upon such condition, and for such term of

* Statute 1 Edw. VI. c. 14.
† Strype, Ec. Mon. ii. 102.
‡ Strype, Ec. Mon. ii. 104.
§ Stat. 1 Edw. VI. c. 3.

years, as the said persons be adjudged to them for slaves, after the like sort and manner as they may do of any other their moveable goods or chattels." A master was likewise authorised to put a ring of iron about the neck, arm, or leg of his slave, "for a more knowledge and surety of the keeping of him." By another clause, it was ordered, that, although there should be no man to demand the services of such idle persons, the justices of the peace should still inquire after them, and, after branding them, convey them to the places of their birth, there to be nourished and kept in chains or otherwise, either at the common works in amending highways, or in servitude to private persons. Finally, all persons that chose were authorised to seize the children of beggars, and to retain them as apprentices—the boys till they were twenty-four, the girls till they were twenty years of age; and if they ran away before the end of their term, the master was permitted, upon recovering them, to punish them in chains or otherwise, and to use them as slaves till the time of their apprenticeship should have expired. This law can be characterised as nothing else than the formal re-establishment of slavery in England; but it would prove no mere matter of form:—from the extent to which, owing to a concurrence of causes, beggary and vagrancy had now spread, its despotic and oppressive character would be actually and severely felt by no inconsiderable portion of the people. Indeed, it probably helped, along with other elements of popular exasperation, to produce the result that ensued not long after this in many parts of the kingdom, where mendicancy was converted into open and general rebellion.

Parliament rose on the 24th of December, its last measure having been an act confirming the king's general pardon of state offenders, from which, however, was excluded, along with a few others, the Duke of Norfolk, who still remained a prisoner in the Tower. Cranmer, nevertheless, continued to urge on his ecclesiastical alterations with unrelaxing activity. On the representation of the archbishop, that such things were contrary to the gravity and simplicity of the Christian religion, an order was issued by the council, prohibiting the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day, of ashes on Ash Wednesday, or of palms on Palm Sunday. This innovation was far from being relished by the bulk of the nation; for "the country people," as Burnet observes, "generally loved all these shows, processions, and assemblies, as things of diversion, and judged it a dull business only to come to church for divine worship and the hearing of sermons; therefore they were much delighted with the gaiety and cheerfulness of those rites." Another proclamation soon followed, denouncing imprisonment against whosoever should take upon him to preach, except in his own house, without a license from the king, the visitors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of the diocese in which he so preached; "to the intent," as it was expressed, "that rash and seditious preachers should not abuse his highness' people." Remarks were made, Burnet tells us, upon the conduct of the council in thus going on creating new offences with arbitrary punishments, although the act was now repealed that had formerly given them such extraordinary powers. It was argued, in their vindication, that they might still issue such proclamations in the king's name, in virtue of the royal supremacy, in matters ecclesiastical; "yet this," adds the historian, "was much questioned, though universally submitted to." The next order that appeared, directed the removal of all images from all churches and chapels. At the same time, it was commanded that all rich shrines, with all the plate belonging to them, should be seized for the use of the king: the council, it seems, were not ashamed to add, *that the clothes that covered them should be converted to the use of the poor.** Soon after this was issued a royal proclamation, setting forth a new office for the public administration of the Lord's Supper, which had been drawn up by a committee of bishops and divines: it directed that the sacrament should be given to the people in both kinds; that there should be no elevation of the host; and that the whole service should be in the English language. These regulations were soon after followed by the publication of a short English catechism by Cranmer, "for the profit and instruction of children and young people." Finally, the committee of bishops and divines proceeded to the composition of an entire new Liturgy, or book of the public services of religion, in English; but the publication of this important work was deferred till it should have received the sanction of parliament.

Meanwhile, some further trouble had been given by the dexterous opposition, or at least passive resistance, of Gardiner to these proceedings of Cranmer and the government. The act of general pardon had restored him to liberty at the end of the session; and, accordingly, on the 8th of January, 1548, he was brought before the council, and discharged, with a grave admonition to carry himself henceforth reverently and obediently. He immediately retired to his diocese, but there still appeared in his whole behaviour what Burnet calls "great malignity to Cranmer and to all motions for reformation." "Yet," it is added, "he gave such outward compliance that it was not easy to find any advantage against him, especially now since the council's great power was so much abridged." After a few months, however, he was again summoned before the council, on occasion of some new complaints of his conduct; and this time the affair ended by his being sent to the Tower. The council here seem to have proceeded with as little regularity as legal right; for it appears that the order for the bishop's imprisonment was not signed when it was made, but only some years after; as entered on the council-book, it has attached to it the names of Somerset, Cran-

* Burnet, however, although he mentions this order in his History, has not inserted it in his Collection of Records.

mer, St. John, Russell, and Cheyney; but Lord Russell had, in the first instance, subscribed himself "Bedford," till recollecting that he had not that title at the time of making the order, he drew his pen through the word, and substituted "J. Russell!"* Gardiner, however, was thus once more placed where he could give no active annoyance; he remained in close confinement throughout the reign, steadily refusing all proposals of submission or compromise, till at last he was deprived of his bishopric; but perhaps the intrepidity and high spirit with which he faced all these inflictions had more effect in encouraging his party, and sustaining their common cause, than any public exertions he could have made as its champion, in parliament or elsewhere.

All this time the war in Scotland had not ceased to give both anxiety and occupation to the government, though the military operations that took place were not attended with any very important results. In an assembly of the Scottish nobility held at Stirling soon after the battle of Pinkey, a resolution had been adopted on the suggestion of the Queen Dowager to apply for the assistance of France, and with that object to offer their infant queen in marriage to the dauphin, and even to propose to send her immediately to be educated at the French court. This was, in other words, an offer to the French king of the Scottish crown. It was at once accepted by Henry, nor did he lose a moment in making preparations for the vigorous defence of a kingdom which he might now consider as his own. On learning what had been done, Somerset published an earnest address, in English and Latin, to the people of Scotland, pointing out to them all the advantages they were throwing away by the rejection of the matrimonial alliance with England, as well as the loss of their independence and the other evils that were sure to follow from the French marriage, and calling upon them to draw back from the ruinous course on which their government was leading them. This appeal was followed up by the arrival, towards the end of April, of a powerful English army under the conduct of the Lord Gray of Wilton, which advanced straightway upon the neighbourhood of the capital. The town of Haddington was taken and fortified, a garrison of two thousand men being left to hold it; some isolated castles were battered down, or compelled to surrender; Dalkeith and Musselburgh were burnt; but all these terrors had no effect in damping the spirit of the Scots—buoyed up as they were by the highest hopes of the revenge they were soon to be enabled to take by means of the ample aid promised them by the French king. About the middle of June, the squadron conveying the expected foreign auxiliaries arrived at Leith. The force consisted of about six thousand veterans,† —partly French, partly German—under the command of D'Esse D'Espanviliers, a general of great gallantry and experience. No time was lost in proceeding to active operations. It was resolved that the first enterprise of the allied forces should be the recovery of Haddington; and, accordingly, an army composed of the whole of D'Esse's men, and of about eight thousand Scots, under the command of Arran, marched upon that town. It was in the camp before Haddington that the parliament or convention of estates was assembled which ratified, amid the hurry and tumult of arms, the treaty with the French king: even in these circumstances, however, the measure met with considerable opposition, though urged by all the influence both of the clergy and the court: Arran himself is believed to have been won over by the temptation of a pension from France and the dukedom of Chatelherault in that country. The fleet which had brought over the French soldiers still remained in the Frith of Forth; it now put to sea, and proceeded at first in the direction of the French coast, but as soon as it was fairly out of sight of land it changed its course, and, having sailed round by the north of Scotland, entered the Clyde, and touched at Dunbarton, where it received on board the young queen, with her attendants, consisting of the Lords Erskine and Fleming, to whose care she was specially entrusted, Lady Fleming, and twelve other ladies, besides two hundred gentlemen and servants.* Mary reached the harbour of Brest in safety on the 13th of August, and was immediately conducted to St. Germain-en-Laye, where she was contracted in the usual form to the Dauphin of France, then a child of five years of age, she herself being only a few months older. Meanwhile, Haddington remained unreduced, though still invested. At first the place had been sharply cannonaded, and various breaches had been made in the walls; but D'Esse still did not think it prudent to venture upon an assault; "for the Englishmen," says Holinshed, "although their powder was sore spent, and that, for want of matches, they were constrained to tear their shirts, and use the same instead of matches, yet they showed themselves so valiant in defending the town thus beaten and made weak on each hand, that there was no hope left to their adversaries to win it of them by force." In fact, from this time the besiegers made no further attempts to take the place by assault, but resolved to trust to the hope of starving the garrison into a surrender. The strength and spirit of the latter, however, were soon after recruited by the arrival of a body of two hundred of their countrymen, who "found means one night to pass through all the watches on that side where the Scots lay, and entering the town, and bringing with them great plenty of powder and other necessaries, greatly relieved them within, and so encouraged them that they seemed to make small account of their enemy's forces." A similar attempt that was afterwards made by a troop of thirteen hundred horse from Berwick, under the command of Sir Thomas Palmer, had a different

* Burnet.

† Curiously translated by Sir James Balfour, into "olde beaten shouldiours," in his patriotic aversion to admit that these foreign auxiliaries were of any use to his countrymen.

* Balfour, Annals.

issue. The English horse were met by the French and Scots under D'Esse and Lord Hume, and were completely environed and put to the rout; "so that those," says Holinshed, "which escaped the Frenchmen's hands were taken by the Scots that pursued them in chase, so that few were saved that were not either slain or taken." The Scottish historians assert that the slain and the prisoners on the part of the English in this affair exceeded a thousand men: King Edward, in his Journal, reduces the loss to four hundred taken prisoners and a few killed. Immediately upon receipt of the intelligence at the English court, orders were given for the advance across the borders of an army of twenty-two thousand men, which had been raised and put under the command of Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, as the lieutenant of the Duke of Somerset, to whom new letters patent had been granted by the king, in still more ample terms than those he had formerly obtained, to enable him to make this appointment.* Lord Clinton, at the same time, put to sea with a formidable fleet. On the approach of Shrewsbury, the besieging army retired from Haddington, and the earl entered that town, the gallant defenders of which were now reduced to the utmost extremity, by "hunger, thirst, continual watching, nakedness, sickness, and all other such calamities and miseries, as want of things necessary for the relief and maintenance of man's life is wont to bring to those that are inclosed in such wise by the enemy."† "The noble Earl of Shrewsbury," continues the earnest and sympathising old English chronicler, "could not forbear to shed tears, to understand and perceive that such worthy soldiers should suffer such great distress, whose valiant hearts could not be quailed with any afflictions. Thus, with mournful embracings, intermixed with pitiful regards, they met." The earl, however, left abundant supplies, not only of "victuals, munition, and all other things convenient," but likewise of healthy and strong men to assist in maintaining the defence. He then set forth to seek the Scots and French, whom he found posted some ten or twelve miles off, at Musselburgh. They would not, however, leave their entrenchments, and the English did not venture to attack them. Shrewsbury drew up his forces in three battalions, guarded or flanked with two troops of horse; and "the army, thus ranged in array of battle, stayed above the space of an hour, looking if the enemies durst have come forth to have given battle; but when they perceived that by no means the Frenchmen meant to forsake their strength, they returned back to their camp." In fact, the earl and his great army forthwith turned round, and began their march back to England. The only other exploit they performed was to set fire to Dunbar, as they passed by that town on their retreat. Nor were the achievements of Lord Clinton and the fleet more considerable. Balfour informs us that Clinton landed some five thousand men on the coast of Fife, to spoil the country; "but before they did much harm, they were rencountered by the Laird of Wemyss and the barons of Fife, all well horsed, who rode them flat down with their horses, and, having killed above seven hundred of them, forced the remnant to save themselves by wading in sea to the necks, before they could gain their flat-bottomed boats, having purched (acquired) no better booty than their backful of strokes and wet skins. The good entertainment the English did receive in Fife at this time, saved it in all the progress of this war from any further trouble." According to Burnet, who makes the admiral of the fleet to have been the Protector's brother, Lord Seymour of Sudley, the descent on the Fife coast was made at St. Minins (or St. Monance), where twelve hundred of the English, after having brought their cannon to land, were repulsed by the country people, headed by James Stuart, Prior of St. Andrews, afterwards the celebrated regent Moray, six hundred being slain, and a hundred taken prisoners. They afterwards made a descent during the night at Montrose, where in like manner they were driven off by the peasantry, headed by Erskine of Dun; of eight hundred who had landed, scarcely one in three getting back safe to the ships. "So," it is added, "the admiral returned, having got nothing but loss and disgrace by the expedition."

After the Earl of Shrewsbury had returned home, Lord Grey, who had been left as lieutenant of the north, made an inroad into Scotland, and, without encountering any opposition, burned and wasted Teviotdale and Liddesdale for the space of about twenty miles. On the other hand, not long after this, on Tuesday, the 9th of October, an attempt was made by D'Esse to surprise the town of Haddington, up to the very gate of which he had got with his men, at an early hour in the morning, before his presence was suspected. But when the assailants were apparently on the point of completing their enterprise, the English garrison, having been thrown into the greatest confusion and trepidation by the cries of "Victory! victory!" with which they were wakened out of sleep, a cannon that chanced to be pointed upon the gate was fired off against his countrymen by a French deserter who served within the town, which made such slaughter among them as to drive them back in disorder; and although D'Esse thrice gallantly led back his men to the encounter, they were finally foiled and beaten off with great loss. On this, the French commander retired to Leith, and fortified himself in that town.

The English parliament re-assembled at Westminster on the 24th of November, having been prorogued to that day from the 15th of October, in consequence of the plague then being in London. The first question of importance that was brought forward was that of the marriage of the clergy. A proposition in favour of this innovation having

* Rymer, xv. 174. The Protector was now expressly authorised to order the king's subjects to take up arms whenever he should think proper, and to commission lieutenants in his own name, to command in his stead, both by sea and land.

† Holinshed.

been submitted to the lower House of Convocation, during the last session of parliament, had been carried in that assembly by a majority of nearly two to one; and a bill to carry it into effect had been actually introduced in the House of Commons, though it was not proceeded with. A similar bill was now again brought forward, and, although it met with considerable opposition, was finally passed and sent up to the Lords on the 13th of December. In the upper House it was allowed to lie unnoticed till the 9th of February, 1549; but, being then taken up, was, after it had undergone some alterations, to which the Commons eventually assented, read a third time on the 19th, and passed, by a majority of thirty-nine to twelve. This was followed by an act establishing the use of the reformed Liturgy lately drawn up. Against both of these bills many of the bishops, and a few also of the lay lords, entered protests. The only other enactment of this session on the subject of religion that requires to be here noticed, is one that was passed "touching abstinence from flesh in Lent and other usual times." The preamble of this statute declares, that "one day or one kind of meat of itself is not more holy, more pure, or more clean than another;" but, nevertheless, condemns those who, "turning their knowledge to satisfy their sensuality," had, "of late time more than in times past, broken and contemned such abstinence which hath been used in this realm upon the Fridays and Saturdays, the embering days, and other days commonly called vigils, and in the time commonly called Lent, and other accustomed times." The regulations with regard to the observance of fish-days which are laid down, and which need not be detailed, are then ushered in by a statement of the considerations that had been kept in view in framing them, which "glances from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven," with a most edifying impartiality and comprehensiveness of regard. The king's majesty, it is recorded, had been moved to maintain, in a modified form, the old laws on the subject of fasts, by "considering that due and godly abstinence is a mean to virtue, and to subdue men's bodies to their soul and spirit, *and considering also specially that fishers, and men using the trade of living by fishing in the sea, may thereby the rather be set to work, and that, by eating of fish much flesh may be saved and increased*, and also for divers other considerations and commodities of this realm."

But an affair of another kind was also brought before the parliament in the course of this session, the history of which, from its commencement nearly two years before, now falls to be related. The Earl of Hertford and his younger brother Sir Thomas Seymour, do not appear to have lived on other than friendly terms down to the close of the late reign, during which the terrific temper of Henry made the fiercest and haughtiest spirits quail, and suppress the breath of their mutual animosities and rivalries, as men, however heated for quarrel, will not break out into wrangling, or other noisy contention, in the neighbourhood of a slumbering tiger. But as soon as the furious old despot was dead, and the throne came to be filled by the child, whose near relationship to the two brothers combined with his years and his disposition to throw him entirely into their hands, and to make him the puppet of whichsoever of the two should succeed in getting before the other in their struggle for the prize, the natural opposition of their interests, and of the circumstances in which they were placed, dashed them against each other like two meeting tides. Both were ambitious, by nature as well as by the temptations of their position; and he not the least so who, by the arrangements made on the accession of the new king, found himself without any share in the government, while the other had contrived to concentrate in himself nearly all the powers of the state. The Protector tried to purchase the acquiescence of his brother, both by honours and more substantial benefits: Sir Thomas, as we have seen, was raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Seymour of Sudley; he was also made High Admiral, the patent of that place being resigned to him by the new Earl of Warwick, who was, in turn, compensated with that of Lord Great Chamberlain, which Somerset himself had held, but which he now exchanged for those of Lord High Treasurer and Earl Marshal, forfeited by the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk; and he was furthermore, by a royal grant, in August, 1548, put in possession of the lordship of Sudley, in Gloucestershire, and of other lands and tenements in no fewer than eighteen counties.* But a temper and views such as his were not to be thus satisfied. He had set his heart upon the golden prize of political power, which seems to the imagination of ordinary ambition to draw all other things after it; and whatever else he obtained was only valued as it might help him to mount to this. Though resembling each other in ambition and rapacity, in most of the other points that marked their characters the two brothers were very unlike. The Protector, slenderly endowed either with capacity or with moral courage, and probably conscious of these deficiencies, was in the habit of trusting in all things more to his instruments than to himself, and of seeking a support for his greatness in any prop he could find to lean upon. This timidity and want of self-dependence, together with his vanity, made him on all occasions an anxious affecter of popular applause, although his whole course demonstrates him to have been in reality one of the most self-regarding men that ever lived, and one of the most unscrupulous in the pursuit of his own aggrandizement. His anxiety, however, to stand well in the public estimation, and perhaps a natural coldness of temperament, preserved him from some of those private irregularities which more than anything else destroy reputation, though the mischief they occasion bears no proportion in extent to that inflicted by some other vices of character which are not so

* See notice of the grant in Strype, Ec. Men. ii. 202.

immediately offensive; and there was little or nothing to be objected to in his life and conversation under any of the heads of that household morality which is very generally regarded as the whole code of morals. He was not only cautiously decent in his private demeanour within this circle of duties, but he was a conspicuous professor of religion and piety; and it is probable that he did take a considerable interest in those high questions by which all minds were more or less agitated, and certain strong views in regard to which constituted the peculiar badge and the great cementing element and life-spirit of his party. But although he was extremely cautious of doing anything likely to place him in an unfavourable light with the popular sentiment, it would be a mistake to imagine that he did not give a loose to his natural temper where there was no such risk in the most violent fashion. While he was all subservience to the huzzaing populace, and was at home completely under the government of his wife—a proud, coarse, cunning woman—at the council-table and elsewhere, to all who were dependent upon him, not excepting the men to whom in great part he owed his elevation, he soon became the most imperious and insolent of the spoiled children of fortune. No better evidence of this can be desired than what is found in a remarkable letter addressed to him by his confidential friend Paget, and printed by one of the warmest of his more recent admirers and eulogists. "If I loved not your grace," Paget begins, "so deeply in my heart as it cannot be taken out, I could hold my peace as some others do, and say little or nothing; but my love to your grace, and good hope that you take my meaning well, hath enforced me to signify unto your grace, that unless your grace do more quietly show your pleasure in things wherein you will debate with other men, and hear them again graciously say their opinions, when you do require it, that will ensue whereof I would be right sorry, and your grace shall have first cause to repent—that is, that no man shall dare speak to you what he thinks, though it were never so necessary." Even in his own case, Paget goes on to remark, although he was sometimes heard graciously enough (his advice, however, being very seldom followed, of which he does not complain), yet, on many other occasions, he had been so sharply nipped, that it required all his assurance of his grace's favour to enable him to continue to speak his mind with any frankness. Others, however, necessarily felt the manner in which they were treated more keenly than he did. "Poor Sir Richard Alte," he says, "this afternoon, after your grace had very sore, and too much more than needed, rebuked him, came to my chamber weeping, and there complaining, as far as became him, of your handling of him, seemed almost out of his wits and out of heart." "Howsoever it cometh to pass I cannot tell," he continues, "but of late your grace is grown in great choleric fashions, whensoever you are contraried in that which you have conceived in your head;" and he concludes by beseeching him, if he values either his own safety or his present comfort, when the whole council is opposed to him, to relent sometimes from his own opinion.* This letter was written in May, 1549, only a few months after the date to which our narrative has now carried us. The picture it draws—as to the faithfulness of which there can be no question—is that of a light, weak mind, not only intoxicated and made giddy by an elevation too great for its capacity, but developing a bad and brutal nature under the removal of its customary restraints. The Lord Admiral was certainly not a better man than the Protector; but the vices of his character were for the most part of a different kind. They were not vices that attempted to assume the guise of virtues—whether that be a commendation or the reverse; they did not so far do homage to morality as to skulk out of sight; the admiral seems to have openly led a dissolute life, and was probably very regardless of imputations on the score of freedom or laxity of manners, at which his brother would have been ready to sink into the earth with shame and fear. It is doubtful to which of the two religions he belonged,† but pretty certain that he neither cared, nor professed to care much for either. In point of abilities he was reckoned far the Protector's superior. The popular breath, which the elder brother so solicitously courted, the younger, as bold and reckless in this as in all things else, held in avowed contempt. Of the credit of high principle, or principle of any kind, very little can be awarded to either; each equally—the one in his adulation of the multitude, the other by his haughty aristocratic professions and bearing—pursued, in the way that his peculiar tastes and temper dictated, the path of the same selfish and rapacious ambition. What small amount of honesty may have belonged to either was, in Somerset, merely a natural attachment which he probably had to those opinions in religion which were the distinction of his party, and upon the profession of which he had taken his stand; in Seymour the effrontery of a profligate man, of too violent passions, and too proud a spirit, even to pretend to virtues which he did not possess.

Burnet's relation of the story of the Lord Ad-

* See the letter printed from the original in the Cotton Library (Titus F 3.) in Strype, Ec. Mem. vi. 417.

† Sir John Hayward is, we believe, the only writer who expressly represents Seymour as a Catholic. He says, he dissented from his brother "in opinion of religion," and affirms that that difference was one of the chief causes of their rivalry. On the other hand, the request which he made on the eve of his execution, that Latimer might be allowed to come to him, has been adduced as proving that he died, and probably had lived, a Protestant. In Latimer's famous sermon about him, however, which will be presently noticed, there is a remarkable expression which might almost bear to be interpreted as implying the reverse. "Well," says the preacher, "he is gone,—he knoweth his fate by this; he is either in joy or in pain . . . . *Yea, though he have a whole monkery to sing for him,* he shall have his final sentence when he dieth." The connexion of these words, both with what goes before, and with what immediately follows—"and that servant of his that confesseth," &c., would seem to confine their application to Seymour in particular. According to Sir John Harington, the poet, the Lord Admiral was a zealous Protestant. In some lines written under his picture (which are printed in the 'Nugæ Antiquæ'), Harington describes him as a "Friend to God's truth, and foe to Rome's deceit."

miral, upon which the accounts of later writers are principally founded, is given by him as if the particulars were either notorious, or had been obtained from some source that left no doubt as to their authenticity; but it will be found, upon examination, that the whole detail is little more than a transcript of the more material parts of the charges made against Seymour by his brother and the council—that is, of the mere assertions of his enemies, upon which, as we shall find, although he was condemned and put to death, he was never brought to trial, and of the truth of many things in which we have really no evidence whatever. The statement, therefore, cannot be received with perfect confidence, although it may probably, in the main, be founded in truth. It is in parts confirmed by some documents that have been brought to light since Burnet wrote, especially by those contained in the collection known by the name of the 'Burghley Papers.'*

One of the lines of pursuit in which Seymour's talents, address, and personal advantages, enabled him greatly to distinguish himself, was that of gallantry: his success with women was so brilliant, that he had the popular reputation of catching hearts by art-magic—by the help of unseen spirits, or the gipsy feat of "casting the glammer" over fair ladies' eyes. He now resolved that riches and power as well as pleasure should wait upon his victories in this career; and it is alleged that, in the first instance, he aspired so high as to have cherished the hope of gaining the hand either of the Princess Mary or of her sister Elizabeth, the two persons next in the order of succession to the throne. His views seem also to have been at one time directed to the Lady Jane Grey, in the presentiment that her's might possibly, after all, be the head upon which the crown would light. He found, however, that there were difficulties in the way of each of these projects, and, for the present, he contented himself with the hand of Catherine, the queen-dowager,—whom "you married," say the council in their charge, "so soon after the late king's death, that, if she had conceived straight after, it should have been a great doubt whether the child born should have been accounted the late king's or yours; whereupon a marvellous danger and peril might and was like to have ensued to the king's majesty's succession and quiet of the realm." In fact, Catherine appears to have thrown herself into his arms. "It seems, by a letter of her own writing from Chelsea, soon after her marriage," observes Strype, "that she rather courted him than he her—professing that she loved him when she was the Lord Latimer's widow, and before King Henry made her his wife; and, therefore, being at first very listless towards that royal match."* It was arranged, however, either for the sake of the lady's reputation, or for some other object, that another appearance should be given to the affair. "You first married the queen privately," says the council, "and did dissemble and keep close the same, insomuch that a good space after you had married her, you made labour to the king's majesty, and obtained a letter of his majesty's hand, to move and require the said queen to marry with you."† This is adduced as a proof of the Admiral's "evil and dissembling nature;" and it is, at the same time, charged as another piece of his artful "colouring," that he likewise procured the Lord Protector to speak to the queen to bear him her favour towards marriage,—the meaning here apparently being, that he induced his brother merely to join in persuading Catherine to marry again; for most certainly the particular marriage she did contract was never urged or suggested to her by Somerset. The king, in his Journal, expressly tells us that with that marriage "the Lord Protector was much offended." It appears to have been publicly solemnized, or declared, some time in June, 1547, while the Protector was busy in making preparations for his expedition to Scotland.

Seymour had a twofold object in this marriage—first, the acquisition of the wealth Catherine had accumulated while she was queen, and the dower to which she was now entitled; secondly, that he might gain the easier access to the king, and be the better able to win him over to his purposes through the influence of Catherine, to whom Edward had always been accustomed to look up with respect and affection. In the first of these expectations he was in part disappointed, by his wife being compelled to surrender certain jewels of great value, which Henry had given to her, but which the Protector and the council insisted that she had no right to retain after she had ceased to be queen-consort. In a letter to Seymour upon the subject of this and other points in which she thought she was ill used, she seems to impute the treatment she had received to Somerset's wife. "This shall be to advertise you," she says, "that my lord your brother hath this afternoon a little made me warm. It was fortunate we were so much distant, for I suppose else I should have bitten him. What cause have they to fear, having such a wife? It is requisite for them continually to pray for a short dispatch of that hell." Burnet, indeed, says that in all the letters he had seen concerning the breach between the two brothers, he had never found any ground for supposing that their wives had anything

* A collection of State Papers relating to affairs in the reigns of King Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, transcribed from papers left by William Cecil, Lord Burghley, now at Hatfield House, in the library of the Earl of Salisbury, by the Rev. Samuel Haynes, A.M., fol. Lond. 1740. This first volume of the Burghley Papers extends from A.D. 1542 to 1570; a second volume, extending from 1571 to 1596, was published by the Rev. William Murdin, fol. Lond. 1759.

* Ec. Mem. ii. 214.

† Dr. Lingard appears to have overlooked this statement when he represents the marriage to have taken place after, and in consequence of, the letter from Edward, and argues that a letter given by Strype, dated the 25th (not the 2nd) of June, in which Edward thanks the queen for her acceptance of his suit, cannot allude to the marriage, inasmuch as, if it had only then taken place, the council could not have brought against Seymour the charge mentioned above, about his endangering the succession. But the charge made by the council is, that they were actually married long before this time, and that Edward was imposed upon by Seymour when the latter solicited the exertion of his influence with Catherine.

to do with it; but the common story of the older writers is, that it was at least greatly inflamed by the instigations of the Duchess of Somerset, a proud woman, who had unbounded influence over her husband, and who, among other circumstances that raised her hate and envy, could not endure to see Catherine, as queen-dowager, taking precedence of herself.* Whether it was the loss of her jewels, however, or whether the same consequence would have followed without that provocation, poor Catherine soon became little an object of envy to any of her sex; the husband, to whom she had given herself with such precipitate fondness, began openly to show how tired he was become of her, and to resume his old gallantries, before many months had elapsed. In the meanwhile he had taken advantage of his opportunities to commence practising upon the young mind of his royal nephew. The object of ambition which, in the first instance at least, he had proposed to himself, seems to have been, to wrest from his brother the one of his two great offices which gave him the custody of the royal person, though it is probable enough that if he had succeeded in that, he would not have been long in making an attempt to get into his hands the government of the kingdom also. It is charged against him by the council that, after he had agreed and given his consent in writing to the appointment of his brother as "governor of the king's majesty's person, and protector of all his realms and dominions, and subjects," he had "attempted and gone about by indirect means to undo this order," and to get the government of the king into his own hands;—that, "by corrupting with gifts and fair promises, divers of the privy chamber," he had gone about to allure the king to condescend and agree to the same, his "most heinous and perilous purposes;"—that he had "for that intent," with his own hand, written a letter in the king's name, which he had given to his majesty to copy and sign, and which he intended to have delivered personally to the House of Commons; "and there," it is added, "with your fautors and adherents before prepared, to have made a broil, or tumult, or uproar, to the great danger of the king's majesty's person, and subversion of the state of this realm;"—that he had spoken "to divers of the council, and laboured with divers of the nobility of the realm, to stick and adhere" to him for the attainment of his purposes;—that he had said openly, that [if he were crossed in his designs] he would make that the blackest parliament that ever was in England;—that "the king's majesty being of those tender years, and, as yet by age, unable to direct his own things," the Admiral had gone about to instil into his grace's head, and to persuade him to take upon himself the government and managing of his own affairs;—that he had fully intended to have taken his majesty's person into his own hands and custody;—that he had corrupted with money certain of the Privy Chamber to persuade the king to "have a credit towards" him, "and so," the article proceeds, "to insinuate you to his grace, that, when he lacked anything, he should have it of you and none other body, to the intent he should mislike his ordering, and that you might the better, when you saw time, use his king's highness for an instrument to this purpose." In a sort of answer which was wrung from him to part of the charges of the council, Seymour admitted, that about Easter, 1547, he had said to one of the royal attendants, "that if he might have the king in his custody as Mr. Page had, he would be glad; and that he thought a man might bring him (the king) through the gallery to his (Seymour's) chamber, and so to his house; but this, he said, he spoke merrily, meaning no hurt." He owned also that, having some time after heard that, when there was formerly a Lord Protector in England, the government of the king's person was put into other hands, "he had thought to have made suit to the Parliament House for that purpose, and he had the names of all the lords, and totted them whom he thought he might have to his purpose, to labour them; but afterwards communing with Mr. Comptroller at Ely Place being put in remembrance by him of his assenting and agreeing with his own hand that the Lord Protector should be governor to the king's person, he was ashamed of his doings, and left off that suit and labour." These, it is to be remembered, are not his own words under his own hand, but merely those put into his mouth by the persons sent to examine him, in their report to the council of what he said. He further acknowledged that he had drawn up the letter, or "bill," as he calls it, to be laid before the House of Commons, and had proffered it either to the king or Cheke, he forgot which. This he had done, after having "caused the king to be moved by Mr. Fowler, whether he could be contented that he should have the governance of him as Mr. Stanhope had." What answer he had got either to this suggestion, or to his proposal that the king should sign the letter, he professed not to remember. To the charge of giving money to the king and to those about him he said that at Christmas, 1547, he had given to Mr. Cheke 40*l.*, "whereof to himself 20*l.*, the other for the king, to bestow where it pleaseth his grace amongst his servants. Mr. Cheke was very loth to take it, howbeit he would needs press that upon him; and to him he gave no more, at no time, as he remembereth, till the king's majesty was crowned." He had also given some money—he did not remember how much—to the grooms of the chamber. To Fowler, he admitted that he had given money for the king since the beginning of the parliament then (February, 1549) sitting, to the amount of 20*l.* "And divers times, he saith, the king hath sent to him for money, and he hath sent it. And what time Mr.

* The principal authority for this story, which has been regarded as a fiction by some modern historians, is the Catholic writer Saunders—certainly not the most trustworthy of narrators; but he mentions it in a manner which leaves little room for doubt that it must have had some foundation. Besides, it is also mentioned by Fox, the martyrologist. Hayward adopts it without hesitation; and Burnet himself notices it as the account generally given.

Latimer hath preached before the king, the king sent to him to know what he should give Mr. Latimer; and he sent to him by Fowler 40*l.*, with this word, that 20*l.* was a good reward for Mr. Latimer, and the other he might bestow amongst his servants." These confessions make it apparent enough that he had sought to gain an ascendancy over the king by supplying him with pocket-money, of which it appears that his majesty was kept very bare by my Lord Protector. But the most curious evidence upon this point, as well as upon some of the other charges brought against Seymour, is supplied by the Burghley Papers. Here we have, in the first place, the testimony of the king himself, given in several statements drawn up and subscribed by himself. Edward, as both men and children will do when in similar circumstances, may be supposed to soften what was blameable in his own part of the business as much as possible, even if in so doing he should be led to bear a little hard upon his unfortunate uncle; but the true state of the case may be easily gathered from his self-exculpatory detail. After an account of his refusing to write some letter at Seymour's request, his majesty proceeds: "At another time, within this two year at least, he said, ye must take upon you yourself to rule, for ye shall be able enough, as well as other kings; and then ye may give your men somewhat, for your uncle is old, and I trust will not live long. I answered, it were better that he should die. Then he said, ye are but even a very beggarly king now, ye have not to play, or to give to your servants. I said, Mr. Stanhope had for me. Then he said he would give Fowler money for me; and so he did, as Fowler told me. And he gave Cheke money, as I bade him; and also to a bookbinder, as Balmain can tell; and to divers others at that time, I remember not to whom. The Lord Admiral told me these things before, at divers times, twice or thrice. Fowler oftentimes said to me, Ye must thank my Lord Admiral for gentleness that he showed you, and for his money, and was always praising of him." In another paper, Edward speaks of Seymour as trying to prejudice him against the Protector, by representing the expedition to Scotland, in which he was then engaged, as a very foolish and wasteful business. "At the return of my lord, my uncle," he goes on, "the Lord Admiral said I was too bashful in mine own matters; and asked me why I did not speak to bear rules, as other kings do. I said I needed not, for I was well enough. When he went into his country he desired me, that if anything were said against him, I should not believe it till he came himself." That Edward, however, was not a mere passive recipient in these money dealings with his uncle, appears from another paper in this collection, being a letter written by the king's command, in June, 1547, to the Lord Admiral, by Fowler. After conveying to Seymour some warm expressions of regard from his nephew—who had desired him to say, "that his mind and love, notwithstanding your absence, is towards your lordship as much as to any man within England"—the writer proceeds: "Also his grace willed me to write to your lordship, desiring you, as your lordship has willed him to do, if he lack any money to send to your lordship. His grace desires you, if you conveniently may, to let him have some money. I asked his grace what sum I should write to your lordship for; his grace would name no sum, but as it pleased your lordship to send him, for he determines to give it away, but to whom he will not tell me as yet." "The king's majesty," it is added, in a style of some importunity, "desires your lordship to send him this money as shortly as you can; and because your lordship may credit me the better, his grace has written in the beginning of my letter himself." The paper accordingly has the following words written by Edward in his own hand, and with his name subscribed: "I commend me to you, my lord, and pray you to credit this writer." To this we may subjoin, from the same repository, a part of the testimony of the Marquess of Dorset, afterwards Duke of Suffolk, who was examined principally touching another of the charges brought against Seymour—his undertaking to marry the king at his own will and pleasure, and endeavouring to seduce the Marquess to his interests by a promise that Edward should be united to his daughter, the Lady Jane Grey. Dorset declares, "that the king's majesty hath divers times made his moan unto him, saying that my uncle of Somerset dealeth very hardly with me, and keepeth me so strait that I cannot have money at my will; but my Lord Admiral both sends me money and gives me money." These revelations illustrate the characters both of the king and Somerset, as well as the doings of the Lord Admiral.

Intimation of Seymour's practices was given to his brother while he was in Scotland in September, 1547, by Paget, who had previously remonstrated with the Admiral on the course he was pursuing, and pointed out to him, ineffectually, its ruinous tendency. Burnet expressly asserts that it was this intelligence which brought the Protector back "so abruptly and disadvantageously." It is uncertain whether there was any reconciliation between them before the parliament met in November; but, soon after, matters were brought to a crisis, by the Lord Admiral's project of inducing the king to write the letter recommending his appointment as governor of the royal person. Burnet's narrative—the authority for which does not appear—would seem to imply that the letter had been actually copied and subscribed by the king; but this is inconsistent both with what the Admiral is made to say in his answer to the charges of the council, and with Edward's own account. When the council discovered what he was about, they sent some of their members to confer with him in his brother's name, and to urge him to proceed no farther; but he refused to listen to them; and he paid as little regard to an order of the council

which was then issued summoning him to appear before them. When they passed a resolution, however, that he should be sent to the Tower, and deprived of all his offices, he deemed it prudent to make his submission; and, for the present, the affair ended by a seemingly perfect reconciliation being effected between the two brothers. In the course of the following year, as we have seen, the Admiral was gratified by a grant of a large addition to his revenues from the crown.

But neither this bribe nor the escape he had made drew Seymour from the path of his restless ambition. We have seen, that before the end of this same year he had again begun to practise upon the king and the persons about his majesty by secret gifts of money. For some time, however, he restrained his bold and haughty temper so far as not to commit himself in any direct attempt to upset his brother's power. While he was thus lying in wait for what the course of events might produce, his wife, the Queen-dowager Catherine, died, after giving birth to a daughter, on the last day of September, 1548. From some expressions that fell from her in her last hours, a suspicion arose that she had been poisoned or otherwise made away with by the act of her husband; but we are not entitled, from anything that is known of Seymour, to think it probable that he could be guilty of so black a crime as this; and the circumstances, as far as they have come down to us, do not lend any countenance to a surmise which the partiality of some modern writers to the memory of the one brother seems chiefly to have inclined them to adopt against the other. Among the documents respecting the affair of the Lord Admiral printed in the Burghley Papers is the "Confession" of Elizabeth Lady Tyrwhit, who relates a scene at which she was present in Catherine's bed-chamber two days before her death. "At my coming to her in the morning," says this witness, "she asked me where I had been so long, and said unto me she did fear such things in herself that she was sure she could not live; whereunto I answered, as I thought, that I saw no likelihood of death in her. She then, having my Lord Admiral by the hand, and divers others standing by, spoke these words, partly, as I took it, idly: 'My Lady Tyrwhit, I am not well handled, for those that be about me careth not for me, but standeth laughing at my grief; and the more good I will to them, the less good they will to me.' Whereunto my Lord Admiral answered, 'Why, sweetheart, I would you no hurt.' And she said to him again aloud, 'No, my lord, I think so;' and immediately she said to him in his ear, 'But, my lord, you have given me many shrewd taunts.' Those words I perceived she spake with good memory, and very sharply and earnestly, for her mind was sore unquieted." Her husband afterwards laid himself down by her on the bed "to look if he could pacify her unquietness with gentle communication;" but he had not spoken more than three or four words to her, when she answered him "very roundly and shortly," saying that she would have given a thousand marks if she could have had her full talk with "Hewyke" the day of her delivery; "but I durst not," she added, "for fear of displeasing of you." In this way she continued to talk for about an hour, Lady Tyrwhit and others remaining in the room. There is nothing here like any charge of foul play made against the Admiral by his wife; she evidently complains of some neglect or mismanagement at the time of her delivery, probably several days before; nor was her death sudden, as if she had been poisoned or otherwise made away with. This account, however, sufficiently proves that Queen Catherine was not more happy with her third husband, whom she married for love, than she had been with her second, whose hand she had accepted from vanity; and it will appear that she had abundant cause for feeling what she expressed on her death-bed—that those who were about her cared but little for her.

"It is objected and laid unto your charge," say the council, in one of their articles exhibited against the Lord Admiral, "that you have not only, before you married the queen, attempted and gone about to marry the king's majesty's sister, the Lady Elizabeth, second inheritor in remainder to the crown, but also, being then let (hindered) by the Lord Protector and others of the council, sithence that time, both in the life of the queen continued your old labour and love, and after her death, by secret and crafty means, practised to achieve the said purpose of marrying the said Lady Elizabeth, to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and peril of the state of the same." The evidence contained in the Burghley Papers, if it does not completely sustain this charge, at least supplies a very interesting and remarkable chapter in the biography of the great Elizabeth. It should appear that Seymour, whatever were his designs upon the princess, had in his interest, or, at any rate, as favourably disposed to him as he could desire, no less convenient a personage than her highness's governess, a Mrs. Catherine Ashley. Thomas Parry, the cofferer of the princess's household, relates a conversation he had with this lady, in which she admitted to him that even the Duchess of Somerset had found great fault with her "for my Lady Elizabeth's going in a night in a barge upon Thames, and for other light parts," and had told her, in consequence, that she was not worthy to have the governance of a king's daughter. On the subject of the court paid by the Admiral to the princess, "I do remember also," says Parry, "she told me that the Admiral loved her but too well, and had so done a good while, and that the queen was jealous on her and him, in so much that one time the queen, suspecting the often access of the Admiral to the Lady Elizabeth's grace, came suddenly upon them when they were all alone, he having her in his arms, wherefore the queen fell out both with the Lord Admiral and with her grace also. And hereupon

the queen called Mrs. Ashley to her, and told her fancy in that matter; and of this was much displeasure." At this time, it appears, the princess was living with the queen; but, immediately after the above incident, she either removed of her own accord, or was sent away. But Mrs. Ashley may be allowed to speak for herself, at least in so far as her somewhat naïvely expressed details will bear to be quoted. In her "Confession," in which of course she confesses as little as possible against herself, she states that, at Chelsea, immediately after he was married to the queen, the Admiral used frequently to come into the Lady Elizabeth's chamber before she was ready, and sometimes before she was out of bed. If she were up, he would slap her familiarly on the back or on the hips; "and if she were in her bed, he would put open the curtains and bid her good morrow, and make as though he would come at her; and she would go further in the bed, so that he could not come at her. And one morning he strave to have kissed her in her bed." At this last and some other instances of boldness Mrs. Ashley professes to have been duly shocked, and to have rebuked the Admiral as he deserved. Sometimes, if she may be believed, the queen took part with her husband in these boisterous freedoms. On two mornings, at Hanworth, they came together into the chamber of the princess before she was up, when both fell to tickling her as she lay in bed, Mrs. Ashley being with her. "Another time at Hanworth in the garden, he wrated (wrestled) with her, and cut her gown in an hundred pieces, being black cloth; and when she came up this examinate chid with her; and her grace answered, she could not do with all, for the queen held her while the Lord Admiral cut it. Another time, at Chelsea, the Lady Elizabeth, hearing the private lock undo, knowing that he would come in, ran out of her bed to her maidens, and then went behind the curtain of the bed, the maidens being there; and my lord tarried to have her come out—she cannot tell how long." Other instances of the Admiral's audacity are given, but these may serve as sufficient specimens. Mrs. Ashley admits she had reason to suppose that the Queen was jealous of the familiarity betwixt her husband and the princess; and "she saith also, that Mr. Ashley, her husband, hath divers times given this examinate warning to take heed, for he did fear that the Lady Elizabeth did bear some affection to my Lord Admiral; she seemed to be well pleased therewith; and sometimes she would blush when he were spoken of." Elizabeth also makes her "Confession" among the rest; but it relates merely to what had passed between her and Mrs. Ashley after the queen's death, on the subject of the Lord Admiral's wish to marry her, and, as might be expected, contains nothing to her own disadvantage. She maintains that Mrs. Ashley never advised the marriage except on condition it should prove agreeable to the Protector and the council. In a letter, however, which she wrote from Hatfield to the Protector in January, 1549, while the proceedings against Seymour were in progress, she mentions a circumstance which we should not otherwise have known—namely, that rumours had got abroad that she was "in the Tower and with child by my Lord Admiral." These imputations she declares to be "shameful slanders," and requests that, to put them down, she may be allowed to come immediately to court, "that I may show myself there," she says, "as I am." It appears, however, that all these examinations gave her no little disturbance and alarm, though, young as she was—only entering upon her sixteenth year—she bore herself, in the delicate and difficult position in which she was thereby placed, with a wonderful deal of the courage and politic management that she evinced on so many occasions in her after life. Sir Robert Tyrwhit (the husband of the Lady Tyrwhit already mentioned), who had been sent to Hatfield by Somerset to watch her, and try what he could get out of her, relates in one of his dispatches to the Protector, that when she was first informed of Ashley and Parry having been sent to the Tower, "she was marvellous abashed, and did weep very tenderly a long time, demanding of my Lady Browne whether they had confessed anything or not." When Tyrwhit, however, afterwards went to her, and having pointed out to her what sort of characters Mrs. Ashley and the others were, would have had her "open all things herself;" assuring her that, if she did so, "all the evil and shame should be ascribed to them, and her youth considered, both with the king's majesty, your grace, and the whole council," she would confess nothing; "and yet," adds the writer, "do I see it in her face that she is guilty." The next day Tyrwhit writes that he had asked her if she would have married the Lord Admiral, had the council given their consent; to which she instantly replied, with a spirit, "that she would not tell him what her mind was therein," and demanded "what he meant, and who bade him ask that question." "She hath a very good wit," concludes the baffled interrogator, "and nothing is gotten of her but by great policy." A few days afterwards the confessions of Parry and Ashley were put into her hands. "At the reading of Mrs. Ashley's letter," writes Tyrwhit to his employer, "she was much abashed, and half breathless or she could read it to an end, and perused all their names perfectly, and knew both Mrs. Ashley's hand and the cofferer's hand with half a sight; so that fully she thinketh they have both confessed all they know." It is remarkable that, not long after this, we find her highness interesting herself—evidently with more anxiety than she cares to avow—in behalf of her governess, who was still detained a prisoner in the Tower. A letter is extant, written by her to Somerset in March, in which she entreats that his lordship and the rest of the council will be "good unto her" (Mrs. Ashley)—grounding her request upon three reasons, which she states with most

elaborate formality. "First," she begins, "because that she hath been with me a long time and many years, and hath taken great labour and pain in bringing of me up in learning and honesty;" and this reason is piously illustrated and fortified by a long quotation from St. Gregory. "The second," she proceeds, "is because that whatsoever she hath done in my Lord Admiral's matter, as concerning the marriage of me, she did it because, knowing him to be one of the council, she thought he would not go about any such thing without he had the council's consent thereunto; for I have heard her many times say that she would never have me marry in any place without your grace's and the council's consent." Thirdly, she says, people, seeing that one she loved so well is in such a place, will, and do think that she is not clear of guilt herself, but that it is pardoned in her.* It is difficult not to suspect that there lay concealed some other reasons behind these which are set forth in such ostentatious array.

The Lord Admiral's renewal of his pretensions to the hand of Elizabeth after the death of his queen, seems to have at once brought matters to another open quarrel between him and his brother. The Marquess of Northampton, one of the persons whom he had sought to seduce to a participation in his designs, relates in his examination, or confession, that Seymour had told him "he was credibly informed that my Lord Protector had said he would clap him in the Tower if he went to my Lady Elizabeth." These threats, and the obstacle that presented itself to his schemes in the clause of the late king's will which provided that if either of the princesses should marry without the consent of the council, she should forfeit her right of succession, roused all the natural impetuosity and violence of his temper, and drove him again to intrigues and plots, and other measures of desperation. One Wightman, who held an office in his establishment, stated to the council that he and others of his friends had earnestly dissuaded him "from writing of such sharp and unsavoury letters to my Lord Protector's grace," but without effect; "for, if he had once conceived opinion by his own persuasions, neither lawyer nor other could turn him." It is asserted, that seeing he could not otherwise achieve his object, he resolved to seize the king's person, and to carry him away to his castle of Holt, in Denbighshire, one of the properties he had acquired by the late royal grant; that, for the furtherance of this and his ulterior designs, he had confederated with various noblemen and others,—had taken measures to secure the support of "the head yeomen and ringleaders of certain counties,"—had surrounded himself with a much more numerous array of retainers than was either permitted by the laws, or necessary or convenient for his service, place, or estate; that he had so travailed in the matter as to have put himself in a condition to raise an army of ten thousand men out of his own tenantry and other immediate adherents, in addition to the forces of his friends; and that he had got ready money enough to pay and maintain the said ten thousand men for a month.* "It is further objected and laid to your charge," say the council, "that your deputy steward and other your ministers of the Holt, in the county of Denbigh, have now, against Christmas last past, at the said Holt, made such provision of wheat, malt, beef, and other such things as be necessary for the sustenance of a great number of men, making also, by all the means possible, a great mass of money; insomuch that all the country doth greatly marvel at it, and the more because your servants have spread rumours abroad that the king's majesty was dead; whereupon the country is in a great maze, doubt, and expectation, looking for some broil, and would have been more, if, at this present by your apprehension, it had not been stayed."† He is also charged with having, in various ways, abused his authority and powers as Lord Admiral, and of having actually taken part with pirates against the lawful trader, "as though," says one of the articles, "you were authorised to be the chief pirate, and to have had all the advantage they could bring unto you."‡ All these proceedings, it is affirmed, were "to none other end and purpose but, after a title gotten to the crown, and your party made strong both by sea and land, with furniture of men and money sufficient, to have aspired to the dignity royal by some heinous enterprise against the king's Majesty's person."§ The council do not venture to include in their indictment what Burnet has set down as one of the Lord Admiral's chief crimes, his having "openly complained that his brother intended to enslave the nation, and make himself master of all;" as a glaring proof of which he particularly pointed to a force of German lansquenets which the Protector had brought over and kept in his pay. Strype affirms that "he spread abroad sundry slanders touching the king's person, the Lord Protector, and the whole state of the council; and they so vile as not fit to be repeated." It appears, from the Burghley Papers, that the immediate occasion of proceedings being taken against Seymour was a confession made to the council by Sir William Sharington, master of the mint at Bristol, who had been taken up and examined on a charge of clipping, coining base money, and other frauds. Sharington had been, in the first instance, defended by the Admiral, who, it appears, was his debtor to a considerable amount; but he eventually admitted his guilt, and informed the council, in addition, that he had been in league with the Admiral to supply him with money for the designs that have just been recounted. There can be no doubt that Sharington made this confession to save his own life; in point of fact, he was, after a short time, not only pardoned, but restored to his former appointment. But the Admiral was instantly (19th January, 1549) sent so the Tower. Burnet re-

* Ellis's Letters, 1st Ser. ii. 155.

* Articles of High Treason, &c., 12—18.
† Ibid. 33. ‡ Ibid. 29. § Ibid. 22.

marks that the warrant was signed by the Earl of Southampton as well as by all the other members of the privy council, so that that lord "was now, in outward appearance, reconciled to the Protector." The ex-chancellor, however, as we shall find, was not thus induced to forget his ejection from office two years before. As for Seymour, he had now no chance of escape. Abandoned by every friend on earth, he lay passive and helpless in his prison-house, while, "many complaints," as Burnet observes, "being usually brought against a sinking man," all who sought to make their own positions more secure, or to advance themselves in court favour, hastened to add their contribution to the charges or the evidence by which he was to be destroyed. Attempts were made to persuade him to submit himself, by working both upon his fears and his hopes; but he would confess no part of the treasonable designs imputed to him. There is, indeed, no proof or probability whatever that his views extended to anything beyond the supplanting of Somerset; it was a struggle for ascendancy between the two brothers, and nothing more. The proceedings taken against the accused were, from the beginning to the end, a flagrant violation of all law and justice. After he had been several times secretly examined, without anything material being extracted from him, by deputations of the privy council, on the 23rd of February the whole council proceeded in a body to the Tower, with the charges against him drawn out in thirty-three articles, to endeavour to bring him to submission. But to all their threats and persuasions he insisted, as he had all along done, upon an open trial, and being brought face to face with his accusers. At last he so far yielded to their importunities as to say that, if they would leave the articles with him, he would consider of them; but even with this proposal they refused to comply. The next day, "after dinner," the lord chancellor, in the presence of the other councillors, "opened the matter to the king, and delivered his opinion for leaving it to the parliament." It is pretended that this was the first time the subject had been mentioned—at least at the council-board—to Edward; and, therefore, the greater admiration was called forth by the prompt judgment of the youthful sovereign, and the equanimity with which he consented to sacrifice his uncle to the public weal. After each of the other councillors had expressed his approbation of the course recommended by the chancellor, and, last of all, the Protector, who protested "this was a most sorrowful business to him, but, were it son or brother, he must prefer his majesty's safety to them, for he weighed his allegiance more than his blood," his majesty answered, "We perceive that there are great things objected and laid to my Lord Admiral, my uncle, and they tend to treason; and we perceive that you require but justice to be done; we think it reasonable, and we will that you proceed according to your request." "Which words," as it is expressed in the entry in the council-book quoted by Burnet, "coming so suddenly from his grace's mouth, of his own motion, as the lords might well perceive, they were marvellously rejoiced, and gave the king most hearty praise and thanks." The very next day, a bill of attainder against the Lord Admiral was brought into the House of Lords; all the judges and the king's counsel gave it as their opinion that the articles amounted to treason; various lords, who had already made depositions against the accused, repeated their evidence; and the bill was at last passed without a division. Somerset himself was present at each reading. On the same day (the 27th) it was sent down to the Commons. But here it encountered at first considerable opposition. 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There is, indeed, no proof or probability whatever that his views extended to anything beyond the supplanting of Somerset; it was a struggle for ascendancy between the two brothers, and nothing more. The proceedings taken against the accused were, from the beginning to the end, a flagrant violation of all law and justice. After he had been several times secretly examined, without anything material being extracted from him, by deputations of the privy council, on the 23rd of February the whole council proceeded in a body to the Tower, with the charges against him drawn out in thirty-three articles, to endeavour to bring him to submission. But to all their threats and persuasions he insisted, as he had all along done, upon an open trial, and being brought face to face with his accusers. At last he so far yielded to their importunities as to say that, if they would leave the articles with him, he would consider of them; but even with this proposal they refused to comply. The next day, "after dinner," the lord chancellor, in the presence of the other councillors, "opened the matter to the king, and delivered his opinion for leaving it to the parliament." It is pretended that this was the first time the subject had been mentioned—at least at the council-board—to Edward; and, therefore, the greater admiration was called forth by the prompt judgment of the youthful sovereign, and the equanimity with which he consented to sacrifice his uncle to the public weal. 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from insignificant addition. All these persons, or at least by far the greater number of them, were thrown loose from tenures of shelter and maintenance which might in the case of each of them be considered more or less fixed and sure, and were sent to swell the overflowing stream of that labour which had nothing but the chances of the market to trust to. Hence would follow a glut of that commodity, or, at least, what would appear to be, and have all the effect of a glut, in the complete dislocation or obstruction that would be occasioned for a time, of the ancient conduits of supply and demand. And along with the other causes contributing to the same state of things may be mentioned even the uprooting of old feelings, habits, and connexions by the mere ferment excited in men's minds by the preaching of the new opinions in religion,—fiercely resisted by many,—eagerly received by others,—and by not a few carried out into all the extravagances of fanaticism and even of licentiousness. It could not be but that this general state of excitement, amounting in many cases to enthusiasm or delirium, should have made numbers of people impatient of all sober and regular industry, and set them adrift on the sea of life without either chart or aim. It is easy, from all this, to understand how the present insurrection took the shape and the spirit it did. Its chief cry soon came to be the restoration of the old religion, and vengeance against those who had wrought and profited by its downfall. The priests, of course, and other leaders of the Popish party, found it easy to turn the gaze of the exasperated people upon the most immediate and obvious sources of their sufferings, or what could be plausibly represented as such, and did not neglect so favourable an occasion of stirring up their most energetic feelings in behalf of the ancient system —its pageants, its holidays, its venerable and affecting associations, as well as its other recommendations of a more substantial kind—and against the innovations, which seemed only to have benefited a few of the upper classes at the expense of the great mass of the nation. So that, although in some measure, from circumstances peculiar to itself, the present rising, as well as those in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry VI., had, from the first, much of the character of a servile insurrection—a revolt of the peasantry against the gentry—of the cultivators of the soil against its proprietors.

From Holinshed's account, it would appear that a proceeding on the part of the Protector, of very questionable wisdom, or, at any rate, managed with but little discretion, was the spark that kindled the flame. This was a proclamation which he issued "against enclosures, and taking in of fields and commons that were accustomed to lie open for the behoof of the inhabitants dwelling near to the same, who had grievously complained of gentlemen and others for taking from them the use of those fields and commons." It is probable enough that some landholders may have acted in a harsh and oppressive manner in thus improving their estates; but it does not appear that any legal rights were generally violated; and, at all events, if they were, this royal proclamation itself was as illegal and unjust as anything that the landlords could have done. It settled the matter in a very summary way indeed—simply commanding that all commons that had been enclosed should, under a penalty, be laid open again by a certain day. "But how well soever," proceeds the chronicler, "the setters forth of this proclamation meant, thinking thereby, peradventure, to appease the grudge of the people that found themselves grieved with such enclosures, yet verily it turned not to the wished effect, but rather ministered occasion of a foul and dangerous disorder. For whereas there were few that obeyed the commandment, the unadvised people presuming upon their proclamation, thinking they should be borne out by them that had set it forth, rashly without order took upon them to redress the matter; and, assembling themselves in unlawful wise, chose to them captains and leaders, broke open the enclosures, cast down ditches, killed up the deer which they found in parks, spoiled and made havock after the manner of an open rebellion." The narratives of the commencement of the disturbances are singularly various and contradictory. Holinshed says the people first began to "play these parts" in Somersetshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Kent, Essex, and Lincolnshire. Burnet, following King Edward's Journal, states that the first rising was in Wiltshire, where Sir William Herbert, gathering some resolute men about him, dispersed the insurgents, some of whom were slain; but that, soon after, the commons rose in Sussex, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, and Rutlandshire. Strype's account is, that the first insurrection appeared in Hertfordshire, at North-hall and Cheshunt; that then a greater rising took place in Somersetshire; and that, from thence, "it proceeded into Gloucestershire, Wilts, Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, Worcester, Essex, Kent, and divers other places, as Oxon and Berks, and in the westermost parts, and in the northern also, as in Yorkshire, and especially in Norfolk." In fact, the convulsion, which probably broke out in different places nearly at the same time, seems to have rapidly spread in all directions, till it had extended itself over the greater part of the kingdom. According to Burnet, the Protector's proclamation against the inclosures, which was "set out contrary to the mind of the whole council," appeared *after* the first risings in Wilts and elsewhere; it was designed to pacify the people, and was accompanied with another, indemnifying or pardoning the insurgents for what was past, provided they should carry themselves obediently for the future. "Commissions," proceeds the historian, "were also sent everywhere, with an unlimited power to the commissioners to hear and determine all causes about enclosures, highways, and cottages. The vast power these commissioners assumed was

much complained of; the landlords said it was an invasion of their property, to subject them thus to the pleasure of those who were sent to examine the matters, without proceeding in the ordinary courts according to law." A more illegal and arbitrary act, indeed, than the issuing of these commissions never was attempted in the most despotic times. Nor, prompted as it was by a weak or interested craving after popularity, did it succeed in the only object it proposed to have, and for which all other considerations were disregarded, the satisfying of the popular clamour. "The commons," proceeds Burnet, "being encouraged by the favour they heard the Protector bore them, and not able to govern their heat, or stay for a more peaceable issue, did rise again, but were anew quieted. Yet the Protector being opposed much by the council, he was not able to redress this grievance so fully as the people hoped. So in Oxfordshire and Devonshire they rose again, and also in Norfolk and Yorkshire."*

It seems to have been in Devonshire that the religious cry was first raised. Here the commons, besides "Humphrey Arundel, Esq., governor of the Mount," and other laymen, had for their captains a number of Popish priests, by whose "instigation and pricking forward" they are said to have been chiefly excited and directed in their proceedings. Their rising began on the 10th of June, on which day they assembled in armed array to the number of nearly ten thousand men. "At court," says Burnet, "it was hoped this might be as easily dispersed as the other risings were; but the Protector was against running into extremities, and so did not move so speedily as the thing required." At last, after the rebels had sate down before Exeter, and had begun to assault that city, Lord Russell was sent to encounter them with a small force; but either he found them in too great strength to be prudently attacked, or he was restrained by his instructions from adopting decisive measures, and, keeping at a respectful distance from the insurgent camp, he announced that he was ready to receive any complaints they had to make, and to transmit them to the council. On this, Arundel and his followers drew up their demands first in seven, and afterwards in fifteen articles; the most material points of which were, that all the decrees of the general councils should be observed; that the Statute of the Six Articles should be again put in force; that the mass should be in Latin; that the sacrament should be hanged up and worshipped, and that those who refused to worship it should suffer as heretics; that the sacrament should only be given to the people at Easter, and in one kind; that holy bread, holy water, and palms should be again used, and that images should be set up, with all the other ancient ceremonies; that the priests should "sing or say, with an audible voice, God's service in the choir of the parish churches, and not God's service to be set forth like a Christmas play" (so they expressed their notion of the new Liturgy); that all preachers in their sermons, and priests in the mass, should pray for the souls in purgatory; that the Bible should be called in; that Cardinal Pole should be made one of the king's council; that every gentleman should be allowed only one servant for every hundred marks of yearly rent that belonged to him; that the half of the church lands should be given back to two of the chief abbeys in every county; and, finally, that other grievances, more particularly affecting themselves, should be redressed, as the king should be advised by Arundel and the mayor of Bodmin, for whom they desired a safe conduct. These articles, which certainly do savour of priestly inspiration, were transmitted to the council, at whose command Cranmer, whose department they seemed principally to concern, drew up a formal and elaborate reply to them, in which they were not only rejected in the mass, but severally argued against as contrary to right reason and the Scriptures. The insurgents then reduced their demands to eight articles, being, in substance, a selection from their former propositions, with the addition of one, which it is strange should have been omitted in the first instance, insisting that priests should "live chaste without marriage." To these a long and eloquent answer was sent in the king's own name. Edward was made to begin by dilating in strong and large terms, but still in the tone of persuasion, upon the greatness of the royal authority, and the obligation that lay upon the subject to yield it all obedience. Some parts of the exposition he gave of the kingly office are curious and characteristic. "We are," he said, "your most natural sovereign lord and king, Edward VI., to rule you, to preserve you, to save you from all your outward enemies, to see our laws well ministered, every man to have his own, to suppress disordered people, to correct traitors, thieves, pirates, robbers, and such like, yea, to keep our realms from other princes, *from the malice of the Scots, of Frenchmen, of the Bishop of Rome.*" The rebels had proposed that the settlement to be then made should stand till the king was of full age. In demonstration of the folly of this notion, Edward informs them that, although "as a natural man and creature of God," he had youth, and by his sufferance should have age, yet as a king he had no difference of years. They are afterwards asked to consider the folly they were committing in making it necessary that their king should spend that force upon them which he had meant to bestow upon their foreign enemies—"to make a conquest of our

* See a long and interesting letter remonstrating with Somerset on the course he had taken in this instance, from his friend Paget, then ambassador at the court of the emperor, in Strype's Eccles. Mem. vi. 419—427. The writer points out, in strong terms, the ruinous tendency of the Protector's mode of proceeding, and does not spare some explicit enough allusions to his motives. "What is the cause?' he asks (of the contempt for all authority at which the people had arrived). "Your own lenity, your softness, your opinion to be good to the poor; the opinion of such as saith to your grace, Oh, Sir, there was never man had the hearts of the poor as you have. Oh! the commons pray for you Sir; they say, God save your life! I know your gentle heart right well, and that your meaning is good and godly, however some evil men list to prate here, that you have some greater enterprise in your head that lean so much to the multitude."

own people, which otherwise should have been of the whole realm of Scotland." The message can hardly be said to be "all penned," as Burnet describes it, "in a high threatening style," but it must be allowed that it rises to that at the close. "Thus far," says the king, "we have descended from our high majesty, for love, to consider you in your simple ignorance, and have been content to send you an instruction like a father, who of justice might have sent you your destructions like a king to rebels. And now we let you know, that, as you see our mercy abundantly, so, if ye provoke us further, we swear, by the living God, ye shall feel the power of the same God in our sword, which how mighty it is, no subject knoweth; how puissant it is, no private man can judge; how mortal, no Englishman dare think." Edward adds, that if they do not repent and instantly accept his offers of mercy, he will execute his sharp sword against them as against infidels and Turks, and rather," he is made heroically to exclaim, "adventure our own royal person, state, and power, than the same should not be executed." But the rebels, who by this time had been a whole month in arms—for the paper is dated the 8th of July—were neither to be moved by its threats nor its reasonings; "but stood still in their wicked begun rebellion, offering to try it at the weapon's point." The citizens of Exeter, however, persisted in keeping their gates shut against them, although, from the closeness with which they were beleaguered, they were at length reduced to the most distressing extremities. A detailed account of the siege has been given by Holinshed's continuator, John Hooker, otherwise called Vowel (an uncle of the illustrious author of the "Ecclesiastical Polity"), who was a native of Exeter, and then held the office of chamberlain of the city. Though highly interesting, however, it is much too minute to admit even of abridgment in our pages. The rebels were provided with ordnance, which they planted against the several gates of the town; and eventually they burned the gates, and "broke up the pipes and conduits, as well for the taking away of the water coming to the city, as also to have the lead to serve for their shot and pellets." On this the citizens erected ramparts within the openings thus made, which were found much more effective for defence than the wooden gates could have been. The besiegers next attempted to undermine the walls; but in this also they were foiled by the vigilance of the citizens, who, having discovered the trains, made them useless by deluging them with water. One great difficulty that the magistrates had to contend with was the existence of a powerful Popish faction among the inhabitants; indeed, it is admitted by Hooker, that, of the citizens, "the greater number were of the old stamp and of the Romish religion." These having been prevented by the authorities from admitting the rebels, endeavoured, by many private communications and stratagems, to favour their enterprise and counteract the efforts that were made to oppose them. And, what was still more perplexing, a division at one time broke out in the Protestant party, in consequence of a difference of opinion as to the measures to be adopted between two of their leaders, John Courtenay and Barnard Duffield, which rose to great violence. Duffield having been been put by the magistrates in ward, his daughter repaired in flaming indignation to the mayor, and demanded that he should be instantly set at large. "Which thing being denied unto her, she waxed so warm, that not only she used very unseemly terms and speeches unto the mayor, but also, contrary to the modesty and shamefastness required in a woman, specially young and unmarried, ran most violently upon him, and strake him in the face." Hereupon the whole city was thrown into alarm and confusion; the common bell was forthwith rung; it was reported that the mayor was not only beaten but killed; "the whole commons immediately in great troops, and the most part in armour, ran to the Guildhall, where the mayor was;" the canons of the cathedral "forthwith assembled all their men, well armed and appointed;" but at last the mayor was conveyed in safety to his own house, and the storm ceased. The worthy chief magistrate had probably roared out somewhat lustily when the lady struck him; for Hooker tells us, that, "being a merchant, and only exercised in that trade, he had small reach in matters of policy or martial affairs." Want of victuals also at length began to pinch them. Although there was "good store of dry fish, rice, prunes, raisins, and wine, at very reasonable prices," yet bread grew so scarce, that "the bakers and householders were driven to seek up their old store of puffins and bran, wherewith they in times past were wont to make horse-bread and to feed their swine and poultry; and this they moulded up in cloths, for otherwise it would not hold together, and so did bake it up, and the people well contented therewith." The prisoners in the gaol were forced to feed upon horseflesh; but Hooker says that they also were very well contented with that kind of food. All this while Lord Russell had been prevented from taking any measures for the relief of the place by the extraordinary neglect or procrastination of the government, which, full of the conceit of pulling down the rebels by manifestoes or sermons, would neither send him a reinforcement of men nor any other supplies. When he sent Sir Peter Carew to the court, that gallant person, who had acted with great promptitude and decision at the first breaking out of the revolt, and would probably have suppressed it at once if he had received any support from the government, was absurdly charged by Somerset with having been the sole occasion of it, the ready tongue of Rich, the chancellor, echoing his patron's accusation. "But to this Sir Peter answered so stoutly, and charged the duke so deeply, that, in the end, he was willed to return into the country, being promised that sufficient help both of men and money

should be with speed sent down." But as only proclamations were sent before, so nothing was obtained beyond promises now. Russell having long looked for the supplies in vain, "was daily more and more forsaken of such of the common people as at the first served and offered their service unto him. And having but a very small guard about him, he lived in more fear than he was feared; for the rebels daily increased, and his company decreased and shrunk away." At last some money was obtained by certain merchants of Exeter, who happened to be in the camp, pledging their credit to those of Bristol, Lynn, Taunton, and other towns. By this time the rebels were actually on their march to attack the king's troops, which were now stationed at Honiton; but Russell, whose spirits were raised by the supply of money, on hearing of their advance, marched forth to oppose them, and the two armies met at Fennington Bridge, where the rebels, in the end, sustained a complete overthrow. Shortly after, Lord Grey, with a troop of horse, and a band of three hundred Italian infantry under Spinola, at last arrived from the capital; and, thus strengthened, Russell marched upon Exeter, and, after defeating the rebels in another engagement, effected his entrance into the famished city on the 6th of August, and raised the siege, which had now lasted five weeks. Before this success was achieved, however, a deplorable affair happened. Lord Grey, after having forced a passage across the river, espying a multitude assembled on a height at a little distance, by whom he apprehended that he might be attacked, ordered the prisoners he had already taken—of whom the number was very considerable—to be all killed, which was done immediately, every man dispatching those he had in charge. The dispersion of the insurgents was followed by the same conduct on the part of the royal army as if they had put to rout a foreign enemy in his own country; "for the whole country was then put to the spoil, and every soldier sought for his best profit;" "a just plague of the Lord," adds the pious and Protestant chronicler, "upon rebels and disloyal persons." In this work of avenging justice, as it was conceived to be, as well as of rage and plunder, a body of a thousand Welshmen, brought by Sir William Herbert, Master of the Horse (afterwards Earl of Pembroke), "who, though they came too late to the fray, yet soon enough to the play," were particularly active. Gibbets were also set up in various places, on which great numbers of the ringleaders in the rebellion were hanged. Others, and especially Arundel, the chief captain, were carried to London, and there executed. It was reckoned that about four thousand in all perished, by the sword or by the hands of the executioner, of those engaged in this Devonshire insurrection.

"About the same time," continues the chronicler, "that this rebellion began in the West, the like disordered hurles were attempted in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire; but they were speedily suppressed by the Lord Grey of Wilton, who, coming down that way to join with the Lord Privy Seal (Russell), chased the rebels to their houses, of whom two hundred were taken, and a dozen of the ringleaders to him delivered, whereof certain afterwards were executed." Elsewhere, also, both in the southern and eastern parts of the kingdom, similar attempts were made, and many disorders committed; but the only other quarter where the commotion rose to a serious height was in Norfolk. The Norfolk rebellion assumed a character altogether different from that of Devonshire, the complaints and demands of the people running, not at all, or very little, upon religion, but chiefly upon grievances affecting their worldly condition and points of temporal politics. They were first roused in the early part of the summer by the rumours of what had been done by the commons of Kent in throwing down ditches and hedges, and opening enclosures. "Divers seditious persons and busy fellows began to complain that the like had not been done in Norfolk, and ceased not to practise how to raise the people to an open rebellion; meaning not only to lay open parks and enclosures, but to attempt other reformations, as they termed them, to the great danger of overthrowing the whole state of the commonwealth. They chiefly declared a spiteful rancour and hatred conceived against gentlemen, whom they maliciously accused of inordinate covetousness, pride, rapine, extortion, and oppression, practised against their tenants and other; for the which they accounted them worthy of all punishment." The first general rising of the people took place on the 6th of July, at Wymondham, or Windham, about six miles from Norwich, on occasion of a public play, "which play had been accustomed yearly to be kept in that town, continuing for the space of one night and one day at the least." They began, in imitation of the Kentish men, by throwing down the ditches (or dikes) around enclosures; and, while they were thus employed, it is said that "one John Flowerdew of Hetherset, gentleman, finding himself grieved with the casting down of some ditches, came unto some of the rebels, and gave to them forty pence to cast down the fences of an enclosure belonging to Robert Ket, alias Knight, a tanner of Wymondham, which they did."* Thus did individuals turn to the gratification of their private enmities the passions of the excited people. The tanner, however, was more than a match for the gentleman at this sort of work; he without difficulty induced the same mob that had torn down his fences to accompany him the next morning to certain pasture grounds belonging to Flowerdew, which were also surrounded with hedges and ditches. Flowerdew tried to persuade them to withdraw, but he could not rule or extinguish the flame so easily as he had blown it up. "Ket, being a man hardy and forward to any desperate attempt that should be taken in hand, was

* Ket, though a tanner, was wealthy, and the owner of several manors in the county of Norfolk.—See Strype, Eccles. Mem. ii. 281.

straight entered into such estimation with the commons thus assembled together in rebellious wise, that his will was accomplished; and so those hedges and ditches belonging to the pasture grounds of Master Flowerdew were thrown down and made plain. Hereupon was Ket chosen to be their captain and ringleader, who, being resolved to set all on six and seven, willed them to be of good comfort, and to follow him in defence of their common liberty, being ready, in the commonwealth's cause, to hazard both life and goods." By accessions from all parts of Norfolk and Suffolk, the rioters, thus provided with a suitable leader, rapidly increased, till "there were assembled together into Ket's camp to the number of sixteen thousand ungratious unthriffs, who, by the advice of their captains, fortified themselves, and made provision of artillery, powder, and other abiliments, which they fetched out of ships, gentlemen's houses, and other places where any was to be found; and withall spoiled the country of all the cattle, riches, and coin on which they might lay hands. But because many (as in such case is ever seen) did provide for themselves, and hid that which they got, laying it up for their own store, and brought it not forth to further the common cause, Ket and the other governors (for so would they be called) thought to provide a remedy, and by common consent it was decreed that a place should be appointed where judgments might be exercised, as in a judicial hall. Whereupon they found out a great old oak, where the said Ket, and the other governors or deputies, might sit and place themselves to hear and determine such quarrelling matters as came in question; afore whom sometime would assemble a great number of the rebels, and exhibit complaints of such disorders as now and then were practised among them; and there they would take order for the redressing of such wrongs and injuries as were appointed; so that such greedy vagabonds as were ready to spoil more than seemed to stand with the pleasure of the said governors, and further than their commissions would bear, were committed to prison. This oak they named the Tree of Reformation."* It stood on Monshold Hill, near the town of Norwich; and under its branches Ket is said to have established Courts of Chancery, King's Bench, and Common Pleas, in imitation of those in Westminster Hall. But this natural throne of judgment and oratory was not kept sacred for the purposes of the insurgent cause: with a liberality that has been rarely paralleled, these Norfolk reformers allowed even those who were opposed to their courses to harangue them from the tree, into which Master Aldrich, the mayor of Norwich, and others, would oftentimes go up "and make diverse pithy orations to persuade the outrageous multitude to give over their riotous rapines and spoilings." Certain divines also used openly, from the same rostrum, to preach to them, against their rash enterprise, and exhort them to leave it off; not, indeed, without sometimes exciting the murmurs of their audience, and perhaps exposing themselves to some risk of being ill-treated, but without in any case having actually paid that penalty for their boldness. Among these was Dr. Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who, one day coming among them, got up into the tree, and, in a long sermon which he delivered, did not hesitate to expound to them in the frankest terms the madness of their conduct, and the ruin it would bring upon them. Having gone very far in this strain, he at last provoked some threatening intimations from a few of the multitude, and he began to be rather frightened at the stir that seemed to be arising; "and the more, for that he heard a noise and clattering of weapons under him, so that he looked for present death among them. But herein he was deceived; for there was not a man that stood next him, within the compass of the tree, would him any harm." The next day, going to St. Clement's Church, in the city of Norwich, he "took occasion to expound somewhat, out of one of the lessons that was read that day, concerning these wicked hurlyburlies; many of the rebels coming about him, but not interrupting him a whit, hearing the end of his exhortation, although they seemed greatly therewith offended." In the end the doctor got home to Cambridge without injury.

As time passed, and nothing was done to put them down, the congregated multitude of course grew more audacious, and proceeded to worse outrages. From spoiling the gentry of their goods, they proceeded to seize their persons, and to carry them off prisoners to their camp. "To conclude," says the chronicler, "they grew to such unmeasurable disorder, that they would not in many things obey neither their general captain, nor any of their governors, but ran headlong into all kind of mischief; and made such spoil of victuals, which they brought out of the country adjoining unto their camp, that within few days they consumed (beside a great number of beeves) twenty thousand muttons, also swans, geese, hens, capons, ducks, and other fowls, so many as they might lay hands upon. And, furthermore, they spared not to break into parks, and kill what deer they could. Such havock they made of all that came in their way, and such number of sheep specially they brought into their camp, that a good fat wether was sold for a groat. The woods, groves, and trees that were destroyed, I pass over, and make no mention thereof." Meanwhile, the government stood by, and for the space of nearly a month allowed the insurrection to grow and prosper undisturbed. At last, on the 31st of July, a herald came from the council to the rebel camp, "and standing before the Tree of Reformation apparelled in his coat of arms, pronounced there, before all the multitude, with loud voice, a free pardon to all that would depart to their homes, and, laying aside their armour, give over their traitorous begun enterprise." But the only effect of this offer seems to have been to draw off some of the better sort,

* Holinshed.

who had only joined the mob from compulsion or fear, and who now saw some prospect of being protected by the government. Ket himself, and the great mass of his followers, kept their attitude of defiance, or at least of refusal to submit, declaring that they needed no pardon, since they had done nothing but what belonged to the duty of true subjects. They even forced their way into the city of Norwich, and carried off to their camp all the guns, artillery, and ammunition they could find in it. When the herald made another proclamation at the market-place there, repeating the former offer, but threatening death to all who should not immediately accept the king's pardon, they bade him get him thence with a mischief; for they made no account of such manner of mercy. After this, every day swelled the number of Ket's followers. The herald's report convinced Somerset and the council that they would never put down the rebellion by proclamations; and then, at last, it was resolved to send against the Norfolk tanner a force of fifteen hundred horse under the Marquess of Northampton, together with "a small band of Italians (also mounted) under the leading of a captain named Malatesta." The marquess took up his quarters in the town of Norwich, which, in the first instance, he succeeded in clearing of the rebels; but the next day they forced their way back, drove out the king's troops, killing the Lord Sheffield and many other gentlemen, as well as taking many others prisoners; and finished their exploit by plundering and setting fire to the city. Northampton, with the remnant of his beaten force, made all haste to London. It was now seen by the council that the business must be set about in another fashion: an army of about six thousand men was in readiness to serve in the war in the north: and "hereupon that noble chieftain and valiant Earl of Warwick, lately before appointed to have gone against the Scots and Frenchmen into Scotland, was called back and commanded to take upon him the conduction of this army against the Norfolk rebels; for such was the opinion then conceived of that honourable earl, for the high manhood, valiant prowess, and great experience in all warlike enterprises, sufficiently tried and known to rest in him, that either they might be vanquished and overcome by him, or by none other."* Warwick with some difficulty forced his way into Norwich; but the incessant attacks of the rebels, and in part also, as it should appear, his insufficient supplies of ammunition, had made his position almost desperate, when he was relieved by the arrival, on the 26th of August, of a reinforcement of fourteen hundred lancequenets. The next day he marched out, and falling upon the enemy, who had descended from the hill, and were encamped in a valley called Dussingdale, had the fortune to achieve an easy and decisive victory. The rebels, at the first charge of the king's horse, turned round and fled: Ket, their great captain, or king, as he called himself, being, according to the chronicler, one of the foremost, and galloping away as fast as his horse would bear him. The chief slaughter was in the pursuit, which was continued for three or four miles; the several clusters of the unresisting multitude, as they were successively overtaken, were shorn down in heaps. It was reckoned that the number of dead bodies left on the ground exceeded three thousand five hundred, besides many more "that were wounded as they fled here and there each way forth, as seemed best to serve their turn for the most speedy escape out of danger." This bloody day put an end to the rebellion. Ket, abandoning or deserted by all his late followers and subjects, was the next day found concealed in a barn, and forthwith brought to Norwich. The executions were not numerous; nine of the ringleaders were hanged upon the nine branches of the Oak of Reformation; a few others were drawn, hanged, and quartered, and their heads and limbs set up in different parts of the kingdom; and Ket himself and his brother William, after being carried to London and consigned to the Tower, and being there arraigned and found guilty of treason, were sent back to Norfolk, and there hung in chains,—the one on the top of Norwich Castle, the other on Windham steeple; but in regard to the commonalty, Warwick was satisfied with the plentiful slaughter that had already been made of them by the sword.

In the north also, as well as in the east and the west, the same spirit of insurrection broke out among the people at the same time, but their rising was checked before it became general by the apprehension of their leaders, and by the discouraging failure of the similar attempts made in other quarters of the kingdom; for the Yorkshire men were somewhat later in stirring than their countrymen in Devonshire and Norfolk. There is reason to believe that there was some sort of concert among all these movements, or at least that each part of the country anxiously watched the proceedings of the others, as signals for its own guidance; although, perhaps, the discordance in their views, and other circumstances, may have prevented them from actually coalescing into any general confederacy. In Yorkshire the spirit of attachment to the old religion, which animated the people of Devon and Cornwall, seems to have been combined with the same levelling notions that formed the principal incentive to the rebellion in Norfolk and Suffolk. The "traitorous hearts" of these men of the north, according to Holinshed, "grudged at the king's most godly proceedings in advancing and reforming the true honour of God and his religion;" and they were further seduced by "a blind and fantastical prophecy; the tenor of which prophecy and purpose together of the traitors was, that there should no king reign in England, the noblemen and gentlemen to be destroyed, and the realm to be ruled by four governors to be elected

* From a document which Strype has printed, Eccles. Mem. ii. 283, it appears that Somerset himself was, in the first instance, appointed to command the expedition against the rebels.

and appointed by the commons, holding a parliament, in commotion to begin at the south and north seas of England, supposing that this rebellion in the north, and the other of the Devonshire men in the west, meeting, as they intended, at one place, to be the mean how to compass this their traitorous, devilish device." This northern rising also appears to have had in its beginning more of the character of a secret conspiracy than those that took place elsewhere: great pains were taken by the persons at the bottom of the enterprise and their emissaries to prepare the minds of the people for being readily kindled; arrangements had been made, before any commotion arose, for bringing them together by beacons lighted on the high-grounds; and so close was the matter kept, that the first intelligence of what was intended that reached the authorities was from some words dropped by a drunken fellow in an alehouse. The Yorkshire insurgents had assembled in force to the number of above three thousand men, and had committed some murders and other grievous outrages, before they were put down and dispersed.

A revolt of the labouring against the wealthier classes was probably never attempted in any country in circumstances apparently more favourable for its success than those which the present state of England presented. The king was a minor, and the government a singularly weak one; the country was entangled in a foreign war, as well as torn by internal factions; economical difficulties added to the embarrassment of new and imperfectly settled institutions; all things on the side of authority, in short, were unusually exposed and enervated; on the other side there was all the strength, if not of real grievances, of what was the same thing, deep-seated feelings of dissatisfaction and resentment, and, if not of actual combination, at least of simultaneous action, and of a diffusion of the insurrectionary spirit which in respect of the mass of the commonalty might be called national or universal. There was also much sympathy on the part of a large portion of the rest of the nation with one of the principal sustaining elements of the insurrection, the aversion to the innovations in religion; and, indeed, upon this common ground a considerable number of persons of the wealthier or more educated classes, landed proprietors, and Popish priests, met and joined the insurgent labourers, and became their counsellors and leaders. That with all these advantages the attempt should have nevertheless so signally failed—been, not without some trouble, indeed, but yet so speedily and so completely put down—affords an impressive lesson of the hopelessness, in almost any circumstances, of a contest of force waged by the class whose only strength is its numbers against the classes wielding the property, the intelligence, and the established authority of a country.

All this time the war had continued to be carried on in Scotland, though with little activity on either side, and no very important results; for the English government was too much occupied with the disturbed state of affairs at home to be able to strike any great blow; and, on the other hand, a considerable falling off had taken place in the cordiality of the Scots and their French allies, as well as in the interest which the French king had in pushing operations with any extraordinary vigour. Henry had attained his main object for the present by getting the infant queen into his hands; and, at the same time, her departure could hardly fail in some degree to open the eyes of her subjects to considerations to which the impetuosity of their feelings had till now blinded them, and to awaken some reflections not of a kind to put them in very good humour either with their insinuating and dexterous allies or with themselves. Both the nation and the government now began to complain loudly of the insolence of D'Esse and his soldiers; nor did their mutual dislike vent itself merely in words. A short time before the French commander's last unsuccessful attempt upon Haddington, a most serious fray had happened between some of his men and the citizens of Edinburgh, in which the provost, or chief magistrate, and his son, and a considerable number more of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, were killed in the streets by the foreigners. In consequence of this and other occurrences, matters had been brought to such a state that, according to the report of a spy of the English court in Edinburgh, the Scots were now more alienated from the French than from the English.* Towards the end of the year 1548 some English ships arrived in the Forth, and took and fortified the small isle of Inchkeith, but it was gallantly attacked and recovered by the French, after they had held it only sixteen days. The English were also driven out of Jedburgh, the castles of Hume and Fernihurst were retaken, and the French made an inroad across the borders, from which they returned with three hundred prisoners and a great quantity of booty. These successes, however, did not make D'Esse more popular with the Scots. According to Burnet, "the queen-mother and the governor had made great complaints of him at the court of France, that he put the nation to vast charge to little purpose, so that he was more uneasy to his friends than his enemies; and his last disorder at Edinburgh had, on the one hand, so raised the insolence of the French soldiers, and, on the other hand, so alienated and inflamed the people, that unless another were sent to command, who should govern more mildly, there might be great danger of a defection of the whole kingdom, for now the seeds of their distaste of the French government were so sown, that men came generally to condemn their sending the queen away, and to hate the governor for consenting to it, but chiefly to abhor the clergy, who had wrought it for their own ends." In consequence, D'Esse was recalled, and the command of the French forces in Scotland given to Marshal

* Burnet.

Termes.* In the course of the present year (1549) the Scots recovered, by force of arms, both Fastcastle, in the south, and the more important fortress of Broughty Castle, in the north. Haddington was once more plentifully supplied with provisions by the Earl of Rutland, newly appointed one of the wardens of the marches in the room of Lord Grey; but it was, notwithstanding, eventually found necessary to evacuate that town. One account is, that the plague having broken out in the place, destroyed more than half the garrison, upon which the survivors were removed:† Burnet says, the English council grew tired of the charge of keeping it, which was made very heavy in consequence of the country all about it being destroyed, so that no provisions could be had but what were brought from England. The English quitted Haddington on the 1st of October. Before this war against England had been declared by the French king, he had already led an army into the Boulognnois, and with little difficulty made himself master of the forts of Selaques, Ambleteuse, Newcastle, Blackness, and others there. He afterwards sat down before Boulogne; and though the breaking out of the plague in the camp slackened their operations, and the coming on of winter finally induced them to raise the siege, the French succeeded in completely shutting up the English within the town; and as they had in their hands all the neighbouring forts, there could be little doubt that the place would fall as soon as the season should permit it to be reinvested.

For some time past, since the scheme of the Scottish marriage was become impracticable, the Protector had been desirous to make peace both with Scotland and France, and he was now willing to agree to surrender Boulogne to Henry for a sum of money in order to facilitate that arrangement. It is probable that the last-mentioned measure, however really wise and prudent, would not have had the national voice in its favour; at any rate, Somerset, in this instance, yielded to the representations of the council, who unanimously remonstrated against the proposal as fraught with the deepest dishonour, their consciousness of having the popular feeling on their side having apparently emboldened them to assume a more spirited tone than usual. Sir William Paget had accordingly been sent over early in this summer to Germany, with instructions to propose to the emperor that the treaty he had made with the late King of England should be renewed with the present, with some modifications—the most important being, that Boulogne should be taken under the imperial protection, or even, if that was preferred, should be given up to the emperor for a reasonable recompense. But this negotiation, which was really begun only, or mainly, for the fraudulent purpose of gaining time, came, as it deserved, to nothing; it was long before Paget could even obtain a conference with the ministers of the emperor; and when he and they at length met, after the alarming progress of the French king in the Boulognnois, he found them altogether disinclined to entertain the only part of his project—the occupation, or rather the recovery of that territory, —which he was really anxious to press.

The storm was now fast gathering around the head of the Protector which was to throw him to the ground. The series of military losses and unsuccessful operations in Scotland and France raised to a height which enabled it to burst through all restraints a mass of dissatisfaction with his government and his personal bearing which had long been accumulating. His management of public affairs, indeed, in everything except in the advancement of the alterations in religion,—and there nothing had yet been securely settled, and whatever had been done, or attempted, was, to a great part of the nation, the very reverse of acceptable—had been, from the beginning, little else than a continued course of blundering and misfortune. If disaster and disgrace had attended the national arms abroad, at home the kingdom had been involved in all the confusion and misery of civil war. The late insurrections, in their origin, might not have been fairly laid to the account of Somerset's misgovernment, but he had, at least, acquired no credit by any promptitude, decision, or ability he had shown in encountering and putting them down. Even the reputation that was to be gained in the contest of arms with the rebels he had left to be gathered by others—and of all others, with most singular blindness, by the very man by whose military talents he had already scarcely escaped from being outshone on the only occasion he had had of distinguishing himself in that way since he had been placed at the head of affairs. From the moment of the suppression of the rebellion the Protector had almost an avowed rival and competitor for the supreme power in the Earl of Warwick. Warwick's instigator, again, is affirmed by Burnet to have been the ex-chancellor Southampton, who, although brought back, as we have seen, into the council, "had not," says the right reverend historian, "laid down his secret hatred of the Protector, but did all he could to make a party against him. The Earl of Warwick was the fittest man to work on; him, therefore, he gained over to his side, and, having formed a confidence in him, he showed him that *he* had really got all those victories for which the Protector triumphed; he had won the field of Pinkey, near Musselburgh, and had subdued the rebels in Norfolk; and as he had before defeated the French, so, if he were sent over thither, new triumphs would follow him; but it was below him to be second to any; so he engaged him to quarrel in everything with the Protector, all whose wary motions were ascribed to fear or dulness." In other quarters, the wily ex-chancellor, from a memory stored with personal and party injuries, would bring out, to undermine his old enemy, each

* Brantome says that D'Esse requested leave of the king to return home, in consequence of a severe jaundice he had caught in Scotland. —*Vies des Grands Capitaines Francois.*

† Balfour, Annals, i. 296.

dubious or discreditable passage of his career, as suited the occasion, or the temper and position of the parties he addressed. Above all, to the generality, and to those even whose interests attached them to the maintenance of the Protector's authority, he would appeal with the blood-curdling question, what friendship, when his ambition stood in the way, could any expect from a man who had no pity on his own brother? The old nobility had hated Somerset from the first, as an upstart, and as one who laboured to build his greatness on their depression, and on the general subversion of the ancient order of things with which they were identified. But the arrogance with which he had borne himself disgusted many others, as well as those belonging to this class, with whom he had come in contact, and made him bitter and powerful enemies on all hands. The very men who had chiefly aided in making him what he was, finding their services requited only with his endeavours to kick down the props upon which he had risen, had, for the most part, in their hearts, if not openly, fallen off from him; and even in the council there was scarcely a member upon whose attachment he could count except his friends Paget and Cranmer. Nor had his late conduct even advanced him in the regard of the multitude, whose voices he had always shown himself so anxious to secure. Even his darling popularity must have suffered no little diminution by the state to which the affairs of the kingdom had been brought by his administration both at home and abroad. Then his assumption and rapacity were every day becoming more inordinate and glaring, and had now reached a height that shocked the public sense of decency as well as of justice. Burnet admits that "many bishops and cathedrals had resigned many manors to him for obtaining his favour;" "though," he adds, "this was not done without leave obtained from the king." He had got a patent, it seems, authorising him to take possession of such church lands, on pretence of rewarding him for his services in the Scottish war—in which patent, by the by, drawn up of course by his own directions, the vain man had caused himself to be styled "Duke of Somerset *by the grace of God*," as if he had been a sovereign prince. It was also said, Burnet tells us, that many of the chantry lands had been sold to his friends at easy rates, for which it was concluded he had great presents. But the most obtrusive exhibition he made at once of his vanity and of his grasping and unscrupulous practice of appropriation, was in the erection of a new palace for himself in London,—the same that has bequeathed his name to the present Somerset House, in the Strand, which stands on the site that it occupied. Not only did the rise of this vast and splendid pile expose its owner to the reflection, "that when the king was engaged in such wars, and when London was much disordered by the plague, that had been in it for some months, he was then bringing architects from Italy, and designing such a palace as had not been seen in England;"* men's indignation was excited by many arbitrary exertions of power, in violation both of public and of private rights, to which he did not hesitate to resort in rearing this superb monument of his greatness. Besides compelling three bishops to surrender to him their episcopal mansions, he had removed altogether a parish church which stood in the way of his plans, and had not only pulled down many other religious buildings in the neighbourhood for the sake of their materials, but had, with barbarous recklessness, defaced and broken to pieces the ancient monuments they contained, and even irreverently removed and scattered the bones of the dead.† It was impossible that such proceedings should not expose the Protector's Protestantism to the imputation of being at least as profitable as it was conscientious.

During all the month of September (1549) there were, according to Burnet, great heats in the council; the enemies of the Protector now no longer shrunk from speaking out, and avowing their determination to strip him of his exorbitant power. By the beginning of October the quarrel had arisen almost to a contest of arms. "The council," says the graphic account given by the king in his Journal, "about nineteen of them, were gathered in London, thinking to meet with the Lord Protector, and to make him amend some of his disorders. He, fearing his state, caused the secretary, in my name to be sent (from Hampton Court, where Edward then was, along with Somerset, Cranmer, and Paget), to the Lords (of the council in London) to know for what cause they gathered their powers together, and if they meant to talk with him, that they should come in a peaceable manner. The next morning, being the 6th of October, and Saturday, he commanded the armour to be brought down out of the armoury of Hampton Court, about five hundred harnesses, to arm both his and my men, with all the gates of the house to be rampired, people to be raised:—people came abundantly to the house." While the Protector was making these preparations at Hampton Court, Warwick and the other lords of the council were assembled at Ely Place, in London, from which they dispatched orders for the attendance of the lieutenant of the Tower, and of the lord mayor and aldermen, all of whom appeared and consented to submit to their orders. They also wrote to the nobility and gentry in the different parts of the kingdom, informing them of their designs and motives.

* Burnet

† The excuse offered by the Protector's zealous defender, Strype, for this last proceeding, is ludicrously desperate:—"It must," says Strype, "be reckoned among his failures, and a thing whereby he procured enemies to himself, the havock he made of sacred edifices, and whatsoever was contained in them . . . . Yet this notice of former superstitions was gained by this barbarity, used by him and others under the reigns of King Henry and King Edward, *that among a great number of rotten carcases were found caskets full of pardons, safely folded and lapped together in the bottom of their graves;* which Dr. Haddon himself had observed, when they digged dead men out of their graves, and carried away their bones, occasioned by pulling down many churches and convents, as he wrote in his answer to Osorius."

"That night," continues the king, "with all the people, at nine or ten of the clock of the night, I went to Windsor, and there was watch and ward kept every night." In point of fact, Edward was carried to Windsor by his uncle, with an escort of five hundred men, both Cranmer and Paget accompanying them. The Journal goes on: "The Lords sate in open places of London, calling for gentlemen before them, and declaring the causes of accusation of the Lord Protector, and caused the same to be proclaimed. After which time few came to Windsor, but only mine own men of the guard, whom the Lords willed, fearing the rage of the people so lately quieted. Then began the Protector to treat by letters, sending Sir Philip Hobbey, lately come from his ambassage in Flanders, to see to his family, who brought in his return a letter to the Protector, very gentle, which he delivered to him, another to me, another to my house (the officers of the household), to declare his faults, ambition, vainglory, entering into rash wars in my youth, negligent looking on New-haven, enriching of himself of my treasure, following of his own opinion, and doing all by his own authority," &c. Somerset's first impulse was to set his enemies at defiance; besides surrounding himself with an armed force, as here related, and securing the king's person, before leaving Hampton Court he wrote to his friend Lord Russell, who was still in the west country, calling upon him to hasten to the defence of the king's majesty in his castle of Windsor, in such force and power as he might.* But this bold resolution speedily evaporated; the next day he wrote to the council at London, informing them, that, provided they intended no hurt to the king's majesty's person, touching all other private matters they would find him disposed to agree to any reasonable conditions they might require. The council must have seen from this humble—almost suppliant—communication that the late dictator lay at their feet. They took no notice of his proposal for an accommodation, but, proceeding to the lord mayor's house, there drew up and forthwith published a proclamation, in which, after enumerating their several grounds of dissatisfaction with the "malicious and evil government" of the Lord Protector,—the late sedition of which he had been the occasion,—the losses in France,—his ambition and seeking of his own glory, "as appeared by his building of most sumptuous and costly buildings, and specially in the time of the king's wars, and the king's soldiers unpaid,"—his having held in no esteem "the grave counsel of the counsellors,"—his having sown sedition between the nobles, the gentlemen and the commons,—and his having slandered the council to the king, and done what in him lay to cause variance between the king and his nobles,—they declared him to be "a great traitor," and therefore "desired the city and commons to aid them to take him from the king."

* See the letter, with the Lord Russell's somewhat ambiguous, but on the whole discouraging, answer, in Fox and Holinshed.

The next day, the 8th, they went to the Guildhall, where the common-council being assembled, and having listened to a narrative of all that had been done, "declared they thanked God for the good intentions they had expressed, and assured them they would stand by them with their lives and goods."* Meanwhile, Somerset, quailing under the prospect that was becoming darker every hour, had made another effort to save himself by a private appeal to his great rival Warwick, whom he reminded of the friendship of their early days, and of the favours he had since conferred upon him; but Warwick was not the man to be drawn off from his object by such sentimentalities. Nor did he gain anything by another proposal which he made to the council, to have the quarrel between them decided upon by four arbitrators, two to be chosen by each party; it was treated with the same disregard as his former overtures. At length, therefore, finding all negotiation hopeless, he consented that a warrant should be sent to London, under the king's hand, inviting the council to come to Windsor. On the 12th of October, accordingly, the whole of the Lords, now twenty-two in number, repaired thither: on the 13th they assembled in council, and examined Secretary Smith and others of Somerset's adherents or servants, who, as well as himself, had been previously placed under arrest; on the 14th the Protector was called before them, when the treasons and misdemeanors with which he was charged were formally exhibited to him drawn up in no fewer than twenty-eight articles; and on the same day his royal nephew was conveyed back to Hampton Court, and he himself was sent to the Tower under the conduct of the Earls of Sussex and Huntingdon. In the afternoon, "he was brought on horseback through Holborn, in at Newgate, and so to the Tower of London, accompanied with divers lords and gentlemen with three hundred horse; the lord mayor, Sir Ralph Warren, Sir John Gresham, Master Recorder, Sir William Locke, and both the sheriffs, and other knights, sitting on their horses against Soper Lane, with all the officers with halberds, and, from Holborn Bridge to the Tower, certain aldermen or their deputies on horseback in every street, with a number of householders standing with bills, as he passed."†

This revolution at once placed the government in the hands of Warwick, with almost the same substantial power that had been wielded by the overthrown Protector. For a moment Southampton hoped to share the supreme authority with the new lord of the ascendant, whose rise he had so materially assisted—perhaps to continue to direct him as his protegé, or instrument; and the Popish party eagerly expected that a large share in the management of affairs would fall into the hands of one whose attachment to that interest was secured both by the pertinacity of his temper and by the

* Burnet, from Minutes of the Council.
† Holinshed.—Stow.

whole course of his life, which had so conspicuously identified him with its maintenance and championship. But the man of intrigue proved no match in the circumstances in which they were now placed for the man of the sword; Southampton was not even restored to his former office of chancellor; he and Warwick soon became wholly alienated from each other; it is even asserted that Warwick detected him in plotting against him. At length he was removed from the council in the beginning of the following year, and soon after died, either of mere vexation and disappointment, or, as it was reported, having terminated his existence by poison. Warwick, too, was held to be inclined in his heart to the old religion; but he had no principles upon this or any other subject that he would allow for a moment to stand in the way of the interests of his ambition, and he very soon not only wholly forsook the Popish party, but took up a profession of zeal for further ecclesiastical changes that outran the views of most Protestants. His motive was probably that assigned by Burnet—his "finding the king so zealously addicted to the carrying on of the Reformation, that nothing could recommend any one so much to him, as the promoting it further would do." He also, no doubt, perceived that, with the interests of so many powerful persons engaged in support of the existing order of things, the attempt to overturn it would, independently of the wishes of the king, be one of no small difficulty and danger.

The parliament re-assembled on the 4th of November; and, before the end of the year, acts were passed for the prevention of unlawful assemblies; against prophecies concerning the king or his council, by which it was affirmed the people were disposed to sedition; and for repealing the late law on the subject of vagabonds, which had been found too severe to be carried into effect. It was not till the 2nd of January, 1550, that the case of the Duke of Somerset was brought forward, by a bill of pains and penalties being read for the first time against him in the House of Lords, the allegations in which, being the same twenty-eight articles on which he was consigned to the Tower, were supported by a confession, signed with his own hand, which he had made on his knees before the king and the council on the preceding 13th of December. He had submitted to this humiliation, it seems, on an assurance being given to him that he should be gently dealt with if he would submit himself to the king's mercy. The bill, which inflicted deprivation of all his offices, and forfeiture of all his personal property, and of 2000*l.* a-year of his revenue from his lands, passed both houses without opposition. He remonstrated against the heavy amount of the fine; but, on receiving a harsh reply from the council, he shrunk back immediately to an attitude of the humblest submission, and expressed his thankfulness to them and the king that they had been content with merely fining him, when they might have justly taken his life. This conduct, Burnet tells us, was much censured by many as a sign of an abject spirit: "others," says the right reverend writer, naïvely enough, "thought it was wisely done in him, once to get out of prison on any terms." On the 6th of February he was released from the Tower; and on the 16th of the same month he received a pardon. "After that," says Burnet, "he carried himself so humbly, that his behaviour, with the king's great kindness to him, did so far prevail, that on the 10th of April after he was restored into favour, and sworn of the privy council. And so this storm went over him much more gently than was expected; but his carriage in it was thought to have so little of the hero, that he was not much considered after this."

Immediately after the rising of parliament in the beginning of February, the appointments of great master of the household and lord high-admiral were conferred upon Warwick; and the lords Russell and St. John were created earls of Bedford and Wiltshire, and advanced to the offices, the first of lord privy seal, the second of lord treasurer. In the end of March, after some weeks of negotiation, a peace was concluded both with France and Scotland; the principal condition of which was the surrender to France of Boulogne,—that measure which, when proposed by the late lord-protector, the same members of the council who now assented to it had exclaimed against as the consummation of national disgrace. All that was stipulated to be received in return for this concession by England was a payment of two hundred thousand crowns at the time of the delivery of the town, and of as much more in five months after, under the name of a compensation for the cost of keeping up the fortifications while it had been in the possession of this country. The late French king, it will be remembered, had, in 1546, agreed to give Henry VIII. two millions of crowns for the surrender of Boulogne at the expiration of eight years. The pension which Francis had bound himself to pay to Henry and his successors, with its arrears, was also now given up. In truth, however, the discredit of this treaty, though it was concluded by the present, belongs to the former government; for peace upon almost any terms had been rendered absolutely necessary by the losses already incurred, and the exhausted state to which the finances of the kingdom were reduced.

The remainder of this and the early part of the following year were principally occupied with the affairs of religion and of the church, which may here be very lightly touched upon. Although no Catholic was burned in this reign, the horrid immolation of men and of women, for their opinions in religion, was not altogether laid aside. The 2nd of May this year witnessed the execution at Smithfield, by the customary mode of death allotted for heretics, of a female named Joan Bocher,* or Joan of Kent, which is on some accounts especially memorable. Joan, who appears to have been a person of some education, and of a respectable

* Strype gives her name Joan Bocher, or Knel.

marks that the warrant was signed by the Earl of Southampton as well as by all the other members of the privy council, so that that lord "was now, in outward appearance, reconciled to the Protector." The ex-chancellor, however, as we shall find, was not thus induced to forget his ejection from office two years before. As for Seymour, he had now no chance of escape. Abandoned by every friend on earth, he lay passive and helpless in his prison-house, while, "many complaints," as Burnet observes, "being usually brought against a sinking man," all who sought to make their own positions more secure, or to advance themselves in court favour, hastened to add their contribution to the charges or the evidence by which he was to be destroyed. Attempts were made to persuade him to submit himself, by working both upon his fears and his hopes; but he would confess no part of the treasonable designs imputed to him. There is, indeed, no proof or probability whatever that his views extended to anything beyond the supplanting of Somerset; it was a struggle for ascendancy between the two brothers, and nothing more. The proceedings taken against the accused were, from the beginning to the end, a flagrant violation of all law and justice. After he had been several times secretly examined, without anything material being extracted from him, by deputations of the privy council, on the 23rd of February the whole council proceeded in a body to the Tower, with the charges against him drawn out in thirty-three articles, to endeavour to bring him to submission. But to all their threats and persuasions he insisted, as he had all along done, upon an open trial, and being brought face to face with his accusers. At last he so far yielded to their importunities as to say that, if they would leave the articles with him, he would consider of them; but even with this proposal they refused to comply. The next day, "after dinner," the lord chancellor, in the presence of the other councillors, "opened the matter to the king, and delivered his opinion for leaving it to the parliament." It is pretended that this was the first time the subject had been mentioned—at least at the council-board—to Edward; and, therefore, the greater admiration was called forth by the prompt judgment of the youthful sovereign, and the equanimity with which he consented to sacrifice his uncle to the public weal. After each of the other councillors had expressed his approbation of the course recommended by the chancellor, and, last of all, the Protector, who protested "this was a most sorrowful business to him, but, were it son or brother, he must prefer his majesty's safety to them, for he weighed his allegiance more than his blood," his majesty answered, "We perceive that there are great things objected and laid to my Lord Admiral, my uncle, and they tend to treason; and we perceive that you require but justice to be done; we think it reasonable, and we will that you proceed according to your request." "Which words," as it is expressed in the entry in the council-book quoted by Burnet, "coming so suddenly from his grace's mouth, of his own motion, as the lords might well perceive, they were marvellously rejoiced, and gave the king most hearty praise and thanks." The very next day, a bill of attainder against the Lord Admiral was brought into the House of Lords; all the judges and the king's counsel gave it as their opinion that the articles amounted to treason; various lords, who had already made depositions against the accused, repeated their evidence; and the bill was at last passed without a division. Somerset himself was present at each reading. On the same day (the 27th) it was sent down to the Commons. But here it encountered at first considerable opposition. "Many argued against attainders in absence, and thought it an odd way, that some peers should rise up in their places in their own house, and relate somewhat to the slander of another, and that he should be thereupon attainted; therefore it was pressed that it might be done by a trial, and that the Admiral should be brought to the bar, and be heard plead for himself."* This hesitation was at first attempted to be met by a message from the other House, repeating, what had been intimated when the bill was first sent down, that the lords who were acquainted with the facts would, if required, repeat their evidence before the Commons. But it was not deemed requisite even to go through this formality. On the 4th of March a message came from the king, which stated that "he thought it was not necessary to send for the Admiral;" and thereupon the bill was agreed to, in a House of about four hundred members, not more than ten or twelve voting in the negative.† The parliament having been prorogued on the 14th—on which day the royal assent was given to the bill—on the 17th the council issued the warrant for the Admiral's execution. Burnet notices it as "a little odd" that this order of blood should be signed by Cranmer—a thing which he says was contrary to the canon law; but he makes no remark upon what will appear to most persons a still stranger indecorum, and a violation almost of the law of nature—that the first name attached to it should be that of the condemned man's own brother!‡ The Bishop of Ely was immediately sent to convey to Seymour the determination of the government, and "to instruct and teach him the best he could to the quiet and patient suffering of justice." The bishop reported to the council that the prisoner "required Mr. Latimer to come to him; the day of execution to be deferred; certain of his servants to be with him; his daughter to be with my Lady Duchess of Suffolk to be brought up; and such like.§ To these requests the council in-

* Burnet.

† Strype, in his notes to Hayward, pp. 301 302, has given a full account of these proceedings from the Journals of the two Houses, to prove "how fairly he (the Admiral) was judged and dealt with in the parliament!"

‡ See it as published by Burnet himself in his Collection of Records.

§ Entry in Council book, printed by Strype, Eccles. Mem. ii. 207.

should be attired in the prescribed vestments at his ordination, and when he preached before the king, or in his cathedral, or in any public place, but should be excused from wearing them upon other occasions. On these conditions he was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester in the beginning of March. In December following, after the deprivation of Heath, his diocese was united with that of Worcester; but in 1552 another new arrangement was made, and he became Bishop of Worcester alone, on the bishopric of Gloucester being suppressed, and converted into an exempted archdeaconry.

Another affair that for some time considerably embarrassed the government, was the contumacy of the Lady Mary, the king's eldest sister, and the heiress presumptive to the crown. Soon after the commencement of the present reign this princess had written to Somerset, expressing her opinion that all further changes in religion, till her brother should be of age, were contrary to the respect he and his colleagues in the government owed to the memory of the late king, and could only have the effect of endangering the public peace. In reply, the Protector addressed a long and earnest exhortation to her, in which he intimated that he believed her letter had not proceeded from herself, but that it had been written "by the setting on and procurement of some uncharitable and malicious persons," and implored her not, as she appeared to do, to "esteem true religion and the knowledge of the Scriptures to be new-fangledness and fantasy," but for the Lord's sake to turn the leaf, and look upon the matter with another judgment.* After the passing of the statute for uniformity of worship, Mary was informed by the council (in June, 1549) that her chaplains could no longer be suffered to perform mass even in her private chapel; but after some controversy, on the interposition of her uncle the emperor, whose assistance the government was at this time soliciting in the affair of Boulogne, it was agreed that the new law should not be enforced in her case, at least for the present. The agitation of the subject, however, was renewed after the conclusion of the peace with France in the following year. All the applications of the emperor's ambassadors, in favour of his niece, were for many months met by the government with a peremptory refusal. It was then rumoured that she designed to quit the kingdom, on which, in August, 1550, a fleet was sent to sea to prevent her escape. In December following two of her chaplains were indicted. At last, in March, 1551, she appeared personally before the council, when her royal brother himself brought all his stores of theological learning and powers of reasoning to bear upon her obstinacy; but still her resolution remained unshaken. The next day (19th March) the imperial ambassador delivered a message from his master, that if the requested indulgence should not be granted to the princess, the emperor would immediately declare war. This intimation staggered the council, and at the moment no answer was returned. But, on the following day (the 20th), Cranmer, along with Ridley and Poynet, having come to the king, and, as he tells us in his Journal, declared it to be their opinion that, though to give licence to sin was sin, yet to suffer and wink at it for a time was excusable, Edward was persuaded to give way: "yet not so easily," says Burnet, "but that he burst forth in tears, lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and that he must suffer her to continue in so abominable a way of worship as he esteemed the mass." The temporary toleration of the iniquity, however, was only submitted to with the object of gaining time for better preparation against the emperor's threats. The attempts to induce the princess to conform were soon renewed. In August following the chief officers of her household were commanded to prevent the use of the Romish service in her family, and on their refusal to comply were committed to the Tower. After that the lord-chancellor and others of the chief members of the council were sent to hold a conference with her on the subject at her residence of Copthall, in Essex; but she continued, as before, immoveable. There was some force and dexterity, it must be confessed, as well as firmness, or obstinacy, in the way in which she parried the arguments and solicitations of the lords. "When the king came to be of age," she said, "so that he could order these things himself, she would obey his commands in religion; for although he, *good sweet king* (these were her words), had more knowledge than any of his years, yet he was not a fit judge in these matters; for if ships were to be set to sea, or any matter of policy to be determined, they would not think him fit for it, much less could he be able to resolve points of divinity. As for her chaplains, if they would say no mass, she could hear none; and for her servants, she knew they all desired to hear mass; her chaplains might do what they would, it was but a while's imprisonment; but for the new service, it should never be said in her house; and if any were forced to say it, she would stay no longer in the house." How the matter ended is not distinctly recorded. "It is certain," says Burnet, "the Lady Mary would never admit of the new service; and so, I believe, she continued to keep her priests and have mass, but so secretly that there was no ground for any public complaint."

Since his liberation in February, 1550, the late Lord Protector, though stripped of wealth as well as of power, had been restored to as much of court favour as his nephew could venture to show him under the rule of the new dictator, and had not refused to shroud the memory of his former greatness in the insignificance of a lord of the bedchamber. Warwick probably calculated that in thus reducing him to contempt he had effected his political extinction not less completely than if he had taken his life; and he appears also to have hoped that, after having thus kicked the duke down, he might even be able to make out of one

* Burnet, Records.

so nearly related to the crown a useful prop of his own rising fortunes. An apparently complete reconcilement accordingly took place between the two; and on the 3rd of June the Lord Lisle, the Earl of Warwick's eldest son, was married at Richmond, in the presence of the king, to the Lady Ann, one of the daughters of the Duke of Somerset.* It was impossible, however, that the fallen Lord Protector, and the man who had supplanted him, could ever cease to be rivals and enemies at heart so long as either lived. It appears that before the expiration of this same year Somerset had begun to take secret measures for recovering his former office. Under the date of the 16th of February, 1551, the king's Journal states that a person named Whaley "was examined for persuading divers nobles of the realm to make the Duke of Somerset protector at the next parliament, and stood to the denial, the Earl of Rutland affirming it manifestly." On this investigation being instituted, Somerset's friend, Lord Grey, hastily took his departure for the north, probably with the design of making a stand there, and the duke himself was making ready to follow him, when he was stopped by being assured that no injury was intended to him, and the matter was allowed to drop. In a month or two after, however, Warwick was made uneasy by the report of the duke being engaged in new intrigues. Burnet admits that Somerset "seemed to have designed, in April this year, to have got the king again in his power, and dealt with the Lord Strange, that was much in his (the king's) favour, to persuade him to marry his daughter Jane, and that he would advertise him of all that passed about the king." But the gathering storm was again dispersed for the present by the formality of a fresh reconcilement between the two parties. The king records, under the date of the 24th of this month, that "the lords sate at London, and banqueted one another this day, and three days after, for to show agreement amongst them, whereas discord was bruited, and somewhat to look to the punishment of talebearers, and apprehending of evil persons." In May following the Marquess of Northampton was sent as ambassador to Paris to demand for Edward the hand of Henry's daughter Elizabeth: this proposal was immediately assented to by the French king: after some negotiation it was settled that the portion of the princess should be two hundred thousand crowns (which was only about a tenth part of what the English commissioners had asked in the first instance), and that she should be sent over, "at her father's charge, three months before she was twelve, sufficiently jewelled and stuffed."† In July the Marshal St. André brought Edward the order of St. Michael, in return for that of the Garter, which had been sent to King Henry; and avoiding London, on account of the sweating-sickness, which was then raging, came to Hampton Court on the morning of the 14th, where he was met by the Duke of Somerset "at the Wall-end," and by him conveyed to the royal presence. A succession of entertainments was given by Edward to the Marshal during the remainder of the month; and it is noted that on the 30th, after having taken his leave, "he came to the Earl of Warwick's (in London), lay there one night, and was well received."*

In the following September Warwick procured for himself the important post of Warden of the Scottish Marches, which enabled him to take effective measures for cutting off Somerset's retreat to the north in case matters should again come to such a pass between them as to drive his adversary into open revolt; and in the beginning of October he got himself created Duke of Northumberland, his friends and dependents the Marquess of Dorset, the Earl of Wiltshire, and Sir William Herbert, being at the same time made respectively Duke of Suffolk, Marquess of Winchester, and Earl of Pembroke. Five days after the announcement of these new honours, namely, on Friday the 16th of October, the capital was startled with the sudden intelligence of the arrest of the Duke of Somerset, on a charge of conspiracy and high treason, and his committal to the Tower. He was seized in the afternoon while on his way to the court at Westminster; Lord Grey and others of his friends were apprehended the same day; and the day after, the duchess, some of her female attendants, and a number of other persons, were all made prisoners. It now appeared, or at least so it was given out, that on the 7th—four days before the late elevation of Warwick and his friends—Sir Thomas Palmer had come to the earl, and, in a conference held in his garden, had informed him that in April last, when he was prevented by Sir William Herbert's assurances from going to the north, the Duke of Somerset had actually designed to raise the people there, and had with that view sent the Lord Grey before him to know who were his friends; that afterwards he had formed the project of inviting Warwick, Northampton, and

* On this occasion "a fair dinner" was made, which was followed by dancing, and that by foot-races between various noblemen and gentlemen. On the next day, the 4th, Warwick's third son, Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards the famous Earl of Leicester, was married to the daughter of Sir John Robsart; "after which marriage," says the entry in the king's Journal, "there were certain gentlemen that did strive who should first take away a goose's head which was hanged alive on two cross-posts."

† King's Journal.

* The "sweating-sickness" had now left the capital, having only lasted from the 8th till the 19th, in which time it carried off 872 persons. (See Strype, Mem. Eccles. iii. 50.) According to Holinshed, this pestilence began about the middle of April at Shrewsbury, and from thence continued to spread over the country till it terminated in the north about the end of September. Strype, however, says that by the end of August the most part of England was clear of any dangerous or infectious sickness. It reached London on the 9th of July, "and the 12th of July it was most vehement; which was so terrible that people being in best health were suddenly taken and dead in four and twenty hours, and twelve or less, for lack of skill in guiding them in their sweat. And it is to be noted that this mortality fell chiefly, or rather upon men, and those also of the best age, as between thirty and forty years." The chronicler adds a strange fact, if true:—"This disease at that time followed Englishmen and none other nation; for in Antwerp, and other countries, our Englishmen being there amongst diverse other nations, only our Englishmen were sick thereof, and none other persons; the consideration of which thing made this nation much afraid thereof, who for the time began to repent and give alms, and to remember God, from whom that plague might well seem to be sent among us. But as the disease in time ceased, so our devotion in short time decayed." The court had retired to Hampton Court on the disease finding its way into the palace at Westminster, where it carried off one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber, and afterwards one of the king's grooms.

marks that the warrant was signed by the Earl of Southampton as well as by all the other members of the privy council, so that that lord "was now, in outward appearance, reconciled to the Protector." The ex-chancellor, however, as we shall find, was not thus induced to forget his ejection from office two years before. As for Seymour, he had now no chance of escape. Abandoned by every friend on earth, he lay passive and helpless in his prison-house, while, "many complaints," as Burnet observes, "being usually brought against a sinking man," all who sought to make their own positions more secure, or to advance themselves in court favour, hastened to add their contribution to the charges or the evidence by which he was to be destroyed. Attempts were made to persuade him to submit himself, by working both upon his fears and his hopes; but he would confess no part of the treasonable designs imputed to him. 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The next day, "after dinner," the lord chancellor, in the presence of the other councillors, "opened the matter to the king, and delivered his opinion for leaving it to the parliament." It is pretended that this was the first time the subject had been mentioned—at least at the council-board—to Edward; and, therefore, the greater admiration was called forth by the prompt judgment of the youthful sovereign, and the equanimity with which he consented to sacrifice his uncle to the public weal. After each of the other councillors had expressed his approbation of the course recommended by the chancellor, and, last of all, the Protector, who protested "this was a most sorrowful business to him, but, were it son or brother, he must prefer his majesty's safety to them, for he weighed his allegiance more than his blood," his majesty answered, "We perceive that there are great things objected and laid to my Lord Admiral, my uncle, and they tend to treason; and we perceive that you require but justice to be done; we think it reasonable, and we will that you proceed according to your request." "Which words," as it is expressed in the entry in the council-book quoted by Burnet, "coming so suddenly from his grace's mouth, of his own motion, as the lords might well perceive, they were marvellously rejoiced, and gave the king most hearty praise and thanks." The very next day, a bill of attainder against the Lord Admiral was brought into the House of Lords; all the judges and the king's counsel gave it as their opinion that the articles amounted to treason; various lords, who had already made depositions against the accused, repeated their evidence; and the bill was at last passed without a division. Somerset himself was present at each reading. On the same day (the 27th) it was sent down to the Commons. But here it encountered at first considerable opposition. "Many argued against attainders in absence, and thought it an odd way, that some peers should rise up in their places in their own house, and relate somewhat to the slander of another, and that he should be thereupon attainted; therefore it was pressed that it might be done by a trial, and that the Admiral should be brought to the bar, and be heard plead for himself."* This hesitation was at first attempted to be met by a message from the other House, repeating, what had been intimated when the bill was first sent down, that the lords who were acquainted with the facts would, if required, repeat their evidence before the Commons. But it was not deemed requisite even to go through this formality. On the 4th of March a message came from the king, which stated that "he thought it was not necessary to send for the Admiral;" and thereupon the bill was agreed to, in a House of about four hundred members, not more than ten or twelve voting in the negative.† The parliament having been prorogued on the 14th—on which day the royal assent was given to the bill—on the 17th the council issued the warrant for the Admiral's execution. Burnet notices it as "a little odd" that this order of blood should be signed by Cranmer—a thing which he says was contrary to the canon law; but he makes no remark upon what will appear to most persons a still stranger indecorum, and a violation almost of the law of nature—that the first name attached to it should be that of the condemned man's own brother!‡ The Bishop of Ely was immediately sent to convey to Seymour the determination of the government, and "to instruct and teach him the best he could to the quiet and patient suffering of justice." The bishop reported to the council that the prisoner "required Mr. Latimer to come to him; the day of execution to be deferred; certain of his servants to be with him; his daughter to be with my Lady Duchess of Suffolk to be brought up; and such like.§ To these requests the council in-

* Burnet.

† Strype, in his notes to Hayward, pp. 301 302, has given a full account of these proceedings from the Journals of the two Houses to prove "how fairly he (the Admiral) was judged and dealt with in the parliament!"

‡ See it as published by Burnet himself in his Collection of Records.

§ Entry in Council book, printed by Strype, Eccles. Mem. ii. 207.

would have voted the conspiracy to imprison or take away the life of their master Northumberland to be treason; but that nobleman himself had the grace to decline this compliment, and so Somerset was only found guilty of felony. On this verdict being pronounced he thanked the lords for the open trial that had been allowed him, "and cried mercy of the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke, for his ill-meaning against them, and made suit for his life, wife, children, servants, and debts."* As soon as he was pronounced guiltless of treason the axe was withdrawn, and he was carried back to the Tower unaccompanied by that ghastly emblem. When this was perceived, "the people, knowing not the matter, shouted half a dozen of times so loud, that from the hall-door it was heard at Charing Cross plainly, and rumours went that he was quit of all."† Holinshed says that he landed from the river "at the crane of the Vine-tree, and so passed through London, where were both exclamations; the one cried, for joy, that he was acquitted,—the other cried out that he was condemned." His nephew appears to have been perfectly convinced of his guilt, and in that feeling to have dutifully given himself no farther concern about him. Grafton, indeed, says that "he seemed to take the trouble of his uncle somewhat heavily;" but his public demeanour, at least, gave no signs of anything of the kind. While his uncle lay condemned to death he was enjoying the merry festivities and pastimes of Christmas with, to all appearance, not less relish than usual. The court having repaired to Greenwich, where open house was kept, there was, by order of the council, "a wise gentleman and learned," named George Ferrers, appointed for this year to be Lord of Misrule, "whose office," says the chronicler, "is not unknown to such as have been brought up in noblemen's houses and among great housekeepers, which use liberal feasting in that season." This ingenious gentleman "so well supplied his office, both in show of sundry sights and devices of rare invention, and in acts of diverse interludes, and matters of pastime played by persons, as not only satisfied the common sort, but also were very well liked and allowed by the council, and other of skill in the like pastimes; *but best of all by the young king himself*, as appeared by his princely liberality in rewarding that service." They did not even keep the sound of their revelry out of the hearing of Somerset in his dungeon. Stow relates how, "on Monday, the 4th of January, the said lord of merry disports came by water to London, *and landed at the Tower wharf, entered the Tower*, and then rode through Tower-street," and thereafter "was conducted through the city with a great company of young lords and gentlemen," and finally *departed to the Tower wharf again*, and so to the court by water, to the great commendation of the mayor and aldermen, and highly accepted of the king and council."

* King's Journal. † Ibid.

Other shows and sports of the season are recorded with great unction by the king himself in his Journal. Thus, on the 6th, after a tournay in the morning, we have at night, first, a play, in which, "after a talk between one that was called Riches, and the other Youth, whether of them was better," and "some pretty reasoning," six champions on each side "fought two to two at barriers in the hall;" and "then came in two apparelled like Almains, the Earl of Ormond and Jaques Granado, and two came in like friars, but the Almains would not suffer them to pass till they had fought: the friars were Mr. Drury and Thomas Cobham. After this followed two masques—one of men, another of women. Then a banquet of one hundred and twenty dishes." In the hurry of all this masking and feasting Edward had neither time nor inclination to think of his uncle, or to heed his endeavours to move him to mercy. So, as the chronicler puts it, "this Christmas being thus passed and spent with much mirth and pastime, it was thought now good to proceed to the execution of the judgment given against the Duke of Somerset." The execution took place on Friday, the 22nd, under which date his nephew has coolly noted that "the Duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower-hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning." The dawn of that day saw all London astir. "The same morning, early, the constables of every ward in London (according to a precept directed from the council to the mayor) strictly charged every household of the same city not to depart any of them out of their houses before ten of the clock of that day; meaning thereby to restrain the great number of people that otherwise were like to have been at the said execution. Notwithstanding, by seven of the clock, the Tower-hill was covered with a great multitude, repairing from all parts of the city as well as out of the suburbs." The duke met his death with great composure. Having knelt down, and said a few short prayers, he rose again, and, turning towards the east side of the scaffold, addressed the people, declaring that he had never offended against the king either by word or deed; and that so far from repenting of his doings while he was in authority, especially in regard to religion, he rejoiced therein, seeing that now the order of things settled in the kingdom came most near to the form and order of the primitive church. While he was speaking a great noise was suddenly heard, which to many seemed like that of a number of horsemen, though they saw nothing; and then Sir Anthony Brown being observed riding forward to the scaffold, the cry arose that a pardon was come, and many, tossing their caps in the air cried out, "A pardon! a pardon! God save the king!" But they were soon informed by the duke himself that their hopes were unfounded. After calmly continuing his address for some time longer, he concluded by requesting that they would be quiet and still, "lest," he said, "through your tumult you might trouble me; for albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and waver-

ing; and through your quietness I shall be much more the quieter." In the end, after another prayer, "he stood up again upon his feet, without any trouble of mind (as it appeared), and first bade the sheriffs farewell, then the Lieutenant of the Tower, and others, taking them all by the hands which were upon the scaffold with him. Then he gave the hangman certain money; which done, he put off his gown, and, kneeling down again in the straw, untied his shirt-strings. After that, the hangman coming unto him, turned down his collar round about his neck, and all things which did let or hinder him." The only change that was observed in his countenance, as he laid his head down on the block, was, that there began to appear a red colour in the midst of his cheeks before his eyes were covered. He had to rise again to put off his doublet, which covered his neck; after which, as he was repeating the name of Jesus for the third time, the axe fell, and instantly deprived him of life.* Many persons, to preserve a memorial of him, dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood.

Whatever may be thought of many of Somerset's actions, and of his general character, his guilt in respect of the charges for which he suffered death must be held to be extremely doubtful, and it is not doubtful at all that he was condemned without a fair trial, and that he was really sacrificed to the ambition of a worse man than himself. "It was generally believed," says Burnet, "that all this pretended conspiracy, upon which he was condemned, was only a forgery. For both Palmer and Crane, the chief witnesses, were soon after discharged; and the Duke of Northumberland continued after that in so close a friendship with Palmer, that it was generally believed he had been corrupted to betray him. . . . It was generally thought that all was an artifice of Palmer's, who had put the Duke of Somerset in fears of his life, and so got him to gather men about him for his own preservation; and that he afterwards, being taken with him, seemed through fear to acknowledge all that which he had before contrived." Of the persons apprehended as the accomplices of the duke, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Michael Stanhope, and Sir Thomas Arundel, were also tried, convicted, and executed together on the 26th of February. They all, with their last breath, protested their innocence of any design either against the king, or against the lives of any of the council. Vane said, that as often as Northumberland laid his head on his pillow he would find it wet with their blood.

Parliament reassembled on the 23rd of January, 1552, the day after the execution of Somerset, and the session lasted till the 15th of April. Acts were passed for enforcing throughout the realm the use of the Book of Common Prayer, as amended the preceding year by a committee of bishops and divines, and already sanctioned by the convocation; for amending the law of treason, in which the important principle was introduced, that no person should be attainted under the act unless upon the evidence of two witnesses given in the presence of the accused; for maintaining the observance of the fast-days and holidays marked in the calendar; for the relief of the poor, in which the churchwardens were empowered to collect contributions for that purpose, and the bishop was directed to proceed against such parishioners as refused to contribute; for legalising the marriages of priests and legitimatising their children; besides a few others relating chiefly to subjects of trade and manufactures. Some of the questions that arose occasioned a good deal of debate, and the divisions that took place in the Commons showed that the existing government could scarcely count upon the attachment or support of a majority of the members in that house. The bill for the alteration of the law of treason, in particular, as originally brought in and passed by the Lords, was long debated in the lower house, where, in the course of the discussion, "many sharp things," Burnet tells us, "were said of those who now bore the sway;" and the bill that actually became law was altogether a different measure. Indeed, the clause which provided that the witnesses should be confronted with the prisoner was evidently pointed directly at the course that had just been pursued by Northumberland and his associates in the case of the Duke of Somerset. The effect produced upon the public feeling by the trial and execution of that nobleman should seem to have communicated itself, in a certain degree, to the representatives of the people; and it is probable that on the whole Northumberland rather shook than confirmed his power by the manner in which he rid himself of his unfortunate rival. A bill was sent down to the Commons this session, *signed by the king*, for repealing an act of the preceding reign that had entailed Somerset's estates upon his son; and notwithstanding the unusual intimation of the king's wishes, it was with the utmost difficulty that it was forced through the house. A proviso that was attempted to be added for confirming the attainder of the duke and his accomplices was rejected. But the most determined opposition Northumberland met with was in regard to a bill which he caused to be introduced for the deprivation of Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, whom he had previously thrown into the Tower on a charge of having been privy to a design of exciting an insurrection in the north in concert with the late Duke of Somerset. The Commons, when this bill was sent down to them, proceeding upon the analogy of the new law of treason, required that the accuser of the bishop should be confronted with him in their presence before his guilt should be assumed; and when this was refused, they declined to proceed with the bill. Finding them thus impracticable, Northumberland, before they had yet sate for three months, or even granted the usual supplies, not only terminated the session, but dissolved the parliament, which had now been in existence for nearly five years. This done, "it was resolved," says Bur-

* Fox, from the account of a nobleman, who was present.

net, "to spend the summer in making friends all over England, and to have a new parliament in the opening of the next year."

On the 18th of January, 1553, accordingly, the usual warrant was sent to the lord chancellor, directing him to summon a parliament for the 1st of March following; and then the most direct means were taken to procure a House of Commons composed, to as great an extent as possible, of the friends of the government. Letters were sent in the king's name to all the sheriffs, directing them to see that the members sent both from the counties and the towns should be men of gravity, knowledge, and experience; "and yet, nevertheless," it was emphatically added, "our pleasure is, that where our privy council, or any of them, within their jurisdictions, in our behalf, shall recommend men of learning and wisdom; in such case their directions be regarded and followed, as tending to the same which we desire, that is, to have this assembly to be of the most chiefest men in our realm for advice and good counsel."* In several cases particular persons holding offices at the court or in the government were expressly recommended to the sheriffs in letters from the king.† When the parliament met the first bill that was brought forward was one for granting supplies. Notwithstanding the preponderance of the government party in the house, it was not passed in the Commons without long and eager debate, principally occasioned, it is supposed, by the preamble, which attributed all the king's financial difficulties to the administration of the Duke of Somerset, who, it was alleged, had involved the king in wars, wasted his treasure, engaged him in much debt, debased the coin, and been the cause of a most terrible rebellion. The only other act of the session requiring to be here noticed was one suppressing the bishopric of Durham, and creating in its stead two new dioceses, one comprehending the county of Durham, the other that of Northumberland. This was a measure in which Northumberland had a strong personal interest. Since the failure of his attempt in the last session of parliament to effect the deprivation of Bishop Tunstall by a bill of pains and penalties, he had accomplished that object by bringing the bishop before a new court erected for the special purpose of trying the case—as open and daring an act of arbitrary power as if he had deprived him without any trial at all. The object of the deprivation of the bishop and the suppression of the see was soon made manifest. Parliament was prorogued on the last day of March, and in the course of the following month the suppressed bishopric was erected into a county palatine, which was united to the crown for the present, but was no doubt intended to be ultimately devolved, with all its regal privileges, on the Duke of Northumberland.

Meanwhile, however, a new prospect opened upon the duke's ambition. For some time past the health of the young king had been in a very infirm state, and of late it had been visibly and rapidly declining. In the spring of the last year he had been attacked first by the measles and then by the small-pox, and it is probable that, with a constitution naturally delicate, which he is supposed to have derived from his mother, he never altogether shook off the effects of that protracted illness. In the beginning of the present year he was seized with a violent cough, which no medicines would relieve; it was no doubt the consequence of disease formed in the lungs, but the suspicious credulity of the times attributed it to some slow poison that had been given to him. He was so ill when the parliament met in the beginning of March, that he could not go down to Westminster, and the two houses were assembled the first day at Whitehall. In the beginning of May he seemed rather better; but this show of amendment soon disappeared—and by the following month it became evident that he could not live many weeks. Throughout his illness, Northumberland had sedulously laboured to win his affection and confidence by a constant attendance and every manifestation of solicitude:—he had at the same time not neglected some other necessary preparations for the project he had in hand. In the beginning of May were celebrated with great magnificence at the duke's new residence of Durham House in the Strand, the marriages of his fourth son, the Lord Guildford Dudley to the Lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter of the Duke of Suffolk—of his daughter the Lady Catherine Dudley, to the Lord Hastings, eldest son of the Earl of Huntingdon,—and of the Lady Catherine Grey, the Duke of Suffolk's second daughter, to the Lord Herbert, the son of the Earl of Pembroke. Two of these alliances might seem to be intended merely to aid generally in extending or strengthening his family connexions and binding together the fabric of his power; but the third had a higher aim. Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, the mother of the Lady Jane Grey, whose hand was received by his son, was the eldest of the two daughters and only surviving children of the Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VII., who had first been married to Louis XII. of France, and then to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by whom she had her two daughters. After Edward, in the succession to the throne, there stood between Lady Jane, or her mother, by this descent, only the two princesses Mary and Elizabeth, both of whom had been bastardized by acts of parliament still unrepealed, and the descendants of Mary Tudor's elder sister Margaret, who married James IV. of Scotland, but who had not been recognised as having any claim in the will of her brother Henry VIII., and whose representative, the present infant queen of Scots, certainly would have little chance of successfully asserting any rights she might be supposed to have to the English throne. Northumberland therefore proposed to bring the crown into his own family by securing it for the head of his new daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane.

Having without difficulty induced the Duchess

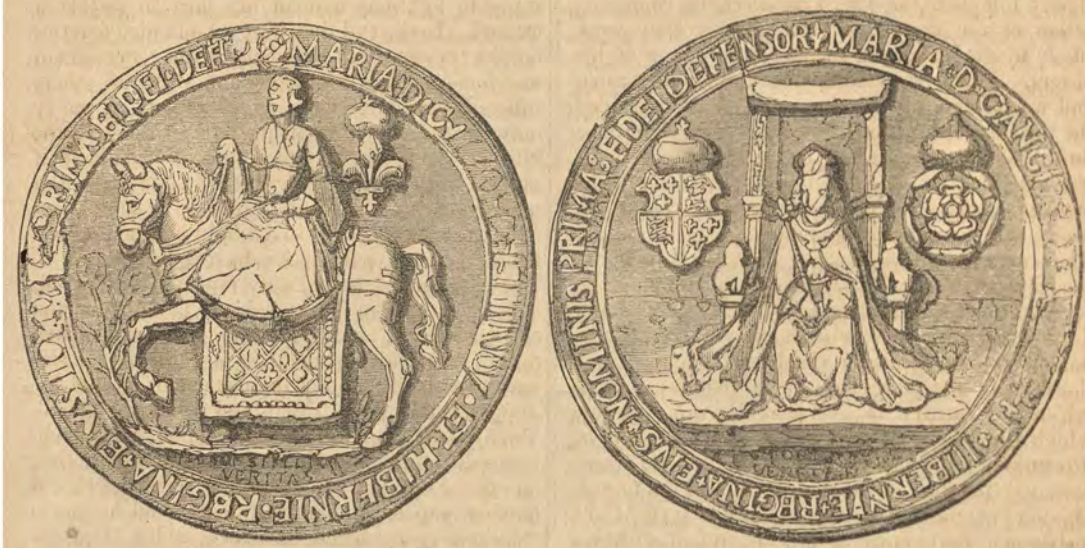
* Strype, iii. 237. † Ibid.

of Suffolk to transfer her right to her eldest daughter, he proceeded to unfold his plan to the king. Before the conscientious and anxious mind of the dying boy, over whom he had acquired an extraordinary influence, he placed an alarming representation of the dangers and calamities that were likely to arise from the succession of either of his sisters. Mary, the elder, was a bigoted papist, and would certainly the moment that she ascended the throne, proceed to undo all that had been done during her brother's reign, in the settlement of the true religion; yet she could not be set aside without urging a plea,—that of her illegitimacy—which would at the same time equally exclude Elizabeth. The only safe course therefore was to pass by both; —and in that case Edward's cousin, the amiable, accomplished, and thoroughly protestant Lady Jane Grey, was obviously the person fittest to be named as his successor. Edward acquiesced in the force of these arguments; and assuming himself to be entitled to exercise the same powers which had been exercised by his father Henry, he determined upon having a new entail of the crown executed to the effect the duke had proposed. Having sketched with his own pen a draft of the instrument, and signed a fair copy of it with his name above and below and on each margin, he sent, on the 11th of June, for Sir Edward Montague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Thomas Bromley, one of the puisne justices of the same court, Sir Richard Baker, Chancellor of the Augmentations, and Gosnold and Gryffyn, the Attorney and Solicitor-General, to attend the council at Greenwich. When they came to him the next day, he received them in the presence of several of the councillors, shortly stated to them what he had made up his mind upon doing, and the reasons that had weighed with him, and desired them to draw up the instrument in the proper legal form. They objected that the act of parliament which settled the succession could not be taken away in the manner proposed; but the king persisted in the command he had given. On the 14th they returned and intimated that, upon looking into the statutes, they had found that to draw such an instrument as was proposed, would subject them to the pains of treason. Upon learning this, Northumberland came rushing into the room in the greatest fury, called Montague a traitor, and threatened him and the rest, "so that they thought he would have beaten them." * He said he was ready to fight any man in his shirt, in so just a quarrel. In the end they were commanded to retire for the present; but the next day they were again sent for—and first Montague and then the others suffered themselves to be partly persuaded, partly brow-beaten, into consenting to draw the will, the king declaring that it was his intention to have it ratified in the parliament which was summoned to meet in September, and agreeing to give them under the great seal both a commission to perform the act, and a pardon for having performed it. The instrument accordingly was duly prepared, and, having been engrossed on parchment and carried to the Chancery, had the great seal affixed to it. After this, on the 21st, it received the signatures of all the lords of the council, of most of the Judges, and of the Attorney and Solicitor-General. Twenty-four members of the council, with Archbishop Cranmer at their head, had also before this, on the command of Northumberland, signed another paper pledging their oaths and honour to "observe every article contained in his Majesty's own devise respecting the succession, subscribed with his Majesty's hand in six several places, and delivered to certain judges and other learned men that it might be written in full order;" to defend it to the uttermost; and if any man should ever attempt to alter it, to repute him an enemy to the kingdom, and to punish him as he deserved.

Edward survived the completion of this transaction only a few days. It is said that when his physicians declared they had no hope of his recovery, he was intrusted to the care of a woman who came and offered to undertake his cure if he were put into her hands. Under the woman's treatment, however, he grew worse every day, and the physicians were soon recalled; but he still continued to sink; and on the evening of the 6th of July, while engaged in prayer, he breathed his last, having lived fifteen years, eight months, and twenty-two days, and entered upon the sixth month of the seventh year of his reign.

* Burnet.

MARY.



GREAT SEAL OF QUEEN MARY.

QUEEN MARY.

From a Painting by Holbein

A.D. 1553.—The talent and decision of the Earl of Northumberland were far from being equal to his ambition. Although that event must have been expected for months, the death of Edward seems to have taken him by surprise, or at least in a very unprepared state. In order to gain a little time, he determined to conceal the king's death,—a common enough practice in despotic governments, and one which, as we have seen, had also been adopted on the demise of Henry VIII. He had even neglected the important measure of getting possession of the persons of the two princesses. The Lady Mary, it appears, had been summoned to attend her half-brother Edward on his death-bed; but having long been acquainted with Northumberland's secret practices, she showed no anxiety for this journey to London, where her enemies were in their full strength. The summons was now repeated as if Edward, though in extremity, were still alive; and Mary at last moved reluctantly from Hunsdon in Hertfordshire. But the Earl of Arundel* dispatched messengers to inform her that her brother was dead, and that Northumberland, who was plotting to place the Lady Jane Grey on the throne, only wanted to make her a prisoner. On receiving this intelligence, Mary, who had advanced within half a day's journey of the capital, changed her route, and went to Framlingham Castle in Suffolk, seated near the sea, whence, if fortune frowned, she might easily embark and flee to the Flemish dominions of her relative the Emperor Charles. The Lady Elizabeth was in Hertfordshire: she had been summoned to court in the like manner as her half-sister Mary, and was also warned of the real state of affairs by some personal friend, who is generally supposed to have been Sir William Cecil. She therefore remained where she was.†

Northumberland, having two days together consulted with his friends and dependants as to the best way of managing this great affair,—the king's death being still kept secret,—commanded the attendance, at Greenwich (where the dead body was lying), of the Lord Mayor of London, six aldermen, and twelve other citizens "of chiefest account." On the 8th of July the mayor, the aldermen, and the citizens, who were half of them merchants of the staple, and half merchant adventurers, went down to Greenwich, where Northumberland and some of the council secretly declared to them the death of the king, as also how, by his last will, and by his letters patent, he had appointed and ordained that the Lady Jane should be his successor in the throne and sovereignty. The deputation, being shown the royal will, swore allegiance to Lady Jane, and were bound under a great penalty not to divulge these "secret passages" until they should receive orders from the council. Two days after this, on the 10th of July, about three o'clock in the afternoon, Lady Jane Grey was conveyed by water to the Tower of London, and there publicly received as queen; for Northumberland was by this time informed not only of the flight of Mary, but of her being so well aware of all that was passing that she was summoning the nobility to her standard. In the course of the evening after Lady Jane's safe arrival at the Tower, the death of King Edward was publicly divulged for the first time, and Jane was proclaimed queen in the city, with somewhat less than the usual formality. The people of London were cold and silent, many of them whispering the name of Queen Mary, and very few of them entering into the spirit of this revolution in the order of succession.* The amiable victim of the ambition of others had never entertained any sanguine hopes, and had resisted the project to the utmost. "So far was she from any desire of this advancement, she began to act her part of royalty with many tears, thus plainly showing to those who had access to her that she was forced by her relations and friends to this high but dangerous post."† She was in the bloom of her youth, graceful and pretty if not beautiful,—most amiable and unaffected,—quiet, modest, attached to her young husband and her domestic duty,—fond of retirement and of elegant literature, and so accomplished that she read Plato in the original Greek.‡

In the mean while Mary's friends had exerted themselves in Suffolk, in Norfolk, and in Cambridgeshire, where the people detested Northumberland on account of his severity in suppressing the recent rebellion in those parts. There was indeed a very strong party among them that inclined to the Reformation; but when Mary solemnly pledged herself to make no change in the religion or laws of Edward, even these men embraced her cause—the cause of legitimacy—with zeal and affection. It was a struggle between the love of hereditary right and the attachment to the new order of things in the church, and the former feeling prevailed. The council and a great number of the nobility had gone to the Tower with Lady Jane, where Northumberland, in a manner, kept them prisoners; but other men of high rank who were in the provinces had hastened to join Mary as soon as they learned where she was. Forces, raised to serve the Lady Jane or Northumberland, went over in a mass; and even a small fleet which was sent down the coast to intercept her in case

* According to another account, the timely warning was first given by Mary's goldsmith, dispatched from London by Nicholas Throckmorton, who, though a Protestant, had a great veneration for legitimacy. In many breasts the latter feeling was strong enough to overcome the religious objection. A little later, as we shall see, Throckmorton had a narrow escape from the block.

† Stow.—Holinshed.—Godwin.—Strype.—Aikin, Memoirs of the Court of Elizabeth.

* "At her going through the city toward the Tower, the concourse of people was great, their acclamations few, as if the strangeness of some new spectacle had drawn them together rather than any intent of gratulation."—Godwin. "The 11th of July, Gilbert Pot, drawer to Ninion Saunders, vintner, dwelling at St. John's Head within Ludgate, who was accused by the said Saunders, his master, was set on the Pillory in Cheap, with both his ears nailed and clean cut off, for words speaking at the time of the proclamation of Lady Jane, at which execution was a trumpet blown, and a herald in his coat-of-arms read his offence in presence of William Garrard, one of the sheriffs of London."—Stow. This act of severity was exceedingly injudicious, as the success of the whole plan depended in a great measure on the good disposition of the people.

† Godwin.

‡ Roger Ascham.

she should attempt to quit England, declared against the usurpation, and hoisted her flag. On the 12th of July Mary sent an order to Norwich for her proclamation in that important city. The municipal authorities hesitated, being *not yet* certain of the king's death; but the next day they not only proclaimed her but also sent her men and ammunition. She had already written to the members of the council to claim the throne, which she said belonged to her by right of birth, by the decision of parliament, and by the will of her father. The council, who were at the mercy of Northumberland, replied that her claims were opposed by the invalidity of her mother's marriage, by custom, by the last will of King Edward, and by the general voice of the people! They had scarcely dispatched this answer from the Tower when they learned that Mary had moved to Kenning-hall in Norfolk, and had been there joined by the Earls of Bath and Sussex, Sir Thomas Wharton, son to the Lord Wharton, Sir John Mordaunt, Sir William Drury, Sir John Shelton, Sir Henry Bedingfield, and many other gentlemen of rank and influence. Northumberland now found himself in a dilemma: he dreaded the cabals of the counsellors and courtiers if he left them behind, and he knew not whom to trust with the command of the army if he did not go himself with it. At last he thought of placing the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's father, at the head of the forces, which were to fall upon Mary before she should gain more strength, and, if possible, get possession of her person and bring her to the Tower. But Suffolk had no great military reputation, and Northumberland was more than half afraid of trusting him alone, while the council, for their own safety, were bent upon making the chief plotter go himself. Their manœuvre was facilitated by the filial tenderness of Lady Jane, who, "taking the matter heavily," with sighs and tears requested that her dear father might tarry at home in her company. "Whereupon the council persuaded with the Duke of Northumberland to take that voyage upon himself, saying, that no man was so fit therefore, because that he had achieved the victory in Norfolk once already, and was so feared there that none durst lift up their weapons against him; besides that he was the best man of war in the realm, as well for the ordering of his camps and soldiers, both in battle and in their tents, as also by experience, knowledge, and wisdom he could animate his army with witty persuasions, and also pacify and allay his enemies' pride with his stout courage, or else dissuade them, if need were, from their enterprise. Finally, said they, this is the short and long, the queen will in nowise grant that her father shall take it upon him." "Well," quoth the duke, "since ye think it good, I and mine will go, not doubting of your fidelity to the queen's majesty, which I leave in your custody."* On the morrow, early in the morning, the duke called for his own harness, and saw it made ready at Durham Place, where he appointed all his retinue to meet. In the course of the day carts were laden with ammunition, and artillery and field-pieces were sent forward. When all was ready, Northumberland made a tender appeal to the feelings of the council who were to be left behind, telling them that he and the noble personages about to march with him would freely adventure their bodies and lives in the good cause, and reminding them that they left their children and families at home committed to their truth and fidelity. He also reminded them of their recent oaths of allegiance to the queen's highness, the virtuous Lady Jane, "who," said he, "by *your* and *our* enticement, is rather of force placed on the throne than by her own seeking and request;" and in the end he bade them consider that the cause of God, the promotion of the gospel, and the fear of the papists, the original grounds upon which they had given their good will and consent to the proclaiming of Queen Jane, bound them to the cause for which he was preparing to fight.* Though nearly every man present had made up his mind to declare for Queen Mary as soon as his back should be turned, they all promised and vowed to support the good cause, and Northumberland departed. But as he marched with his small army of six thousand men through the city his spirits were damped by the manner and countenance of the people, who ran to gaze at his passage, and he could not help bidding his officers observe that of that great multitude not so much as one man had wished them success, or bade them "God speed." On the Sunday after his departure Ridley, Bishop of London, whose whole soul was in the revolution as the only likely means to prevent the return of papistry, preached at Paul's Cross most eloquently, showing the people the right and title of the Lady Jane, and inveighing earnestly not only against the Lady Mary but also against the Lady Elizabeth, of whose religion, it is quite clear, that doubts were entertained. The Londoners listened in silence. On that same Sunday, the 16th of July, the Lord Treasurer stole out of the Tower to his house in the city, evidently to make arrangements for the council going over in a body to Mary. He returned in the night, and two days after Cecil, Cranmer, and the rest of the counsellors persuaded the imbecile Duke of Suffolk that it was very necessary to levy fresh forces and to place them in better hands,—that is, in their own; and that, to be of full use in support of his daughter Queen Jane, *they*, her trusty and loyal council, must be permitted to leave the Tower, and hold their sittings at Baynard's Castle, then the residence of the Earl of Pembroke. The council were no sooner arrived at that house than they declared, with one voice, for Queen Mary, and instantly dispatched the Earl of Arundel, Sir William Paget, and Sir William Cecil, to notify their submission and ex-

* Stow.

* Stow.

ceeding great loyalty. In the course of the same day the council summoned the lord mayor and the aldermen to Baynard's Castle, and told them that they must ride with them "into Cheap" to proclaim a new queen; and forthwith they all rode together to that street, where Master Garter, king-at-arms, in his rich coat, stood with a trumpet, and the trumpet being sounded, they proclaimed the Lady Mary, daughter to King Henry VIII. and Queen Catherine, to be Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Church! "And to add more majesty to their act by some devout solemnity, they went in procession to Paul's, singing that admirable hymn of those holy fathers St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, commonly known by its first words "*Te Deum.*" The people seemed to triumph greatly in this triumph of hereditary right; and all were joyful except a few who were zealously attached to the new religion, and well acquainted with the fierce intolerance of Mary. The council then detached some companies to besiege the Tower; but the timid Duke of Suffolk opened the gates to them as soon as they appeared, and entering his daughter's chamber, told her that she must be content to be unqueened and return to her private station. It is said that the Lady Jane expressed joy rather than sorrow, and hoped that her willing relinquishment of the honours that had been forced upon her, and her ingenuous conduct, would palliate the error she had committed. While she returned to prayer in an inner room, her father posted off to Baynard's Castle, where he joined the rest of the council, and subscribed the decrees they were issuing in the name of Queen Mary! In the mean time the Duke of Northumberland, who had marched as far as Bury, perceiving that the succours promised him did not come to hand, and receiving letters of discomfort from some of the council, had fallen back upon Cambridge, where, it should seem, he learnt the defection of the fleet, and of the land troops that had been raised in the counties. He reached Cambridge on the 18th of July, the day before the proclamation of Mary in London; and on the 20th of July, the day after that event, of which it appears he was well informed, he, with such of the nobility as were in his company, went to the market-cross of the town of Cambridge, and, calling for a herald, proclaimed Queen Mary, and was himself the first man there to throw up his cap and cry, "God save her!" He had scarcely played this part, in the hope of saving his neck, when he received at the hands of Richard Rose, herald, a sharp letter from the council in London, commanding him to disband his army and return to his allegiance to the blessed Queen Mary, under penalty of being accepted and treated as a traitor. This letter was signed, among others, by Lady Jane's father, the Duke of Suffolk, by Cranmer, and by Cecil. The order, as to the army, was scarcely needed, for most of the men had disbanded of their own accord, and almost all the lords and officers who had hitherto followed him had passed over to Mary, and made their peace by accusing Northumberland as being the sole author and cause of their taking up arms against their lawful queen. On the following day, while the duke was still loitering at Cambridge, not knowing whether to flee for his life or to trust to Mary's mercy, and the encouraging circumstance that some of the council, *in reality*, and all, *in appearance*, had shared in his treason, he was arrested by the Earl of Arundel, who hated him to death, though a little before he had professed a wish to spend his heart's blood in his service. The duke, who was utterly devoid of greatness of mind, fell on his knees before the earl, and abjectly begged for life; but Arundel, who rejoiced in his ruin and abasement, carried him off to London and lodged him in the Tower, even as Queen Mary had commanded. The Lady Jane, having, "as on a stage, for ten days only personated a queen," was already in safe custody within those dismal walls; and the Earl of Warwick, Lord Ambrose and Lord Henry Dudley, the three sons of the Duke of Northumberland, Sir A. Dudley, the duke's brother, the Marquess of Northampton, the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir John Gates, his brother Sir Henry Gates, and Dr. Edwin Sandys, Vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge, who had impugned Queen Mary's rights from the pulpit, were very soon lodged in the same fortress; and two days after these committals Sir Roger Cholmley, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir Edmund Montague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the Duke of Suffolk, and Sir John Cheke, were added to the list of state prisoners: but on the 31st of July the Duke of Suffolk was discharged out of the Tower by the Earl of Arundel, *and soon after obtained the queen's pardon.* On the 30th day of this same busy month the Lady Elizabeth rode from her palace in the Strand (where she had arrived the night before) through the city of London, and then out by Aldgate, to meet her sister Mary, accompanied by a thousand horse, of knights, ladies, gentlemen, and their servants. At this difficult crisis the conduct of Elizabeth, which is supposed to have been prescribed by Sir William Cecil—afterwards her own great minister Lord Burghley—was exceeding politic, and at the same time bold. When waited upon in Hertfordshire by messengers from the Duke of Northumberland, who apprised her of the accession of the Lady Jane, and proposed that she, Elizabeth, should resign her own title in consideration of certain lands and pensions, she replied that her elder sister Mary was first to be agreed with, and that, during her lifetime, she could claim no right to the throne. She determined to make common cause with her sister against those who were bent on excluding them both; she called around her a number of friends to prevent her seizure; she waited the course of events; and, at the right moment, hurried to the capital, whence, as we have seen, she set out, well

attended, to welcome Mary and give strength to her party.*

The queen travelled by slow journeys from Norfolk to Wanstead, in Essex, where she arrived on the 1st of August, and was congratulated on her happy success by Elizabeth. The greater part of her army, which had never exceeded thirteen thousand men, and which had never drawn a sword, was disbanded; and on the 3rd of August, attended by a vast concourse of the nobility, Mary made her triumphant entrance through London to the Tower, where the old Duke of Norfolk, Edward Courtenay, son to the Marquess of Exeter, beheaded in the year 1538, Gardiner, late Bishop of Winchester, and Anne, Duchess of Somerset, presented themselves on their knees—Bishop Gardiner, in the name of them all, delivering a congratulatory oration, and blessing the Lord, on their own account, for her happy accession. It was, indeed, a time of triumph for all of the Catholic party! The queen courteously raised them, kissed each of them, saying, "These are all my own prisoners," and gave orders for their immediate discharge from the Tower. A day or two after, Bonner, late Bishop of London, and Tunstall, the old Bishop of Durham, were released from the harsh imprisonment to which they had been committed by the Protestant party, and immediate measures were adopted for restoring them and several of their friends—all zealous Papists—to their respective sees.† On the day of their liberation, eightpence was given to every poor householder in London; nor did the queen altogether neglect other modes of purchasing popularity. Six days after her solemn entrance, Mary had the obsequies of her half-brother King Edward solemnised at the Tower; the dirge was sung in Latin, and a mass of requiem was performed in the presence of the queen and her ladies. But, on the same day, when the body of Edward was removed to Westminster Abbey, and buried there, the public service was performed in a strictly Protestant manner by Dr. Day, Bishop of Chichester, who prayed and preached in the English tongue, and administered the sacrament according to the manner and form established in the last reign; for, as yet, nothing had been settled by government concerning any change in point of religion. But neither the court nor the people could long conceal the violence of their feeling on this head. Bourn, a canon of St. Paul's, who was soon afterwards made Bishop of Bath and Wells, was sent down to preach at St. Paul's Cross. He inveighed against the alterations introduced in King Edward's time, and loudly exclaimed against the injustice of those who four years before had condemned Bishop Bonner to perpetual imprisonment for preaching the true doctrine from that same pulpit; and then he exulted in the recent liberation of that great and good prelate. The people, who had been accustomed to very different discourses, could hardly keep from stoning him, and one of them aimed a poniard and missed him very narrowly. The uproar increasing, and divers pressing towards the pulpit, Bourn, protected by two Protestant preachers (Bradford and Rogers, who were greatly reverenced by the people, and afterwards burnt for their religion), was, with great difficulty, conveyed to St. Paul's school.*

On the 18th of August, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, his eldest son, John Earl of Warwick, and William Parr, Marquess of Northampton, were arraigned at Westminster Hall, where Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, High Steward of England, the recently liberated captive—the survivor of his accomplished son, the Earl of Surrey—presided at the trial. The Duke of Northumberland pleaded that he had done nothing but by the authority of the council, and by warrant of the same under the great seal of England; and he asked whether any such persons as were equally culpable with him, and those by whose letters and commandments he had been directed in all his doings, might be his judges, or sit upon his trial as jurors? The latter query did him no good: the members of the council averred that *they* had acted under peril,—that *they* had been coerced by the duke,—and Suffolk, (the father of Lady Jane!) Cranmer, Cecil, and the rest continued to sit in judgment, and with very little loss of time proceeded to pass sentence. The duke hesitated at no meanness to avert his doom; but self-prostration was of no avail. When sentence was passed he craved the favour of such a death as was usually allowed to noblemen: he besought the court to be merciful to his sons, on account of their youth and inexperience; and then, as a last hope of gaining the queen's pardon by apostasy, he requested that he might be permitted to confer with some learned divine for the settling of his conscience, and that her majesty would be graciously pleased to send unto him four of her council, to whom he might discover certain things that nearly concerned the safety of her realm. His son, the Earl of Warwick, showed a higher spirit, hearing his sentence with great firmness, and craving no other favour than that his debts might be paid out of his property confiscated to the crown. The Marquess of Northampton pleaded that, from the beginning of these tumults, he had discharged no public office, and that, being all that time intent on hunting and other sports, he had not partaken in the conspiracy; but the court held it to be manifest that he was a party with the duke, and passed sentence on him likewise. On the next day Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were condemned as traitors in the same court.† The day next following being a Sunday, another orthodox Catholic priest was sent to preach at St. Paul's Cross by the queen's appointment, "and for fear of the like tumult, as had been the Sun-

* Heylin.—Holinshed.—Speed.—Godwin.—Aikin, Memoirs of Eliz.

† Stow.—Godwin.—Bonner had been a prisoner in the Marshalsea, Tunstall in the King's Bench.

* Godwin. This writer adds, "The affections of the assembly may by this be conceived—that, during the reign of Queen Mary, the author of this bold attempt at stabbing, notwithstanding the diligence of earnest inquisitors, could never be discovered."

Heylin.—Holinshed.—Stow.—Strype.

day last past, certain lords of the council repaired to the sermon, as the lord treasurer, the lord privy seal, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Wentworth, the Lord Rich, and Sir Henry Jerningham, captain of the guard, with two hundred of the guard, which stood about the preacher with halberds; and also the mayor had warned the companies of the city to be present in their liveries, which was well accepted of the queen's council, and the sermon was quietly ended."* On Tuesday the 22nd of August, Sir John Gage, lieutenant of the Tower, delivered to the sheriffs of London the Duke of Northumberland, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, who were brought forth to Tower Hill for execution. When the duke met Sir John Gates he told him that he forgave him with all his heart, although *he and the council* were the great cause of his present condition. Gates replied that he forgave the duke as he would be forgiven, although *he and his high authority* were the original causes of the whole calamity. From the scaffold Northumberland addressed the people in a long and contrite speech, in which he told them that they should all most heartily pray that it might please God to grant her majesty Queen Mary a long reign. After he had spoken to the people, he knelt down, saying to those that were about him, "I beseech you all to bear me witness that I die in the true Catholic faith;" and then he repeated the psalms of *Miserere* and *De Profundis*, his *Pater Noster*, and six of the first verses of the psalm *In te, Domine, speravi*, ending with, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." Then bowing towards the block, he said that he had deserved a thousand deaths, and laying his head over it, his neck was instantly severed.† They took up his body, with the head, and buried it in the Tower by the body of his victim, the late Duke of Somerset, so that there lay before the high altar in St. Peter's Chapel two headless dukes between two headless queens,—the Duke of Somerset and the Duke of Northumberland between Queen Anne Boleyn and Queen Catherine Howard, all four beheaded and interred in the Tower.‡ The head of Sir John Gates fell immediately after that of Northumberland. Gates also made a long penitential speech on the scaffold, telling the people that he had lived as viciously and wickedly all the days of his life as any man. "I was," he continued, "the greatest reader of Scripture that might be of a man of my degree; and a worse follower thereof not living; for I did not read to the intent to be edified thereby, nor to seek the glory of God, but arrogantly to be seditious, and to dispute thereof, and privately to interpret it after my own brain and affection." He exhorted the people to be careful how they read the Scriptures, which were better left alone than read in a wrong spirit, and then, refusing the handkerchief, laid down his head, which was stricken off at three blows. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had been made to stand by a witness of these two bloody executions, then put off his gown, and, leaning upon the east rail of the scaffold, made his dying speech. He thanked God for his merciful goodness in that he had caused him to learn more in one little dark corner in yonder Tower than ever he had learned in all his travels in so many places as he had been; "for there," said he, "I have seen God what he is,—I have seen myself thoroughly, and what I am,—I have seen the world and the little it is worth; . . . and should I fear death or be sad therefore? Have I not seen two die before mine eyes? No! neither the sprinkling of the blood, nor the shedding thereof, nor the bloody axe itself shall make me afraid. I pray you all to pray for me." He then knelt down to see how his neck fitted the block, telling the executioner not to strike yet for he had a few prayers to say; but that done, to strike in God's name. When his prayers were ended he rose and again desired each man there to pray for him. He then again laid down his head, which the executioner forthwith took from him at one stroke.*

On the day after these executions Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was made chancellor; and, on the Sunday following, the old Catholic service was sung in Latin in St. Paul's Church. It was fully expected that the active Gardiner would proceed at once to extremities against the Protestant party; but for a short time there was an awful pause. The Emperor Charles, whom she consulted in all affairs of importance, strongly advised the queen to proceed in everything with the utmost caution,—to wait the effect of time and example on the religious faith of her people,—to punish only her principal enemies, and to quiet the apprehensions of the rest, who might be driven to desperation by over severity.† Mary replied, "God, who has protected me in all my misfortunes, is my trust. I will not show him my gratitude tardily and in secret, but immediately and openly."‡ She was fain, however, to issue a public declaration that she would constrain nobody in religious matters, but must only insist that her people should refrain from the offensive expressions of "Papist" and "Heretic." But the spirit of the zealot was not to be wholly repressed by any considerations of political expediency. It was only nine days after the issuing of the proclamation that she had caused mass to be sung in the first church in the city of London; and she proceeded to establish a most rigorous censorship of the press, and to prohibit all persons from speaking against herself or her council, *because all that they did, or might do, was for the honour of God and the welfare of her subjects' immortal souls.* There can be no doubt that Mary was sincere in her convictions: she was an honest fanatic, but her fanaticism was only the more dangerous from her

* Stow.
† Godwin says that Northumberland spoke and acted thus "by the persuasion of Nicholas Heath, afterwards Bishop of York." But it was usual (as we have shown repeatedly) to die in strict conformity to the will of the court.
‡ Stow.

* Holinshed.—Stow.
† Ambassades de Renaud, quoted by Raumer.
‡ Ibid.

honesty, and the persuasion which she held in common with other zealots that all her plans were for the service of the Almighty. Even the darkest and fiercest passions were in her case masked by religion, and by filial piety; and it appeared to her a sacred duty to avenge on the reforming party the wrongs and sufferings of her mother Catherine. Mary's youth had been passed in gloom and in storms; her father had alternately threatened to make her a nun and to take off her head; he and his ministers had forced her to sign a paper in which she formally acknowledged that the church she adored was a cheat, and that the mother who bore her had never been her father's lawful wife.* From the time of the marriage of Anne Boleyn she had been persecuted, insulted, and driven from place to place, almost like a common criminal and vagabond. A woman of an angelic temper—a temper always rare and in those days nearly unknown,—might, by miraculous exertion, have forgiven all these wrongs; a *young* woman, with a sound and happy constitution, and its concomitant, a light and cheerful spirit, might have forgotten them gradually in the full sunshine of prosperity; but Mary was thirty-seven years old, an age at which it is difficult to erase any deep impressions. Partly through the effects of long years of grief and fear, and partly through the defects of her original formation, her constitution was shattered, and the ill humour and moroseness of the confirmed valetudinarian were superadded, to the other fertile causes which were to make her a curse to the nation.†

This unhappy woman, with an insane mind in an unsound body, had all along considered Cranmer as the greatest enemy of her mother, whose divorce he had pronounced. After being left at large from the day of her entrance into London to the 14th or 15th of September, the archbishop was suddenly arrested and committed to the Tower, with Latimer and some others. There is an immediate cause assigned by some writers for his arrest at this moment. Men remembered Cranmer's conduct, in the days of King Henry, when he sat at the head of tribunals which sentenced Protestants to the flames; he was generally believed to be deficient in that extreme courage which braves torture and death; and it was reported of him, that, in order to pay court to this most Catholic queen, he had engaged to restore the rites of the old church, and to officiate personally in them. He had certainly never shown such courage before, and he could not be blind to the great risk he was running; but, being assisted by the learned Peter Martyr, he wrote and published (it is said) a manifesto of his entire Protestant faith, and his abhorrence of masses and all other abominations of the Popish superstition.* A few days after his arrest Queen Mary went to the Tower by water, accompanied by the Princess Elizabeth and other ladies. This was preparatory to the coronation. On the last day of September the queen rode in great state from the Tower through the city of London towards Westminster, sitting in a chariot covered with cloth of gold. Before her rode a number of gentlemen and knights, then judges, then doctors, then bishops, then lords, then the council: after whom followed the Knights of the Bath in their robes; the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor; the Marquess of Winchester, Lord High Treasurer; the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Oxford bearing the sword of state; and the lord-mayor of London, clad in crimson velvet, bearing the sceptre of gold. After the queen's chariot Sir Edward Hastings led her horse in hand; and after her horse came another chariot covered all over with white silver cloth, wherein sat side by side, with smiling faces, the Princess Elizabeth and our old fair-complexioned and contented friend THE LADY ANNE OF CLEVES! After this, the enumeration of the rest of the train would excite little interest; but there were two other chariots covered with red satin, with hosts of gentlemen and gentlewomen riding on horseback on crimson satin; and there was much wine running in the streets; and there were pageants and conjurings at certain stages all the way from Cornhill and Cheap to Charing Cross, where the queen took her leave of the lord-mayor, giving him gracious thanks for his pains, and the city for their cost and loyalty.† On the morrow the queen went by water from Whitehall to the old palace of Westminster,

* See ante, note, p. 395.

† The Venetian ambassador, Michele, drew a minute portrait of Mary in 1557, the year before her death.

"She is a woman of low stature, but has no defect in her limbs, nor any deformity whatever. In person she is thin and delicate, altogether unlike her father, who was tall and big; or her mother, who, if not tall, was stout. Her face is well formed, and, according to the portraits of her which were seen when she was younger, she was not only good-looking but more than middling pretty—(*piucchè mediocremente bella*). At present, besides some wrinkles, caused more by sorrows than by age—(*più dagli affanni che dall' età*), which make her appear some years older than she is, her face is very grave. Her eyes are so piercing as to induce not only reverence but fear in those she turns them on: and yet she is very short-sighted, being unable to read or do anything else, without placing her eyes quite close to the object. Her voice is thick and loud like a man's, so that when she speaks she is always heard a good way off. In short she is a decent woman for her age, and, putting aside her rank as queen, she should never be abhorred for ugliness—(*nè mai per bruttezza è da essere abhorrita*).—Lansdowne MSS. Brit. Mus. In another copy (Cotton. MSS.) the Venetian describes her as looking always pale and sickly—(*dal continuo pallida e macilente*), and, in addition to "some inward passions, both private and public, which disturb her," he mentions a female disorder, for which she sought relief in frequent bleedings.

This is not so revolting a portrait as Protestant historians have generally painted; yet certainly disagreeable traits are very prominent in it.

In early life she is described as being a wonderfully fine child, but such descriptions are usual and matter of course; and when the letter was written of which the following is an extract, the king *had not seen Anne Boleyn*. "My Lady Mary," says Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, to Cardinal Wolsey, "came hither on Saturday: surely, Sir, of her age (she was then about six years old!) as goodly a child as ever I have seen, and of as good gesture and countenance, et, quodcunque agit, longe præter ætatem ea cum suavissima facit gravitate, aptissimoque decoro, ut splendidius nusquam, decentius, jocundius, videri potest mortale nihil. Her grace was not only well accompanied with a goodly number, but also with divers persons of gravity, venerandam habentibus canitiem. I saw not the court, Sir, better furnished with sage personages many days, than now. I beseech Almighty God preserve her and your grace also, with prosperous long life and honour."—*State Papers.*

* It is certainly by no means clear that Cranmer ever *published* such a bold manifesto. Some accounts seem to say that certain declarations of his were *treacherously* put into the queen's hands. But Mary wanted no additional provocation to hunt him to infamy and death.

† Stow.—The pageants and entertainments were in a strange taste, as the following extract from old Stow's description of some of them will testify:—"In Paul's churchyard, against the school, one

and there remained till about noon, and then walked on foot upon blue cloth, being railed on each side, unto St. Peter's Church, where she was solemnly crowned and anointed by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who took good care not to omit any of the ancient rites.*

Five days after the coronation a parliament assembled at Westminster, and both Lords and Commons soon gave melancholy proofs that they had made up their minds to side with the queen, to float with the prevailing current, and to make no efforts for the protection of anything except the estates of the church that had fallen into their own hands. As there was scarcely a member in the upper house but had shared in the spoil in the time of Henry and Edward, and as it was known that their only anxiety was for the preservation of what they had gotten, no apprehension was entertained of any serious opposition on the part of the peers; and, as for the commons, they had long been timid and subservient in the extreme, and on the present occasion, out of a prudent regard to their personal safety, those who were not Papists had contrived to keep away from parliament. The very first act of the new parliament was decisive: proceedings were opened in each of the Houses by celebrating high mass; and the men who, a few years before, had voted the observance to be damnable, all fell on their knees at the elevation of the Host. Only Taylor, Bishop of Lincoln, refused to kneel; for which he was harshly treated, and kicked or thrust out of the House of Lords. The first bill that was passed, in imitation of what was done by the Protestant party at the accession of the late king, abolished every species of treason not contained in the statute of Edward III., and every species of felony not set down in the statute-book previously to the first year of Henry VIII. They next declared the queen to be legitimate, and annulled the divorce of her mother pronounced by Cranmer, greatly blaming the archbishop for that deed, in which they themselves or their fathers had co-operated. Then, by one vote, they repealed all the statutes of the late reign that in any way regarded religion, thus returning to the point at which matters stood in the last year of the reign of Henry VIII., when most of the offices and ceremonies of the Roman Church, the doctrine of transubstantiation, the celibacy of the clergy, and other matters odious to Protestants, were fully insisted upon. The queen neither renounced the title of supreme head of the church—a title most odious, frightful, or ridiculous to Catholic ears—nor pressed for a restitution of the abbey lands; though, to give proof of her own disinterestedness, she prepared to restore of her own free will all property of that kind which had been attached to the crown. It was quite certain that the lords, who were so compliant in matters of doctrine and faith, that concerned their souls, would have offered a vigorous resistance to any bill that touched their estates or their goods and chattels; and Mary had been well warned on this point.* Gardiner, who had already dismissed all such of the Protestant bishops as would not conform or enter into a compromise, now summoned the convocation, to settle once more all doubts and disputations concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. With the exception of a few words spoken by John Ailmer, Richard Cheney, John Philpot, James Hadden, and Walter Phillips, the Papists had it all their own way. Harpsfield, the Bishop of London's chaplain, who opened the convocation with a sermon, set no limits to his exultation; and, in the vehemence of his joy and gratitude, he compared Queen Mary to all the females of greatest celebrity in Holy Writ and the Apocrypha, not even excepting the Virgin Mary. According to this preacher the queen resembled Judith for her great art in the cutting off of the head of Holofernes; and here he exclaimed, in the words of Ozias, "O daughter, blessed art thou of the Most High God, above all the women upon the earth; and blessed be the Lord God which hath created the heavens and the earth, which hath directed thee to the cutting off of the head of the chief of our enemies." Continuing in the same strain, he likened Mary to Esther, for turning their mourning and sadness into mirth and joy; to Deborah, for that the strong had ceased in Israel, and were at rest, until that Deborah arose; to the sister of Martha, as a cutting reproof to the Princess Elizabeth, the queen's sister,—"for Mary hath chosen the better part:" and, lastly, to the virgin mother of God, because, being raised up to the profit and benefit of her people, and magnified in their eyes, she might justly sing, "Behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed, because the Lord, who is powerful, hath done great things, and holy is his name." It would scarcely be expected by people of ordinary imagination that it was possible for any one to surpass the hyperbole of Harpsfield; and yet this feat seems fairly to have been performed by Weston, the prolocutor, who, among other things, exclaimed, "O, unheard of and wonderful goodness of God, that in such a ruin of the church, such a shipwreck of faith, *religion being, in effect, at an end*, that a virgin queen, like some dove sent down from heaven, should be by the great and good God bestowed upon the virgin church, by whose conduct and influence all these miseries should be restrained, dissipated, and driven away." This orator, however, according to the tenets of his church, maintained that even

Master Heywood sat in a pageant under a vine, and made to her an oration in Latin and English. Then was there one Peter, a Dutchman, stood on the weathercock of Paul's steeple, holding a streamer in his hand of five yards long, and, waiving thereof, stood sometime on the one foot and shook the other, and then kneeled on his knees, to the great marvel of all people. He had made two scaffolds under him above the cross, having torches and streamers set on it, and one other over the ball of the cross, likewise set with streamers and torches, which could not burn, the wind was so great. The said Peter had 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* given him by the city for his costs and pains and all his stuff."

* At this coronation the Princess Elizabeth carried the crown. It is said that she whispered to the French ambassador, Noailles, that it was very heavy, and that he replied, "Be patient, it will seem lighter when it is on your own head."

* Parl. Jour.—Dispatches of Noailles.—Burnet.

this divine queen should be subject, in spirituals, to the control of the pope, like the great emperors and potentates of past times. He dwelt with much feeling on the sufferings of the Popish bishops during the two last reigns; and it is idle to deny that their sufferings had been great. "Ye are not yet beheaded with John the Baptist," cried Weston, who soon after helped to burn Protestant bishops, "but yet have suffered far more bitterly: for it is not one and the same thing in a short time to lose the head, and for a long while to struggle with such dolors, terrors, threats, bonds, carryings away, rapines of goods, hands of executioners, impudent tongues of sycophants, reproaches, jests, and taunts."* After these orations the convocation proceeded to business and in some matters came to important decisions without waiting for the authority either of the queen or the parliament, being sure of the one and entertaining a well-merited contempt for the other. They declared the Book of Common Prayer to be an abomination; they called for the immediate suppression of the reformed English Catechism; they recommended the most violent measures against all such of the clergy as would not forthwith dismiss their wives, and adopt the Catholic opinion as to the real presence. In London and the great cities, where the Protestant doctrine had taken deeper root, the change, though rapid, was somewhat less sudden; but in the rural districts generally, where the population had never been properly converted, the mass re-appeared at once, and every part of the reformed service was thrown aside even before any express orders to that effect from court or from convocation. Hosts of priests, and particularly the relics of the abbeys and monasteries, who had conformed to save their lives or to obtain the means of supporting themselves, declared that they had acted under compulsion, and joyfully returned to their Latin masses, their confessions, their holy waters, and the rest. Many, again, who really preferred the reformed religion, were fain to conform to what they disapproved of, just as their opponents had done in the preceding reign, and from the same worldly motives. But still there were many married priests who would on no account part with their wives, or receive, as the rules of salvation, tenets which, for years, they had condemned as the inventions of the devil. Some, also, there were who had made to themselves, by their intolerance in the days of their prosperity, bitter enemies among those who were now in the ascendant. The prisons began to fill with Protestant clergymen of these classes; and others of them, being deprived of their livings, were thrown upon the highways to beg or starve as the monks had been in the days of Henry VIII., their condition being so much the worse as they had wives and children. But this melancholy picture of intolerance and wretchedness was not yet complete; there remained touches to be put in by other religionists besides the Papists. When many of the expelled clergy fled the kingdom, and sought a refuge in Denmark and in parts of Germany, the Lutheran Protestants there raised a cry of persecution against them, as being enemies to their doctrine of *con*substantiation; and it was deemed better to abandon these unfortunate exiles to extreme misery than admit what was called their poison and infection into those pure Protestant countries.*

About half of the English bishops, bending to the storm, conformed, in all outward appearances, with the triumphant sect.† Those who did not, or who were peculiarly obnoxious to the dominant party, were deprived of their sees and whatever they possessed, and cast into prison. We have already seen Cranmer and Latimer sent to the Tower. Shortly after Holgate, Archbishop of York, was committed to the same state prison for marriage; and Ridley, Bishop of London, for preaching at Paul's Cross in defence of Queen Jane's title, and for "heretical pravity;" Poynet, who had held the bishopric of Winchester during Gardiner's deprivation and imprisonment, was also committed to prison for being married. Taylor, Bishop of Lincoln, who had refused to kneel at the elevation of the Host in the House of Lords, was deprived "for thinking amiss concerning the eucharist;" Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, for having a wife, and other demerits; Harley, Bishop of Hereford, for wedlock and heresy; Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, for the same offences; Bird, Bishop of Chester, for marriage. Coverdale of Exeter, the translator of the bible, was also ejected and thrown into prison, where he lay two years, not without danger of being burnt. Barlow of Bath and Wells, and Bush of Bristol, voluntarily resigned their sees.‡

On the 13th of November Cranmer was brought to trial for high treason, together with the Lady Jane Grey, her youthful husband Lord Guildford Dudley, and his brother Lord Ambrose Dudley. They were all condemned to suffer death as traitors by the very men who a short time before had acted with them, and had sworn allegiance to Jane; but the youth of three of these victims to the ambition and imbecility of others excited a lively sympathy in the nation, and the queen sent them back to the Tower, apparently with no intention of ever bringing them to the block. Even the fourth victim, Cranmer, was respited, and was pardoned of his treason; but he was sent back to the Tower on the equally perilous charge of heresy. He was strongly advised by his friends, both before his apprehension and also now, to attempt to escape out of the kingdom, but he is said to have replied, that his trust was in God, and in his holy word, and that he had resolved to show a constancy

* Strype.

* Raumer. Some of the English refugees found a better welcome among the Calvinists of Switzerland, more especially at Basil, Zurich, and Geneva; but the Church of England people at home soon afterwards complained that *these* contracted unsound doctrines. Hence fresh religious quarrels, Protestant persecutions, and (in good part) the civil wars of the following century.

† In this number were some who were really Catholics all along, and who had strained their consciences by conformity in the last reigns. Insincere *then*, they were sincere *now*.

‡ Strype.—Collier.—Soames, Hist. Reform.—Blunt.

worthy of a Christian prelate. He repeatedly professed to have a great desire to be admitted to a private audience of the queen; but Mary had no inclination to receive the man who had sealed her mother's dishonour, and the party about her seconded this strong and natural feeling of aversion.

Before parliament was dissolved the attainder of the old Duke of Norfolk was legally reversed, it being declared—with some reason—that no special matter had been proved either against him or his son the Earl of Surrey, except the wearing of part of a coat-of-arms. On the 21st of December, a few days after the dissolution of parliament, the church service began to be performed in Latin throughout England. At the same time the Lady Jane had the liberty of the Tower granted her, being allowed to walk in the queen's garden and on the hill; the Lord Guildford Dudley and his brother were treated more leniently than they had been; and the Marquess of Northampton was set at liberty altogether. This moderation was a matter of marvel in those days, nor did the queen fail in making a favourable impression by remitting the subsidy voted to her brother by the preceding parliament: but other circumstances sufficiently indicated that Mary was determined not only to re-establish the Roman church, but to prevent the teaching and preaching of the reformed doctrine. There was scarcely by this time a pulpit in the kingdom but what was silenced; and Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstall, Day, Heath, Vesey, and others of the now restored Catholic bishops were not likely to permit them to be eloquent again. These prelates differed as to the modes to be adopted for the reconversion of the English people, and in the degrees wherewith they entertained the spirit of persecution; but they were all agreed as to the expediency of depriving and expelling all Protestant priests, or, at the very least, all such of them as would not outwardly conform; and the queen, on pretence of discouraging stormy controversy and enmities, by an act of prerogative (for she did not deign to ask the consent of parliament), decreed that no man should be allowed to preach anywhere, or in any manner, unless he obtained a particular licence. The men of Suffolk, whose loyalty had placed her on the throne, ventured to recal to her mind her solemn promises given to them on that occasion, that she would not change the reformed religion as established under her brother. One of these remonstrants, who was bolder than the rest, was set in the pillory; the others were browbeaten and insulted. Judge Hales, who had defended the queen's title with a most rare courage, was arbitrarily arrested and thrown into a noisome prison, as soon as he showed an opposition to these illegal, rash, and dangerous proceedings. The upright judge was treated with such severity that his body and mind became alike disordered;—he fell into a frenzy and attempted suicide by cutting his throat. He was at length liberated; but it was too late,—insanity had taken a firm hold of him, and he terminated his life by drowning himself.*

Mary, who had been affianced in her infancy to the Emperor Charles, to the French king, to the Dauphin, and who in the course of the last two reigns had been disappointed of several other husbands, now determined to marry, in order, it appears, to make sure of a Catholic succession. It should seem, however, that she was not wholly devoid of the tender passion, for it is said, on good authority, that she conceived an affection for the son of the Marquess of Exeter,—murdered in her father's days,—the handsome and accomplished young Edward Courtenay, whom she had liberated from the Tower on her first coming to London.† Upon this kinsman, whose flourishing youth and courteous and pleasant disposition delighted the whole court, she lavished many proofs of favour: she hastened to restore to him the title of Earl of Devon, to which she added the whole of those patrimonial estates which his father's attainder had vested in the crown; and when people spoke or whispered of the wisdom and fitness of an English queen marrying a great English nobleman, descended (as she was herself by her grandmother) from the royal House of York, her countenance relaxed instead of increasing its habitual severity. But the accomplished Earl of Devon soon became suspected of indulging in anti-Catholic notions, and, what was almost as bad, he betrayed, as is said, a preference for the queen's half-sister Elizabeth. If there had been little affection between the royal ladies before, this circumstance was not likely to increase it; and a few months after Mary's accession, we find Elizabeth retiring to her house of Ashridge in Buckinghamshire, attended by Sir Thomas Pope and Sir John Gage, who were appointed by the queen to keep a watchful eye over her. It has been very generally stated that Mary then thought of marrying her other kinsman, the Cardinal Pole, who had not taken priest's orders, and that she was only deterred by being made to reflect that Pole was now in his fifty-third year. But if Mary ever entertained a notion of such a marriage (which we doubt) it seems quite certain that the idea never for a moment entered into the head of the learned and eloquent cardinal. For many years after our last mention of this distinguished individual, his career had been public, and, on the whole, honourable in the eyes of the Catholic part of Christendom. He had attended for the pope at the great council of Trent, and for some time he had been employed as legate and political governor of a district subject to the pope; but of late, feeling his love of quiet and of literature increase with his years, he had retired to a beautiful monastery of

* Strype.—Stow.—Holinshed.—Godwin.—Nares, Life of Lord Burghley.

† From the age of fourteen to that of twenty six this victim of tyranny had been doomed to expiate, in a captivity which threatened to be perpetual, the involuntary offence of inheriting, through an attainted father, the blood of the fourth Edward.—Aikin, *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth.*

the Benedictines, upon the lake Benacus,* near to the Sirmian promontory, where Catullus had loved to linger, and there he was living with his books when Mary came to the throne. His religion and his natural affection for the few remaining members of his unfortunate family made him rejoice at this event, gave him courage to launch again into the toils and dangers of public life, and inspired him with the fond hope of restoring his native country to the bosom of that church which had been his benefactor, and which he conscientiously believed to be the true one. He gladly accepted the office of legate in England, which the pope as gladly gave him; but he was obliged to defer his journey for some time. The Emperor Charles, who knew that Mary had been chiefly educated by the cardinal's mother, the unfortunate Countess of Salisbury, thought it not unlikely that Mary should have an affection for Pole, and he accordingly raised some difficulties. By the act passed in the reign of Henry VIII., and not yet reversed, the cardinal was an attainted traitor; and it was besides judged unsafe to startle the nation with the sudden introduction of a papal legate of any kind, the English people, even in their most orthodox days, having shown small affection for legates.

The Emperor Charles, who had been solemnly affianced to her himself nearly thirty years before, was now most anxious to secure the hand of Mary for his son, the proud, the bigoted, the crafty and cruel Philip, who then happened to be a widower. As Mary consulted her mother's nephew in all her difficulties, Charles was enabled to press this suit for his son with good effect, and all the abilities of the French diplomatists, who, as in former times, dreaded the close alliance of England with the emperor, failed to counteract his influence. The imperial ambassadors had constant access, by night as well as by day, to the royal but elderly maiden; and one night, within three months after her accession, before any public negotiation had taken place, and without so much as consulting her council, Mary solemnly promised to marry Philip. For some time this engagement was concealed, but when it was whispered abroad it excited almost universal discontent, for the character of Philip, though not yet fully developed in action, was well known; and it was reasonably suspected that the once free kingdom of England would be wholly enslaved and made dependant upon Spain and the emperor. With these views the match was odious even to most of the Catholics, whose patriotism rose triumphantly above their bigotry; but to the Protestant party universally it was gall and wormwood. They said that the marriage was only meant "to continue popery where it was, and to bring it in where it was not,"—to establish the Spanish inquisition with all its atrocities, and to break the backs and the hearts of Englishmen with such an intolerable burden of taxes and imposts as they had never before been used to. In the face of these feelings it was judged prudent to proceed slowly and with caution. The match, however, was spoken of in parliament, and encountered a very unusual degree of opposition from the Commons,—who even petitioned against it,—a circumstance which is supposed to have hurried on the dissolution.

A.D. 1554. Early in January a splendid embassy arrived from Spain, and, on the 14th of the same month, Bishop Gardiner, as chancellor, in the presence chamber, made to the lords, nobility, and court gentry an "oration very eloquent," setting forth that the queen's majesty, partly for old amity, and other weighty considerations, had, after much suit on the Emperor's and Prince of Spain's behalf, determined, with the consent of the council and nobility, to match herself with the said Prince "in most godly and lawful matrimony." After this exordium Gardiner explained the conditions of the treaty, which, to disarm opposition in England, had been made wonderfully mild, moderate, and generous on the part of Philip, who, of course, would reserve to himself the right of altering it thereafter as he should see occasion and find means for so doing. It was agreed, that though Philip should have the honour and title of King of England, the government should rest wholly with the queen, he (Philip) aiding her highness in the happy administration of her realms and dominions; that no Spaniard or other foreigner should enjoy any office in the kingdom; that no innovations should be made in the national laws, customs, and privileges; that the queen should never be carried abroad without her free consent, nor any of the children she might have without the consent of the nobility (there was no mention made of the commons, nor indeed of the parliament). It was further agreed that Philip, in the unlikely case of Mary's surviving him, should settle upon her a jointure of 60,000*l.* a-year, whereof 40,000*l.* should be raised in Spain, and the rest in the Netherlands and provinces thereto belonging; that the male issue of this marriage should inherit both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die and leave no issue, the queen's issue, whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and other dominions attached to the Spanish monarchy.* On the next day the Lord Mayor of London, with his brethren the aldermen, and forty citizens of good substance, was summoned to court, where Gardiner repeated his oration, desiring them all to behave themselves like good subjects, with humbleness and rejoicing for so happy an event. On this same day Robert Dudley, one of the sons of the late Duke of Northumberland, was condemned as a traitor, the Earl of Sussex pronouncing sentence that he was to be drawn, hanged, bowelled, and quartered.†

But if the treaty of marriage had been tenfold more brilliant in promises, it would have failed in satisfying the English people. Within five days

* Now the *Lago di Garda.*

* Rymer.

† Stow.

Philip of England and Spain.

From a Painting by Titian.

the court was startled by intelligence that Sir Peter Carew was up in arms in Devonshire, resolute to resist the Prince of Spain's coming, and that he had taken the city and castle of Exeter. This news was followed, on the 25th, by intelligence that Sir Thomas Wyatt had taken the field with the same determination in Kent; and the mayor and aldermen, who had so recently been commanded to rejoice and make glad, were now told to shut the gates of the city, and keep good watch and ward, lest the rebels should enter. Sir Thomas Wyatt, son of the poet of that name, who has been associated in glory with the Earl of Surrey, was a very loyal knight of Kent, and, apparently, a Papist;* but he had conceived a frightful notion of the cruel bigotry and grasping ambition of the Spanish court. Although connected by blood with the Dudleys, he had refused to co-operate with the Duke of Northumberland in the plot for giving the crown to Lady Jane Grey, and had even been forward to proclaim Queen Mary in the town of Maidstone, before knowing that she had been proclaimed elsewhere. Wyatt appears to have been a brave and honest, but rash man; and the majority of those who had engaged to co-operate with him, from different parts of the kingdom, were either scoundrels without faith or cowards. The highest name of all was both: this was the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey's father, who, to the astonishment of most men. had been liberated from the Tower, and pardoned by Queen Mary. On the 25th of January, the very day on which it was known that Sir Thomas Wyatt had risen in Kent, this duke fled into Warwickshire, where, with his brothers the Lord John Grey and the Lord Leonard Grey, he made proclamation against the queen's marriage, and called the people to arms; "but the people inclined not to him." The plan of the conspirators seems to have been, that Wyatt should endeavour to seize the Tower, where Lady Jane and her husband lay, and get possession of the city of London; that the Duke of Suffolk should raise the midland counties, and Carew the west: but in execution they proceeded with a miserable want of concert and arrangement. On the 29th the old Duke of Norfolk, with the Earl of Arundel, marched from London against Sir Thomas Wyatt, who had advanced to Rochester, and taken the castle. When the royalists reached Rochester-bridge they found it defended with three or four double cannons, and by a numerous force of Kentish men. Norfolk sent forward a herald with a proclamation of pardon to all such as should quietly return to their homes, but Wyatt would not permit the herald to read this paper to the people. Norfolk then ordered an assault; but when five hundred Londoners,—the trained bands of the city,—led by Captain Brett, reached the head of the bridge, they suddenly stopped, and their captain, turning round at their head, and lowering his sword, said, "Masters, we go about to fight against our native countrymen of England

* He was a commander at Henry VIII.'s siege of Boulogne, and made himself conspicuous by his daring.

and our friends, in a quarrel unrightful and wicked; for they, considering the great miseries which are like to fall upon us, if we shall be under the rule of the proud Spaniards or strangers, are here assembled to make resistance to their coming, for the avoiding of the great mischiefs likely to alight not only upon themselves, but upon every of us and the whole realm; wherefore, I think no English heart ought to say against them. I and others will spend our blood in their quarrel." He had scarcely finished, when the band of Londoners turned their ordnance against the rest of the queen's forces, shouting, every one of them, "a Wyatt!—a Wyatt!" At this defection the Duke of Norfolk and his officers turned and fled as fast as their horses could carry them, leaving eight brass guns, other pieces of ordnance, and all their ammunition behind them. The Londoners crossed the bridge, and three-fourths of the regular troops, among whom were some companies of the royal guard, went after them, and took service with Sir Thomas Wyatt and the insurgents.* When the intelligence reached London all was fright and confusion, especially at the court, where almost the only person that showed fortitude and composure was the queen herself. Wyatt ought to have made a forced march upon London during this consternation, but he loitered on his way: he did not reach Greenwich and Deptford till three days after the affair at Rochester-bridge; and then he lay three whole days doing nothing, and allowing the government to make their preparations. The queen, with her lords and ladies, rode from Westminster into the city, where she declared to the mayor, aldermen, and livery, that she meant not otherwise to marry than as her council should think both honourable and advantageous to the realm,—that she could still continue unmarried, as she had done so long,—and therefore she trusted that they would truly assist her in repressing such as rebelled on this account. Understanding that there were many in London who favoured Sir Thomas Wyatt's party, she appointed Lord William Howard and the Earl of Pembroke to look after the city with a considerable force. On the same day on which she made this visit her spirits were cheered by intelligence that the Duke of Suffolk had been discomfited in the midland counties, and that Sir Peter Carew and his friends had been put to flight in the west.† She issued a proclamation of pardon to all the Kentish men with the exception of Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir George Harper, and the other gentlemen, offering as a reward to the man that should take or kill Wyatt, lands worth a hundred pounds a-year to him and his heirs for ever. On the 3rd of February, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, Wyatt and his host (who are differently estimated at two thousand and at eight thousand men), marched from Deptford, along the river side, towards Southwark. As soon as this movement was known in the city the drawbridge, at London Bridge, was raised and the gates were shut; the mayor and sheriffs "harnessed," (put on their armour, &c.) and commanded every man to shut in his shop and windows, and to be ready "harnessed" at his door, chance what might.* By this time the Kentish men had entered Kent-street, and so, by St. George's church, they went into Southwark, which they entered peaceably, "without repulse or any stroke stricken." In fact, the inhabitants entertained them with their best cheer; and many people from the country, who were staying in the inns on that side of the water, immediately joined them. The Kentish men paid for what they got; and Wyatt took precautions to prevent pillage and every kind of outrage. But Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, had a goodly house in Southwark, well stocked with books, and divers of Wyatt's company, *being gentlemen*, "went to Winchester-place, made havoc of the bishop's goods, not only of his victuals, whereof there was plenty, but whatsoever else, not leaving so much as one lock of a door, but the same was taken off and carried away, nor a book in his library or gallery uncut or rent into pieces, *so that men might have gone up to their knees in leaves of books, cut out and thrown under foot.*"† Wyatt, in the mean time, placed two pieces of artillery in battery at the Southwark end of the bridge, and caused a deep trench to be dug between the bridge and the place where he was: to defend his flanks and rear he placed three other guns, one pointing down Bermondsey-street, one by St. George's Church, and the third near the Bishop of Winchester's house. Contrary to his expectations, the Londoners did not throw open their gates, and he had not resolution sufficient to attempt an assault by the bridge. He again lost two whole days, and on the morning of the third day the garrison in the Tower opened a heavy fire of great pieces of ordnance, culverins, and demy-cannons full against the foot of the bridge and against Southwark, and the two steeples of St. Olave's and St. Mary Overy. As soon as the people of Southwark saw this they no longer treated Wyatt as a welcome guest, but, making a great noise and lamentation, they entreated him to move elsewhere. Perhaps it would have been dangerous to stay; but, at all events, this circumstance seems to have made him come to a decision. Telling the people that he would not have them hurt on his account, he marched away towards Kingston, hoping to cross the river by the bridge there, and to fall upon London and Westminster from the west. On the road he met a London merchant named Dorell. "Ah, cousin Dorell," said he, "I pray you commend me unto your citizens, and say unto them, from me, that, when liberty was offered them, they would not

* Stow.—Holinshed.—Godwin.

† Several of Carew's party played him false. He escaped to France.

* According to Stow there had been a good deal of arming, or "harnessing," before this very close approach.—"On the Friday (the day on which Wyatt reached Deptford) the most part of the householders of London, with the mayor and aldermen, were in harness: yea, this day, and other days, *the justices, serjeants at the law, and other lawyers in Westminster Hall, pleaded in harness.*"

† Stow.

receive it, neither would they admit me within their gates, who, for their freedom, and for rescuing them from the oppression of foreigners, would frankly spend my blood in this cause and quarrel." It was four o'clock in the afternoon (on the 6th day of February) when he reached Kingston, and found about thirty feet of the bridge broken down, and an armed force on the opposite bank to prevent his passage. He placed his guns in battery, and drove away the troops; with the help of some sailors he got possession of some boats and barges, and repaired the bridge; but it was eleven o'clock at night before these operations were finished, and his men were sorely fatigued and dispirited. Allowing them no time for rest,—for his plan was to turn back upon London by the left bank of the Thames, and to reach the city gates before sunrise,—he marched them on through a dreary winter night. When he was within six miles of London the carriage of one of his great brass guns broke down, and he very absurdly lost some hours in remounting the piece; and so, when he reached Hyde Park, it was broad daylight, and the royal forces, commanded by the Earl of Pembroke, were ready to receive him. In a field on the west side of St. James's, were the men-at-arms and demi-lances, and over against them, in a lane that ran by the parks, stood the light-horse, headed by the Lord Clinton. The heavy artillery was planted in the midst, on the rising ground near St. James's Palace, with certain field-pieces lying on each of the flanks of the royal force. Many of Wyatt's followers had deserted before he crossed the river at Kingston; others had lingered behind during the night-march; and, *now*, many more abandoned him on seeing that formidable preparations were made against him, and that none of the many friends and allies he had spoken of came out to join him from the city. With great bravery, however, he resolved to fight his way through the royal army, still entertaining a confident hope that the citizens would rise in his favour. After a short "thundering with the great guns on either side, without harm, as it happened, to any," he charged the queen's cavalry, who, opening their ranks, suffered him to pass with about four hundred of his followers, and then instantly closing in the rear of this weak van-guard, they cut him off from the main body of the insurgents, who thereupon stood still, wavered, and took a contrary course. In the meanwhile Wyatt rushed rapidly along Charing Cross and the Strand to Ludgate, which, to his mortification, he found closed against him, not so much as a single citizen appearing on the walls to welcome the liberator. In vain he shouted "Queen Mary! God save Queen Mary, who has granted our petition, and will have no Spanish husband!" The Londoners were better informed, and they stood in awe of the numerous troops which had been collected. A part of Pembroke's army had followed Wyatt in his rapid advance, and, when he turned to go back by the same road, he found that he must cut his way through dense masses of horse and foot. He charged furiously, and actually fought his way as far as the Temple. But there he found that his band was diminished to some forty or fifty men, and that further resistance was utterly hopeless. Clarenceux rode up to him, persuading him to yield, and not, "beyond all his former madness, surcharge himself with the blood of these brave fellows." At last Wyatt threw away his broken sword, and quietly surrendered to Sir Maurice Berkley, who, mounting him behind him, carried him off instantly to the court. The rest of the insurgents were dispersed, but not without sharp fighting, nor until they had penetrated right through Westminster, and made an attack on the palace. They were very dirty; their clothes all soiled with the mud of the rough roads; and the cry on the queen's part that day was, "Down with the draggle-tails!" Though only half armed, these brave Kentish men made a determined stand at Charing Cross, where they were charged by the queen's guard and a great power of pikemen; but they were finally put to flight by the artillery and the royal archers.

"The coming of Wyatt to the court being so little looked for, was great cause of rejoicing to such as of late before stood in great fear of him. But more than marvel it was to see that day the invincible heart and constancy of the queen herself, who, being by nature a woman, and therefore commonly more fearful than men be, showed herself in that case more stout than is credible. For she, notwithstanding all the fearful news that were brought to her that day, never abashed. Insomuch that when one or two noblemen, being her captains, came in all haste to tell her (though untruly) that her battles were yielded to Wyatt, she, nothing moved thereat, said it was their fond opinion that durst not come near to the trial; saying further, that she herself would enter the field to try the truth of her quarrel, and to die with them that would serve her, rather than to yield one iota unto such a traitor as Wyatt was; and prepared herself accordingly."* Wyatt was immediately committed to the Tower; and a proclamation was made that none, upon pain of death, should conceal in their houses any of his faction, but should bring them forth immediately before the lord mayor and other the queen's justices. "By reason of this proclamation, a great multitude of these said poor caitiffs were brought forth, being so many in number, that all the prisons in London sufficed not to receive them; so that for lack of place they were fain to bestow them in divers churches of the said city. And shortly after there were set up in London, for a terror to the common sort (because the White Coats† being sent out of the city, as before ye have heard, revolted from the queen's part to the aid of Wyatt), twenty pair gallows, on the which were hanged in several places to the number of fifty persons, which gallowses remained standing there a great par of the summer following, to the great grief of good

* Holinshed. † The Trained Bands.

citizens, and for example to the commotioners."* These bodies were not suffered to be removed till the public entry of King Philip; on which festive occasion the streets were cleared of the noisome objects. The Tower of London was soon filled with persons of the first distinction. In the course of a few weeks, about fifty officers, knights, and gentlemen, were put to death. Twenty-two common soldiers were sent down to Kent with Brett, the captain of the Train-bands, who had deserted at Rochester-bridge, and they were there executed as traitors, and gibbeted. About sixty were led in procession, with halters about their necks, to the Tilt-yard, where the queen granted them a pardon. About four hundred common men, in all, suffered death between the 7th of February and the 12th of March, and many were executed afterwards.†

The day after the breaking out of Wyatt's rebellion was known at court, the queen resolved to arrest her half-sister Elizabeth and her former favourite, the handsome Courtenay, Earl of Devon, who were both suspected (and it is by no means clear that they were falsely suspected) of being partakers in the plot. She sent three of her council—Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis—with a strong guard to Ashridge, in Buckinghamshire, where Elizabeth was suffering a real or a feigned sickness. The worthy counsellors did not arrive at the manor-house till ten o'clock at night; the princess had gone to rest, and refused to see them; but, in spite of the remonstrances of her ladies, they rudely burst into her chamber. "Is the haste such," asked Elizabeth, "that it might not have pleased you to come to-morrow in the morning?" They answered that they were right sorry to see her in such a case. "And I," quoth she, "am not glad to see you here at this time of night." They replied that they were there in the discharge of an important duty,—that it was the queen's pleasure that her grace should be in London, and that their orders were to bring her "quick or dead." The princess complained of the harshness of their commission, but the physicians decided that she might travel without danger of life; and she was further informed that the Queen had sent her own litter for her accommodation. It appears that Elizabeth would have tried to escape if the house and grounds had not been watched by an armed force. Nothing was left but submission, and a hope, that seems to have been of the weakest; and, on the following morning, amidst the tears and passionate lamentation of her household, by whom she was greatly beloved, and to whom her destination seemed inevitable, she took a sad leave of that rural retreat, and, vigilantly watched and guarded, set off for the capital. Her journey was a very slow one; the first day she went no further than Redburne; the second she rested at Sir Ralph Roulett's house at St. Alban's; the third she went about seven miles, and slept at Mimms, in the house of Mr. Dodd; and on the fourth she reached Highgate, where she tarried a night and a day. Between Highgate and London her drooping spirits were cheered by the appearance of a number of gentlemen, who were bold enough to ride out to meet her, and assure her of their great respect and attachment. The people, too, sympathised with the captive princess; they lined the roads,—they crowded round her litter, weeping and bewailing their lot. She passed through Smithfield and Fleet-street in a litter open on both sides, with a hundred velvet coats before her, and a hundred others after her in coats of fine red guarded with velvet; and, with this train, and the prayers and tears of the populace, she passed through the queen's garden to the court. The deep interest she excited alarmed her enemies; and, after undergoing a rigid examination by the privy council, respecting Wyatt's insurrection and the rising of Carew in the West—of both of which attempts she protested she was entirely innocent—she was dismissed from court in about a fortnight, and allowed to return to Ashridge. The handsome Courtenay was committed to the Tower, in spite of his protestations of innocence. But Elizabeth had scarcely been liberated when Sir William Sentlow, one of her officers, was arrested as an adherent of Wyatt's; and it was asserted that Wyatt had accused the princess, and stated that he had conveyed to her in a bracelet the whole scheme of his plot; and on the 15th of March she was again taken into custody and brought to Hampton Court, where she saw "nor lord, nor queen, nor friend." On the Friday before Palm Sunday, Bishop Gardiner, Chancellor, and nineteen members of the council, went down to her from the queen, and charged her directly with being concerned, not only in Wyatt's conspiracy, but also in the rebellion of Sir Peter Carew, and declared unto her that it was the queen's pleasure she should go to the Tower. She remonstrated, and again protested her innocence; but the lords answered that there was no remedy. Her own attendants were instantly dismissed, and servants or spies of the queen's choosing placed about her.

"Upon Saturday following," says Holinshed (or rather Foxe, whose words the old chronicler here transcribes), "that is, the next day, two lords of the council (the one was the Earl of Sussex, *the other shall be nameless*) came and certified her grace, that forthwith she must go unto the Tower, the barge being prepared for her, and the tide now ready, which tarrieth for nobody. In heavy mood her grace requested the lords that she might tarry another tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied, that neither tide nor time was to be delayed. And when her grace requested him that she might be suffered to write to the queen's majesty, he answered that he durst not permit that, adding, that, in his judgment, it would rather hurt than profit her grace in so doing. But the other lord, more courteous and favourable (who was the Earl

* Holinshed. † Holinshed,—Stow.—Grafton,—Godwin.

State Prison in the Tower of London.

of Sussex), kneeling down, said she should have liberty to write, and, as a true man, he would deliver it to the queen's highness, and bring an answer of the same, whatsoever came thereof." Whereupon she wrote a letter, which has been preserved. She began by referring to some former promises made to her by her sister Mary. "If any ever did try this old saying, that a king's word was more than another man's oath, I most humbly beseech your Majesty to verify it in me, and to remember your last promise and my last demand, that I be not condemned without answer and due proof; which it seems that now I am, for that without cause provided I am by your council from you commanded to go unto the Tower—a place more wonted for a false traitor than a true subject—which, though I know I deserve it not, yet, in the face of all this realm, appears that it is proved; which I pray God I may die the shamefulest death that any ever died, afore I may mean any such thing; and to this present hour I protest afore God (who shall judge my truth, whatsoever malice shall devise) that I never practised, counselled, nor consented to, anything that might be prejudicial to your person in any way, or dangerous to the State by any mean." She then proceeded humbly to beseech her majesty to grant her an audience, that she might answer before herself, and not before the members of the privy council, who might falsely represent her, and that she might be heard by the queen before going to the Tower, if possible, if not, at least before she should be further condemned. After many protestations of innocence and expressions of her hope in the queen's natural kindness, she told Mary that there was something which she thought and believed her majesty would never know properly unless she heard her with her own ears. She then continued: "I have heard in my time of many cast away, for want of coming to the presence of their prince; and in late days I heard my Lord of Somerset say, that if his brother had been suffered to speak with him, he had never suffered; but the persuasions were made to him so great, that he was brought in to believe that he could not live safely if the Admiral lived; and that made him give his consent to his death. Though these persons are not to be compared to your majesty, yet I pray God, as (that) evil persuasions persuade not one sister against the other; and all for that they have heard false report, and not hearkened to the truth known. Therefore, once again, kneeling with humbleness of my heart, because I am not suffered to bow the knees of my body, I humbly crave to speak with your highness . . . . . And as for the traitor Wyatt, he might peradventure write me a letter, but, on my faith, I never received any from him. And as for the copy of my letter sent to the French king, I pray God confound me eternally, if ever I sent him word, message, token, or letter by any means; and to this, my truth, I will stand in to my death."*

This letter, which was much more spirited than

* Sir Henry Ellis's collection of Orig. Lett. Hearne has printed the same letter in his preface to the Latin edition of Camden's Annals. The original is in the State-Paper Office; a transcript among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.

might have been expected, particularly if we reflect that Elizabeth, in all probability, was *not* ignorant of the plan of the rebellion, availed her nothing. She never received the "only one word of answer" for which she humbly craved in a postscript; and upon the morrow, which was Palm Sunday, strict orders were issued throughout London that every one should keep the church and carry his palm; and while the Londoners, men, women, and children, were thus engaged, Elizabeth was secretly carried down to the Tower by water, attended by the Earl of Surrey and the other *nameless* lord. The barge stopped under Traitors' Gate: the princess refused to land there; but one of the lords stepped back into the barge to urge her coming out, and, because it rained, he offered to her his cloak, which she refused, "putting it back with her hand with a good dash." Then, coming out with one foot upon the stair, she said, "Here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs; and before thee, O God, I speak it, having none other friend but thee alone!" Going a little further, she sat down on a stone to rest herself; and when the lieutenant of the Tower begged her to rise and come in out of the wet and cold, she said, "Better sitting here than in a worse place, for God knoweth whither you bring me." She evidently apprehended an immediate execution; but the Lords carried her to an inner apartment, and left her there in great dismay, after seeing the door well locked, bolted, and barred.*

But before Elizabeth entered the Tower gates other interesting victims had issued from them to the grave. The Lady Jane Grey, who had been condemned to death three months before, was indulging in the hope of a free pardon when the ill-managed insurrection broke out. It appears very evident that Mary had no intention of executing the sentence upon her, but *now* she was easily made to believe that the life of the Lady Jane was incompatible with her own safety; and, in less than a week after Sir Thomas Wyatt's discomfiture, she signed the death-warrant both for Jane and her husband. On the morning of the 12th of February the Lord Guildford Dudley was delivered to the sheriffs and conducted to the scaffold on Tower Hill, where, after saying his prayers and shedding a few tears, he laid his head on the block and died quietly. The fate of this young man excited great commiseration among the people, and as it was calculated that that of his wife would make a still greater impression, it was resolved to execute her more privately within the walls of the Tower. Mary showed what she and all Catholics considered a laudable anxiety for the soul of this youthful sacrifice, and Fecknam, a very Catholic

* Holinshed, from Foxe.

LADY JANE GREY.

From an original Picture in the collection of the Earl of Stamford and Harrington.

Dean of St. Paul's, tormented her in her last hours with arguments and disputations; but it appears that she was stedfast in the faith which she had embraced, and the doctrines of which she had studied under learned teachers with unusual care. On the dreadful morning she had the strength of mind to decline a meeting with her husband, saying that it would rather foment their grief than be a comfort in death, and that they should shortly meet in a better place and more happy estate. She even saw him conducted towards Tower Hill, and, with the same settled spirit, she beheld his headless trunk when it was returned to be buried in the chapel of the Tower. All this she saw from her lodging in Master Partridge's house, and the sight was worse than death, though it failed to deprive her of her strength of mind and the glorious hope of a happy immortality. By this time her own scaffold, made upon the green within the verge of the Tower, was all ready; and almost as soon as her husband's body passed towards the chapel the lieutenant led her forth, she being "in countenance nothing cast down, neither her eyes anything moistened with tears, although her gentlewomen, Elizabeth Tilney and Mistress Helen, wonderfully wept." She had a book in her hand, wherein she prayed until she came to the scaffold. From that platform she addressed a few modest words to the few by-standers, stating that she had justly deserved her punishment for suffering herself to be made the instrument, though unwillingly, of the ambition of others, and that she hoped her fate might serve as a memorable example in after times. She then implored God's mercy, caused herself to be disrobed by her gentlewomen, veiled her own eyes with her handkerchief, and laid her head on the block, exhorting the lingering executioner to the performance of his office. At last the axe fell, and her lovely head rolled away from the body, drawing tears from the eyes of the spectators, yea even of those who, from the very beginning, were best affected to Queen Mary's cause. "Such," says one of the old writers who narrates the catastrophe with much feeling, "was the end of Jane Grey, a lady renowned for the greatness of her birth, but far more for her virtues and excellency of wit; who, swayed by the ambition of her father-in-law and imperious mother, took on her that fatal title of a queen; and being presently hurried from a kingdom to a scaffold, suffered for the faults of others, having overcome all the frowns of adverse fortune by constancy and innocence."*

The father of Lady Jane, the Duke of Suffolk, who had been beaten and taken, like a blundering blockhead, and who was not worthy of the child whom his ambition and imbecility sacrificed, was tried on the 17th of February. He went to Westminster Hall with a cheerful and a very stout countenance, but at his return he was very pensive and heavy, desiring all men to pray for him. There was need,—for he was condemned to die the death of a traitor, and there was no hope of another pardon for this man, whose "facility to bye-practices" had occasioned all or most of these troubles. On the 23rd of February, eleven days after the execution of his daughter and son-in-law, he was publicly beheaded on Tower Hill. Other executions and numerous committals took place while Elizabeth lay in that state prison. Sir Thomas Wyatt met his fate with great fortitude on the 11th of April, solemnly declaring in his last moments that neither the Princess Elizabeth nor Courtenay was privy to his plans. His quarters were set up in divers places, and his head was fixed on a pole at Hay Hill, near Hyde Park, whence it was shortly after stolen and conveyed away by some friends. About a fortnight after this execution Lord Thomas Grey, brother to the late Duke of Suffolk, was beheaded on Tower Hill; and a little later the learned William Thomas, late clerk of the council,* who had attempted suicide in the Tower, was conveyed to Tyburn, and there hanged, headed, and quartered. The most remarkable of all the state trials that rose out of this insurrection was that of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a friend of Wyatt and a most devoted partizan of the Princess Elizabeth. He was brought up to Guildhall for judgment and to certain death (as the court fancied) on the 17th of April; but he made a wonderfully adroit and skilful defence, which so wrought upon the jury that they had the rare courage to return a verdict of not guilty. "How!" cried Sir Thomas Bromley, the Lord Chief Justice, to the jury, "remember yourselves better. This business concerns the queen's highness. Take good heed what ye do." The jurymen, one and all, confirmed their verdict in spite of the frowns and threats of the court. Then Throgmorton besought my Lord Chief Justice to give him the benefit of his acquittal by passing judgment as the law appointed. Bromley said that the court awarded that he should be clearly discharged upon payment of fees: "but nevertheless," he added, "Master Lieutenant, take him back with you to the Tower, for there are other things to be laid to his charge." Then the Attorney General said, that seeing "these men of the jury had strangely acquitted the prisoner," they ought to be bound in a recognizance of 500*l.* a-piece to answer to such charges as should be alleged against them on the queen's behalf. The foreman entreated the lords to be good unto them, and not let them be molested and ruined in their business for the faithful discharge of their consciences; but the court, which had no conscience, committed them all to prison forthwith. Four of

* Bishop Godwin (the greater part of the passage being a quotation from De Thou).

* See ante, p. 453, for Thomas's picture of Edward VI. In his curious writings he strenuously upheld and defended all the worst crimes of Henry VIII. See "The Works of William Thomas, clerk of the privy council in the year 1549, consisting of a very curious and circumstantial account of the Reign of King Henry VIII., in which the causes of the reformation are most particularly and candidly exhibited; to which are added, six essays on questions of great moment to the state, written by the same author at the command and for the private information of King Edward VI. The whole literally transcribed from the valuable and original manuscript in the Cotton Library; with notes by Abraham D'Aubant, Esq."

these jurymen some time afterwards made their submission, and, owning their offence, were delivered out of prison; but the other eight, persisting in their integrity, were detained in custody, and, on the 26th of October (more than six months after the trial), they were brought before the council in the atrocious Star Chamber, where they affirmed that their verdict was given according to the best of their knowledge and their consciences, even as they should answer for the same before God at the day of judgment. One of them said that what they did in that matter was like honest men and true and faithful subjects, and that therefore they ought to be cleared and set at liberty, seeing that they were all ready to submit themselves, always saving and reserving their consciences, veracity, and honesty. The lords of the council were exceedingly offended at their behaviour, and adjudged them all to pay exorbitant fines. Some said that they ought to be fined 1000*l.* a man; but at last it was determined that the foreman, and he who had spoken so boldly in the Star Chamber should pay 2000*l.* a-piece within a fortnight, and the other six 1000 marks each. They were all remanded to prison, and the sheriffs of London were ordered to look after their property, and seal up their warehouses, for they were merchants. On the 12th of December, when they had lain nearly eight months in prison, five of them were set at liberty upon the payment of their fines, which had been reduced to 220*l.* a-piece; the other three having explained, in an humble petition, that their whole property did not amount to the sum they were required to pay, were discharged nine days later upon paying 60*l.* a-piece. When juries were thus treated—and the practice was by no means new or peculiar to this reign—we need scarcely be surprised at the constant returning of a verdict of guilty whenever the government was concerned.*

Several times Elizabeth fancied that her last hour was come. Early in the month of May the constable of the Tower was discharged of his office, and Sir Henry Bedingfield, a bigoted and cruel man, was appointed in his stead. This new constable went suddenly to the fortress with a hundred soldiers in blue coats: the princess, marvellously discomforted, asked of the persons about her whether the Lady Jane's scaffold were taken down or not, fearing that her own turn was come. The circumstance of Bedingfield's appointment seemed very suspicious: seventy years before Sir James Tyrell had been suddenly substituted for Sir Robert Brackenbury, and in the night of mystery and horror that followed Brackenbury's arrival in the Tower, the two princes of the House of York had disappeared, and, as it was generally believed, had been savagely murdered in their bed. But Elizabeth's fears were groundless; her sister had no intention of taking her life; and a few days after, on the 19th of May, the royal captive was conveyed by water from the Tower to Richmond: from Richmond she was removed to Windsor, and from Windsor to Woodstock, where she was finally fixed under the vigilant eyes of the severe and suspicious Bedingfield. Six days after her liberation Courtenay, Earl of Devon, was delivered out of the Tower and sent down to Fotheringay Castle, where he was watched with equal vigilance. Meanwhile preparations were making for the queen's marriage, and the people of London occasionally gave no equivocal proofs of their hatred of it, and of the changes introduced in the national religion. On one Sunday in June, as Dr. Pendleton was preaching papistry at Paul's Cross, he was shot at and nearly killed, upon which a proclamation was made forbidding the shooting of hand-guns and the bearing of any kind of weapons. A little before the court and clergy were greatly enraged at finding a cat, with her head shorn and dressed like a Roman priest, hanged on a gallows in Cheapside; and a little after, a still more violent excitement was produced by a poor wench who played the part of a spirit, and anticipated some of the impositions of the Cock Lane ghost. The real name of this performer, who was engaged in the anti-Catholic interest, was Elizabeth Croft. Being detected, she was made to stand upon a scaffold at Paul's Cross during sermon time, and then publicly to confess the cheat. She confessed that, "being moved by divers lewd persons thereunto, she had, upon the 14th of March last passed, counterfeited certain speeches in a wall of a house without Aldersgate of London, through the which people of the whole city were wonderfully molested, for that all men might hear the voice but not see her person. Some said it was an angel and a voice from heaven, some the Holy Ghost, &c. This was called the Spirit in the Wall: she had lain whistling, in a strange whistle made for that purpose, which was given her by one Drakes, servant to Sir Anthony Neville: then were there other companions, one named Miles, clerk of St. Botolph's without Aldersgate, a player, a weaver, Hill, clerk of St. Leonard's in Foster Lane, and other confederate with her, which, putting themselves among the press, took upon them to interpret what the spirit said, expressing certain seditious words against the queen, the Prince of Spain, the mass, confession, &c."*

On the 19th of July, five days after the exposure of the poor Spirit in the Wall, Philip, Prince of Spain, arrived in Southampton Water. As the Count of Egmont, one of his ambassadors, had been violently assaulted some short time before by the people, who took him for his master, Philip came well attended with a body-guard and troops, and he lingered a few days at the place of his disembarkation, as if in order to ascertain the humour of the nation. There was a little circumstance which did not seem exactly calculated to give him confidence. The Lord Admiral of England fired at the Spanish navy when Philip was on board, because they had not lowered their topsails as a

* Holinshed.

* Stow.

mark of deference to the English navy in the narrow seas. Four days after his arrival the prince travelled to Winchester, and there he was met, on the following morning (it being a wet day), by his mature bride Mary, who took no pains to conceal her impatience, being enabled in her conscience to plead her anxiety for a legitimate and holy Roman succession as the only means of securing the faith in England. They had a long familiar talk, and, on the feast of St. James,—the titular saint of Spain,—their nuptuals were celebrated at Winchester with great pomp. In the beginning of August they travelled together to Windsor Castle, where Philip was installed a knight of the Garter; and on the 11th of the same month they removed to Richmond, whence they descended the river to Southwark, where they rested that night. And the next day, being the 12th of August, they rode over the bridge, and so through London, where they were received with great ceremony and some pageants, in the accustomed places in the city. The cross in Cheap was newly gilded; and, as they passed through St. Paul's Churchyard, a man came sliding, or, as it were, flying upon a rope from Paul's Steeple down to the Dean's Wall.*

Mary had summoned parliament some three months before her husband's arrival: both Houses showed that they were still jealous of the Spaniard, and they adopted further precautions to prevent his ruling as a king in England. They also provided that the peace existing between the English and the French should remain firm and inviolate, notwithstanding this match; and that Philip should not be allowed to touch or alienate any part of the crown property, or jewels, or wardrobe. But all these precautions were not very pleasing to the royal bridegroom; and Philip was not thereby disposed to moderate his excessive pride, haughtiness, and reserve: he scarcely deigned to notice the salutes of the highest nobles in the land; and he entrenched himself within all the barriers of Spanish etiquette and ceremony, so as to render himself in a manner inaccessible. This gave rise to fresh disgusts, for the English had been accustomed to a certain ease and popularity of manners in the most tyrannical of their kings; and Henry VIII., down to the last years of his life, had been frank and accessible to all classes, and, on fitting occasions, a boon companion with most; and hence mainly arose the circumstance that, spite of his numerous atrocities, he had never wholly lost his favour with the people. Philip brought large sums of money with him; but even money could not win him so much as the good-will of the corrupt courtiers. In a word, no one loved him but Mary; and the fondness of a sick and excessively jealous wife was anything but agreeable. He soon showed her the real motives of his marriage, which were, to become absolute master of England, to wear the crown as if in his own right, and to dispose of all the resources of the country in his schemes of aggrandizement on the continent. Though a bigot, he was certainly less anxious about the question of religion. Mary would have gratified him here at the sacrifice of the interests and liberties of her people: she summoned a new parliament, and neglected no means likely to render it compliant. The Spanish gold was distributed with a liberal hand; and, imitating the precedent of former reigns, she wrote circular letters, commanding and imploring that the counties and boroughs would return such members as were wholly devoted to her interests and pleasures. This parliament met at Westminster on the 12th of November: the Lords being as subservient as ever,—the Commons consisting wholly of Catholics or of men indifferent to the great question of religion. Both Houses were ready to second the queen's bigotry, always with the old exception that she should by no means force them to surrender the temporal fruits of their late schism. In the preceding parliament Mary had thought it prudent to retain the title of Supreme Head of the Church; but now she resolved to obtain a repeal of the act passed in the time of her father, which irrevocably annexed that title to the crown. The jealous eyes of the possessors of abbey lands and monastic property saw a long way beyond this mere renunciation of a title; and it was found impossible to make them repeal the Act of Supremacy until the queen caused to be submitted to them the pope's explicit confirmation of the abbey lands to their new proprietors, which confirmation had been conceded by the court of Rome from a conviction that they must either receive the English penitents on their own terms or lose them altogether. It was a great sacrifice; but the Roman priesthood imagined that it would be but temporary, and that they should soon be in a state to prove that for any man to retain the property of the church was to be guilty of the very worst kind of heresy. The pope's confirmation, which caused the current to run smoothly and pleasantly, was delivered through Cardinal Pole, the legate for England, whose attainder had been reversed at the first meeting of the present parliament, and who had been allowed by the emperor to cross from Flanders to his native country, there being no longer any danger of his aspiring to the hand of his relative the queen. With their minds thus set at ease as to their goods and chattels,* both Houses were wonderfully compliant in matters of faith. They listened with contrite countenances to a speech from the lord cardinal, who invited them to return to the bosom of holy mother church, from which they had been so unhappily separated; they voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they greatly repented of the schism in which they had been living, declaring their readiness to repeal all laws enacted in preju-

Stow.

* Michele, the Venetian ambassador, says that the English in general would have turned Jews or Turks, if their sovereign pleased; but the restoration of the abbey lands by the crown kept alive a constant dread among all those who possessed church property. The restitution of the church lands which had been in the hands of the crown cost Mary sixty thousand pounds a year of her revenue.

dice of the only true church, and imploring their majesties and the lord cardinal to intercede with their holy father the pope for their absolution and forgiveness. Gardiner presented this petition to Pole, and Pole, in the name of the pope, forthwith gave full absolution to the parliament and whole kingdom of England; and this being done, they all went to the royal chapel in procession, singing *Te Deum*, and, the next Sunday, Gardiner preached at Paul's Cross, and in his sermon gave a full relation of all these blessed doings, having among his audience the queen's husband and Cardinal Pole, who had gone into the city in great state. Without the least hesitation parliament revived the old brutal laws against heretics, enacted statutes against seditious words, and made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip during his marriage with the queen. But when Mary's minister proposed that Philip should wear, if not the royal, at least the matrimonial crown, they showed a resolute opposition, and the queen was obliged to drop the project of his coronation, as well as that which she had entertained, of getting him declared presumptive heir to the crown. Nor was she more successful when she attempted to obtain subsidies from the Commons, in order to support her husband and the emperor in their wars with France. Philip found it necessary to make an attempt at obtaining popularity: he recommended the instant release of some of the most distinguished of the prisoners in the Tower; and it is generally stated to have been at his instigation that Mary consented to release Elizabeth and the Earl of Devon from the Tower, and to restore to their entire liberty the Lord Henry Dudley, Sir George Harper, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir William Sentlow, or St. Low, and four others. The handsome earl, after a while, received permission to travel on the continent, and he died soon after (in 1556) at Padua. According to one account it was strongly suspected at the time that an Italian, in the pay of the Imperialists, gave him poison; but there is more credibility in the story which relates that, on finding himself cut off from all his high hopes (we can scarcely believe that he was *in love* with Elizabeth, though he might have been with the crown which she was likely to wear), and condemned in the prime of manhood to exile and idleness, he contracted habits of dissipation which hurried him to the grave.*

In her exceeding anxiety for issue, Mary mistook the commencement of a dropsy for the sure sign of pregnancy; and when Cardinal Pole was introduced to her on his happy return to England, she fondly fancied that the child was quickened, even as John the Baptist leaped in his mother's womb at the salutation of the Virgin! On the 27th of November the lord mayor of London, with the aldermen, all in scarlet, assembled according to commandment in St. Paul's Church at nine o'clock in the morning, and in a great fog or mist; and Dr. Chadsey, one of the prebends, preached in the choir in the presence of Bonner, Bishop of London, and nine other bishops; and, before he began preaching, he read a letter sent from the lords of the queen's council, the tenor whereof was, that the Bishop of London should send out certain forms of prayer,* wherein, after thanksgiving to God for his great mercies to this kingdom in giving hopes of an heir to the crown, and infusing life into the embryo, they should pray for the preservation of the queen and the infant, and for her happy delivery, and cause *Te Deum* to be sung everywhere. The Doctor then took up his text, which was, *Ne timeas, Maria; invenisti enim gratiam apud Deum;* † and the sermon being ended, *Te Deum* was sung as ordered, and a solemn procession, with the *Salve, festa dies*, was made all round the church. But the business did not end at St. Paul's Church: it was taken up in both houses of parliament, and it gave great occupation to the whole court. "For then," says Godwin, "by parliament many things were enacted concerning the education of the babe; and much clatter was elsewhere kept about preparations for the child's swaddling clothes, cradle, and other things requisite at the delivery; until, in June in the ensuing year, it was manifested that all was little better than a dream." The parliament, in fact, passed a law, which, in case of the queen's demise, appointed Philip protector during the minority of the infant; but this was all that could be obtained in favour of the suspected Spaniard; and shortly after Mary dissolved the parliament in ill humour.‡ During the session several members of the House of Commons finding themselves unable to prevent measures that were odious to them, showed their disapprobation by making a secession and keeping away from the House. For this contumacy they were indicted after the dissolution: six of them submitted to the queen's mercy, and paid fines: the rest traversed; and, the process having become lengthy, the queen died before it was brought to an issue.

A.D. 1555.—On new year's day a great tumult ensued between some Spaniards and Englishmen at Westminster, and the whole court and city were sore afraid; for a Spanish friar got into the church and rang the great alarum-bell. The whole town,

* Ambassades de Noailles. — Stow. — Holinshed. — Godwin. — Michele, Relazione.—Strype.—Burnet. — Nares, Memoirs of Lord Burghley. — The title of Courtenay, Earl of Devon, remained dormant, from the death of this young nobleman, for nearly three centuries, till the claim to the inheritance of the honour was established a few years ago by the present earl. For the history of the House of Courtenay, one of the most ancient and illustrious in Europe, see Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. lxi.

* Several of the prayers used on this occasion have been preserved. They were composed by different priests, who nearly all thought it necessary to pray that the child might be a male child, "well-favoured and witty," with strength and valour to keep down the heretics.

† Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favour with God.—Luke i. verse 30.

‡ It appears, from Mary's will, which was dated the 30th of April, 1558, or about seven months before her death, that, down to that time, she was confident of being *enceinte*, for she made a provision for settling the crown on her issue.—*Sir Frederick Madden, "Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary;" Introductory Memoir and Copy of Will in Appendix.*

almost, was up in arms, but "never a stroke stricken;" and the affray, which was about some women, ended in more noise than mischief. But Spanish and English pride could never agree: these commotions became frequent—the Spaniards presuming on their stations about the court, the English being more than ever jealous of them. On one occasion Philip gratified the latter by permitting a Spaniard to be hanged at Charing Cross for killing an Englishman there; but, generally, the people believed that he encouraged the insolence of his countrymen, and entertained the project of making the Spaniards their masters. In the beginning of this year there was a curious attempt made to impose on the credulity of the discontented. A stripling, whose real name was William Featherstone, and who was the son of an honest miller, gave himself out to be King Edward VI.; stating that his life had been preserved by some of those miraculous means which suggest themselves at times to inventive imaginations. Wild as was his story, it obtained credit among some rustics. It soon reached the queen's ears, and greatly alarmed her council, who took measures for the immediate arrest of the impostor. He was seized at Eltham, in Kent, but not till the month of May, and was brought before the privy council at Hampton Court. When roughly examined, "he counterfeited a manner of simplicity, or rather frenzy," and would make no direct answer, but only implored pardon, "for he wist not what he said." Upon being further questioned, he said that he had been advised by certain persons to take upon him the name of the late king; but "his talk was not found true;" and he was committed to the Marshalsea prison as a lunatic fool—a moderate and proper decision. It was, however, deemed necessary to exhibit him to the people; and, a few days later, he was carried in a cart through the city of London, with a paper over his head, whereon was written that this was he who had named himself King Edward. "And thence he was conveyed to Westminster, being led round about the Hall, and showed to all the people there; and afterwards he was taken out of the cart and stripped, and then whipped round about the palace at the same cart's tail, and then through Westminster to Smithfield, and then banished into the north, in which country he was born."* But the poor maniac could not be quiet: he spread abroad that King Edward was certainly alive, and that he had spoken with him; and for this he was again apprehended, and drawn, hanged, and quartered at Tyburn in the following year.†

This present year (1555) opened most gloomily for the Protestants. The queen sent Thomas Thirlby, the new Bishop of Ely, the Lord Anthony Montacute, and Sir Edward Carne, or Karne, with a very honourable train of gentlemen and others, as ambassadors to Rome, to confirm the reconciliation of the nation with the Catholic church, and to concert measures for the promotion of the old religion, to the exclusion of all others. But Mary wanted no foreign advisers to urge her into the paths of intolerance and persecution. The conviction was deeply settled in her heart's core and in her brain,—and there were bishops of English birth to insist upon it,—that toleration in religion only led to indifference and the eternal perdition of men's souls,—that any reconciliation of parties or sects was not to be thought of,—that it was the duty of religious princes to exterminate the heretical infection,—that the *mass of the people*,* after all, were attached to the discipline and doctrine of the only true church; and that those of them who were not, would soon come back into the right way if all the heretical portion of the clergy, particularly the bishops, were taken from them, and treated with wholesome severity. The prisons were already crowded—the inquisitors had only to choose their victims, and prepare their stakes and faggots. There were several preludes and preparations to accustom the people to the degradation of these spiritual teachers, whom, only two years before, all had been bound by law to revere and obey. Some married priests, who would not leave their wives, were sent in procession round St. Paul's Church with white sheets over them, and burning tapers and scourges in their hands; and when this humiliating ceremony was over they were publicly whipped. These scenes were repeated in different parts of the kingdom; and the unlucky wives of clergymen were occasionally treated with equal contumely.†

The revived statutes against heretics—that is to say, the acts first passed against the Lollards in the times of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V.—were to take effect from the 20th of January (1555). Previous to that great day of rejoicing, Bonner, with eight bishops and a hundred and sixty orthodox priests, made a grand procession through London to return thanks to the Almighty for the sudden renewal of divine grace in the land. Then a commission sat in the church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, for the trial of Protestants. The first man brought before them was John Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, who had been lying in Newgate among cut-throats and desperadoes for more than a year. When questioned and brow-beaten by his judge, Rogers pointedly asked, "Did not you, yourself, for twenty years, pray against the pope?" "I was forced by cruelty," replied Bishop Gardiner. "And will you use the like cruelty to us?" said Rogers. But these were not days when either party, Papist or Protestant, would feel the full force of this argument; nor

* Holinshed. † Stow.—Godwin.

* Notwithstanding the progress made by the Reformation during the short reign of Edward VI., it is probable that this statement was correct. In London, and the great cities generally, there were many Protestants, but in the rural districts their number was comparatively small. There appears, however, to have been a great difference in this respect among the counties. Norfolk and Suffolk, for example, were to a great extent Protestant, and no part of England suffered so much from Mary's persecutions, though they, in effect, had set her on the throne upon premises which her bigotry could never permit her to keep.

† Holinshed.—Grafton.—Stow.—Strype.

could anything else he spoke avail the prisoner. Kneeling before them, he reminded the court of their long and public acquiescence with the laws in matters of religion of Henry and Edward, and of their repeated oaths taken to maintain the same,—a course only likely to exasperate them, and hurry them on to sentence and execution, in order to escape the hearing of such unpleasant truths. He defended his marriage as being originally contracted in Germany, in a country where marriage was permitted, and even recommended, to clergymen; and he represented that he had never brought his wife into England until the laws of England permitted him so to do, and to live in holy matrimony like other men. The court sentenced him to the flames, without naming the day on which he was to suffer. At an early hour, on the 4th of February, he was suddenly roused from a sound sleep, and warned by the wife of the keeper of Newgate that he must burn that day. "Then," said this resolute man, "I need not truss my points." The only favour he asked was, to be allowed to speak a few words with his dear wife; but Bonner had the brutality to refuse this miserable consolation. He was led towards Smithfield by the sheriffs, singing a *miserere* as he went; and his wife and eleven children, one at the breast, stood where he could see them, near the stake. Nothing moved by this sight, or, at least, not moved to save his life by recanting, the proto-martyr of those times, as he is not unaptly called, stepped up to the fire, and was burnt alive.* On the night after Rogers's martyrdom in Smithfield the Protestant bishop Hooper, one of the pillars of the reformed church, was told that he was to be burnt, not in Smithfield, however, but at Gloucester, among his own people: and at Gloucester he was burnt in a slow fire on the 9th of February. The same course was adopted with Robert Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, a rigid man and of a rough behaviour, who was sent down from London to his own diocese, where he was burnt alive on the 30th of March. About the same time fires were lit in other parts of the kingdom. On the eastern side, on the very day that Bishop Hooper was burned at Gloucester, Dr. Rowland Taylor, who had lived for some time in the family of Archbishop Cranmer, who preferred him to the rectory of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, was burned in that town. This Taylor was one of the boldest of those who suffered for conscience' sake, and, like nearly every one of those Protestant martyrs, he was a man of humble birth. His neighbour, the rector of Aldham, either actuated by an honest attachment to Romanism or by an interested anxiety to gain favour with the ruling powers (it is not often that we can discriminate between the two motives), undertook to say mass in Hadleigh Church on Queen Mary's accession, which Taylor resolutely refused to do. Having up to this time the law on his side, for the statutes of the late reign had not yet been repealed, the rector of Hadleigh ran to his church to prevent what he considered a profanation. He found the principal entrance closed and locked, but the chancel-door was on the latch, and by it he entered; and on entering he saw his intrusive neighbour, the Rector of Aldham, standing before a newly erected altar equipped like a Roman priest for the celebration of mass, with several men with naked swords standing near the foot of the altar to protect him. "Thou devil!" said Taylor (his language was not more violent than what was used commonly by each of the conflicting sects), "thou devil! who made thee so bold as to enter into this church of Christ?" "Thou traitor!" retorted the rector of Aldham, "what doest thou here to let and disturb the queen's proceedings?" "I am no traitor," replied the Rector of Hadleigh, "but the shepherd whom God hath appointed to feed his flock in this place. I have therefore authority here, and I command thee, thou Popish wolf, in the name of God, to avoid hence." But the rector of Aldham would not move, and his party within the church forcibly expelled Taylor and made fast all the doors. The people on the outside, who were Protestants, and who took the part of the rightful rector, then threw stones at the church windows. Soon after this scene, when the determination of the new government was apparent to all men, Rowland Taylor was exhorted to seek safety in flight. "No!" he replied to these friendly advisers," I am now old, and have already lived too long, to see these terrible days. Flee you, and act as your consciences lead. I am fully determined to face the bishop (Gardiner), and tell him to his beard that he doth naught." Nor did this high courage, and a certain wit or humour which he possessed, forsake him in the presence of that court whose every sentence was written in fire and flame. He boldly asked Gardiner, with what countenance he could appear before the judgment-seat and answer to his oaths taken under Henry VIII. and the blessed King Edward VI., his son? The chancellor replied that those were Herod's oaths,—unlawful, and therefore to be broken; that he had done well in breaking them, and that he trusted and wished that Taylor would do the same. In the end Taylor was committed to prison, on his own admission that he was a married man and held the mass to be a vile idolatry. On the 4th of February Bishop Bonner went to his prison to degrade him from the priesthood, a ceremony considered indispensable by the Roman church before any sentence can be passed upon any man in holy orders for any crime whatsoever. Taylor, though an old man, was stout and robust: when Bishop Bonner, according to the forms of the ceremony of

* Fuller.—Godwin.—Blunt.—Dispatches of Noailles, the French ambassador. This execution produced a great effect upon the people, but one altogether different from what the wretched Mary and her bishops expected. Noailles, who was a Catholic, says, "This day the confirmation of the alliance between the pope and this kingdom has been made by a public and solemn sacrifice of a preaching doctor named Rogers, who has been burnt alive for being a Lutheran; *but he has met his death persisting in his opinion.* At which the greater part of the people here took such pleasure that they did not fear to give him many acclamations to comfort his courage; and even his children stood by consoling him, in such a way that he looked as if they were conducting him to a merry marriage."

clerical degradation, was about to strike him on the breast with his crosier, his chaplain in a great fright said, "My lord, strike him not, for he will surely strike again!" "Yea, by St. Peter will I!" said Taylor; "the cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian if I refused to fight in my master's quarrel!" Even after large deductions on the score of an almost unavoidable exaggeration, it appears certain that this bold preacher met his fate with wonderful fortitude; but his sufferings were less atrocious than those of Bishop Hooper, for one of the executioner's men broke his skull with a halberd, and thrust his body into the midst of the quick fire. From this Rowland Taylor descended the eloquent, the learned, the great and amiable Jeremy Taylor, the antagonist of the Church of Rome, and yet the advocate of toleration,—one of the first and best of that holy band who taught that God was not served by the torment of his creatures.

In another direction, Laurence Saunders, who had been a tradesman or a merchant, but who had studied at the University of Cambridge, and had made himself a good scholar and a most eloquent preacher, was burnt at Coventry. He was of a different constitution and temper from Rowland Taylor, being quiet and somewhat timid, but he had the courage to stay when he might have fled out of the country, and, with the horrid stake before him, he would not purchase life by recanting. The now prevalent fanaticism of the papists occasionally awoke a like spirit on the part of the Protestants. On Easter day, the most solemn festival of the Roman church, one William Branch, or Flower, who had once been a monk of Ely, but who had embraced the reformed religion, stabbed another priest as he was administering the sacrament to the people in the manner of Rome in the church of St. Margaret's Westminster. No crime could be so frightful as this in the eyes of the Catholics: there was no hope of escaping from a crowded church, and the enthusiast does not appear to have attempted it. On the 24th of April his *sacrilegious* right hand was cut off, and then, "for opinions in matters of religion," he was burned in the sanctuary near to St. Margaret's Churchyard.*

During the festivities of Easter the Princess Elizabeth was summoned to court, that she might congratulate the queen, who had taken her chamber at Hampton Court, *to be delivered;* and it should seem that Elizabeth acquitted herself very dexterously on this delicate occasion. But, to return to the chief business of this deplorable reign, John Cardmaker, chancellor of the church of Wells, was burned at London on the last day of May; and John Bradford, who is universally described by the Protestants as being able, eloquent, learned and godly, suffered the same cruel death at the same place about a month later. A little before, or a little after these executions in the capital, Thomas Hawkes, an Essex gentleman, was burned at Coggeshall; John Lawrence, a priest, at Colchester; Tomkins, a weaver, at Shoreditch; Pigott, a butcher, at Braintree; Knight, a barber, at Maldon; and Hunter, an apprentice to a silk-weaver, at Brentwood. Other men, of a humble condition of life, frankly gave their bodies to the flames in other places, rather than recant and accept the gracious pardon of the queen and mother church; and the pangs even of that horrible death must have been less than the sufferings of hundreds of others, who lay in noisome dungeons, crowded—heaped one upon the other—without fire, without proper food, without the pure and blessed water that was flowing in copious streams on all sides, and even under the very walls of their prisons,—without light,—without books or paper, or the resort of friends and relatives,—liable at every hour to the intrusion of the executioner with his racks, and brakes, and screws, and other infernal instruments of torture.

Bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, who was far less cruel than many, soon grew weary of presiding in the horrible court at the church of St. Mary Overy: he withdrew as early as the month of February, when his duties devolved on an apter spirit, Bonner, Bishop of London, who possessed all the essentials for an inquisitor and familiar of the holy office in a greater degree than any Englishman we ever heard of. This prelate sat in the consistory of St. Paul's, where the lord mayor and certain of the aldermen were forced to attend. In this court he could, with ease and great comfort to himself, condemn men to the flames at the rate of half a dozen a-day; but even Bonner was too slow for the government; the privy council kept continually urging him forward in this frightful persecution; and Mary and her husband addressed to him one letter (if not more) as if even he wanted excitement to the prosecution of heretics.* Cardinal Pole, whose moderation and mercy caused him to be suspected at Rome of entertaining himself some heretical notions, in vain endeavoured to stop the destructive torrent, and to prove to Mary and her government that the practice of persecution was not only highly dangerous to themselves but the scandal of all religion. This enlightened Catholic was perfectly well acquainted with the bad success of the emperor in Germany in attempting to maintain one standard of faith by means of fire and sword; and his humanity and love of his country made him deplore what he could not prevent.

Ever since the month of March of the preceding year Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, had been removed from the Tower to Oxford. The two latter, like the primate, had favoured the usurpation of the Lady Jane; and Ridley, with great spirit, honestly avowed that he had acted with his eyes open,—that he had never been actuated by fear of Northumberland or of any one else, but

* Stow.—Godwin.

* Burnet.—Strype.—Hallam, Constitutional History. Burnet gives, in his Collection of Records, a letter from the king and queen to Bishop Bonner, recommending more activity.

merely by a conviction that that step was necessary and indispensable for the preservation of the Protestant religion. If Cranmer had had the same decision and courage, it is *possible* that affairs might have taken a different turn, or, at the worst, he would have had a better excuse to plead than that of his having gone into the scheme of excluding Mary against his conscience, being overpowered by the importunities of the dying Edward, whom a judicious writer terms, in this instance, "a misguided boy."* Ridley, and Latimer also, were amenable to the same charge of treason as Cranmer; but for very evident purposes it was resolved to sink this offence in the more awful charge of heresy. The timid character of the primate was well known, and the Catholic party seem to have considered it possible to force all three to recant. This would be to cover their cause with contempt; and if they proved obstinate, there was the last resort of the stake, which would deprive the reformed church of three of its most conspicuous members.

On the 14th of April, about five weeks after their first arrival at Oxford, they were brought out of their prisons to St. Mary's Church, where questions relating to transubstantiation, and the efficacy of the mass as a sacrifice and propitiation for the sins of quick and dead, were submitted to them. They were allowed to debate these points in public, and, if they could convince their mortal enemies, then their prison gates would be opened. But the orthodox controversialists did not give themselves the trouble to preserve even the appearance of fair play; they would allow their opponents no books, —no time for preparation,—nor would they let them argue together. Cranmer was to face alone their entire battery on the 16th of April, Ridley on the 17th, and Latimer on the 18th. On the day appointed Cranmer appeared before the consistory assembled in the divinity-school, and, with more courage than had been expected from him, he proceeded to support the tenets which he had taught; but there were many voices to one; the doctors called him unlearned, unskilful, ignorant; and the Oxford scholars very generally hissed and hooted, and clapped their hands, whenever he advanced any opinion they disliked. On the following day Ridley appeared in the same place, and met with much the same treatment; but Ridley had more nerve than Cranmer, and more learning than Latimer, and to him is generally attributed the glory of the contest on the Protestant side. He adhered steadily to one line of argument; his mind was so stored not only with passages of Scripture, but also with the writings of the fathers and the canons of the councils, that he could detect the slightest misquotation, and bring the whole spirit of those writings to bear against his adversaries, who, in the very heat and bitterness of disputation, were obliged to praise his subtle wit and great reading. But he might as well have held his tongue, for, whenever he pressed them closely with an argumentative syllogism, they all lifted up their voices against him together. "I have but one tongue," cried Ridley; "I cannot answer at once to you all." When poor Latimer was brought up to be baited, on the following day, he was so weak and faint that he could scarcely stand; and his stomach was in such a state that, though he needed refreshment, he was afraid to drink for vomiting. In spite of the persecutions which he had himself directed when the current ran in a different direction, his appearance was calculated to excite sympathy in every breast except those of controversialists and dogmatists. "Ha! good master," said the aged prelate to one of his judges, "I pray ye be good to an old man. You may be once as old as I am; you may come to this age, and this debility." Cranmer and Ridley had disputed in Latin, but Latimer spoke in his mother tongue, and was the better understood. But they would not permit him to proceed without frequent interruptions; and the Oxford scholars hissed and hooted, and laughed at him, making altogether such a din that the divinity-school looked more like a bear-garden than a scene appointed for the discussion of dogmas deemed essential to the salvation of men's souls. Poor Latimer, a man of humble birth, and simple, if not rustic manners, said, with a *naïveté* which would be amusing in other circumstances, that in his time and day he had spoken before two great kings more than once, for two or three hours together, without interruption; "but now," he added, "if I may speak the truth, by your leaves, I cannot be suffered to declare my mind before you, no, not by the space of a quarter of an hour, without snatches, revilings, checks, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like in such an audience all my life long." On the 28th of April he was again, together with Ridley and Cranmer, brought up to St. Mary's Church. They were asked by the commissioners whether they would now turn or not; but they bade them read on, in the name of God, for that they were not minded to turn; and so were they condemned all three! For various reasons the execution of their sentence was suspended for nearly eighteen months, and at the end of that period (on the 16th of October, 1555) Ridley and Latimer were led to the stake without Cranmer, who remained in prison five months longer. In the ditch on the north side of the pleasant town of Oxford, and over against Baliol College, a great stake was erected. Ridley was brought up to the spot between the mayor of Oxford and a worshipful alderman. Latimer came after him with what speed he could, but, by reason of great age, was slow: Ridley ran to meet him, and, kissing his cheek, said, "Be of good heart, brother; for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or strengthen us to bear it." It was usual to preach a sermon to the heretics before burning them; and one Dr. Smith, who, for interest or fear, had renounced Popery in King Edward's time, and who was now all the more zealous on

* Hallam, Const. Hist.

that account, mounted the pulpit on this occasion, and delivered a vehement discourse on the text,—"Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." When the sermon was over Ridley stripped himself for the fire, giving away his apparel, a new groat, some nutmegs and bits of ginger, a dial, and such other few things as he had about him; and among the by-standers were men too happy to get any rag of him. In the helplessness of old age Latimer had left it to his keeper to strip him; but when he stood up *in his shroud*, erect and fearless, by the side of the fagots, he seemed, in the eyes of some of the beholders, to be no longer the withered and decrepit old man, "but as comely a father as one might lightly behold." Ridley was tied first to the stake, and a kindled fagot was laid at his feet, and matches were applied to other parts of the pyre. As they were chaining Latimer to the reverse of the stake, the hardy old man exclaimed, "Be of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." Then the flames arose, and Latimer was soon seen to expire in the midst of them; but Ridley's sufferings were long and dreadful. The Lord Williams of Thame, the vice-chancellor of the university, the other commissioners appointed by the court, and a multitude of Oxford scholars and gentlemen, stood by and witnessed the whole, for the most part with pious and complacent countenances, like men that felt the happy assurance that they were doing God service. But there were other spectators who looked on with very different eyes. The fortitude of the sufferers confirmed Protestants in their faith; every execution made some converts, and went to awaken a thorough and most lasting abhorrence of the persecuting church.*

About six weeks before these executions at Oxford, King Philip passed over to the continent, in no very good humour with our island, for his residence in England had given him slender hopes of being able to bend the country to his purposes; and he was soon afterwards made to feel, by the whole course of public proceedings in parliament and elsewhere, that he had in a manner thrown himself away in a marriage with a disagreeable woman. Mary's uncomfortable fondness seemed to increase with his absence: she wrote him tender letters, to which he seldom replied, except when he wished her to obtain money for his use from her parliament; and he entertained his courtiers (if not a mistress) with unmanly criticisms on his wife's person and manners. On the 21st of October, five days after the death of Ridley and Latimer, the parliament met in a mood less obsequious than usual, and the queen, in her anxiety to serve the Church of Rome, excited a somewhat stormy opposition. Some months before, in her ardent zeal for the pope, she had the imprudence to consult certain members of the privy council touching the restoration of all the abbey lands in England, which she told them she considered had been taken away from their proper owners in time of schism, and that by unlawful means, and such as were contrary both to the interests of God and of the church. She told them that, for her own part, she considered an immediate surrender of what the crown had received essential to salvation, and that she set more value on the salvation of her soul than on the possession of ten kingdoms such as England. From her vehemence it was expected that she would press for the surrender of the lands by whomsoever held, and on this head the sensitive parliament were never at their ease during the short remainder of her reign. But during the present session she only required them to legalise her restoring the first-fruits and tenths, and the impropriations vested in the crown. Even to this parliament objected; and when the commons came to vote supplies, it was asked with some violence what justice there was in taxing the subject to relieve the sovereign's necessities when she refused to avail herself of funds legally at her disposal?—and it was also suggested that the Catholic clergy, who were growing rich by the royal liberality, ought to make large sacrifices for the relief of their benefactress. The clergy, it should seem, had not been backward in so doing, or at least it was stated in reply, that the convocation had agreed to pay the queen a subsidy of six shillings in the pound. At last the House passed the supplies, but with a considerable deduction from the amount originally proposed; and they also passed the bills about the first-fruits, and tenths, and impropriations, but in such a spirit as showed that it would be unsafe to urge them to further concessions in that direction. When ministers had brought up a bill of penalties, and for the sequestering of the property of the Duchess of Suffolk (first cousin of the queen and mother of Lady Jane Grey), "and others contemptuously gone over the seas,"* the Commons rejected it on the third reading; and they showed no more respect to another bill for incapacitating certain persons, who were not sufficiently diligent in the detecting and prosecuting of heretics, from acting as justices of the peace. After a short session, the queen dissolved parliament on the 9th of December.† During the session Bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, had gone to his final account. He attended at the opening of the Houses, and displayed his usual ability and energy; but on the third day his bodily sufferings obliged him to quit his post, and he expired of a painful disease on the 12th of November. The great seal was given to another ecclesiastic—to Heath, Archbishop of York; but, though keen in the persecuting of Protestants, the new chancellor had not the talent and address of the old one.

* Strype.—Fox.—Godwin.—Blunt.

* Journals.—The duchess had been more guilty than her husband in the usurpation of Lady Jane; but at a very early stage she made her peace with the court, and was even entertained for a while in a friendly manner by Queen Mary. It was alleged that she had fled abroad for her religion.

† Journals.—Holinshed.—Stow.

Meanwhile (A.D. 1556) Mary's unthankful husband kept pressing her for money, and still more money. To make up for the scanty supplies voted by parliament, she and her new chancellor had recourse to a variety of illegal and violent expedients. At first one thousand persons were named on account of their wealth and their real or supposed affection to the queen, and upon these was levied a loan of sixty thousand pounds: then a general loan was exacted from every person in the kingdom possessed of twenty pounds a-year,—a burden that fell heavily on the country gentry, who were obliged to pay: then sixty thousand marks were levied on seven thousand yeomen who had not paid their quota to the former loan; and thirty-six thousand pounds more were exacted from the merchants. In the blind eagerness of this insane government the commerce of the country was checked and embarrassed in all kinds of ways; and even the goods of foreigners, which they had bought and paid for in the London market, were seized or put under embargo, that some unheard-of duty might be raised upon them. On one occasion the queen prohibited for four months the exporting of any English cloth to the Netherlands, in order that certain merchant adventurers of London, with whom she had bargained for a large sum, might have the opportunity of selling at a great advantage the goods which they had already exported to that country. When the English company settled in Antwerp refused her a loan of forty thousand pounds, she concealed her resentment till immense quantities of their cloth and kerseys were shipped for Antwerp fair, and she then laid an embargo on the whole,—ships and goods,—and obliged the merchants to agree to lend her *sixty* thousand pounds, and to submit to an imposition of twenty shillings on each piece of goods. On another occasion she prohibited the foreign merchants in England from making any exportation, receiving a large sum from the English merchants for the monopoly they acquired by this iniquitous and most absurd interposition. All the money was spent as soon as got; the mass of it went to her husband or to Rome; and Mary then attempted to borrow money abroad from the great trading cities, but her credit was so low, that, though she offered fourteen per cent., none would lend, until she compelled the city of London to be security for her.*

It appears that the court calculated that when Cranmer should be no longer supported by the more courageous spirit of Ridley and Latimer he would temporise, as he had done before, and, in the fear of death, take such steps as would cover himself with infamy and bring discredit on the whole Protestant party; and that for these express reasons he was left alive. It should be mentioned, however, that there were other reasons, and that, as a metropolitan, his case was reserved for the pope himself, the tribunal which had dispatched the two suffragan bishops not being competent, in canonical law, to take cognizance of it. By a grievous mockery the pope cited this close prisoner at Oxford to appear at Rome and answer for his heresies. At the end of the eighty days, having taken no care, as it was said in the papal instrument, to appear at Rome, he was pronounced guilty, and Bonner, Bishop of London, and Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, were appointed commissioners to degrade him, and to see the sentence executed upon him. Bonner, in the process of degradation, is said to have insulted his victim in the grossest manner, and to have testified great joy and exultation. Cranmer, who was delivered over to the secular power,—for by a delicate fiction the persecuting church was never the executor of its own sentences,—trembled at the near approach of a horrible death, and betrayed that weakness upon which his enemies had calculated. He had written in abject terms to the queen before, and, by receiving the visits in his cell, and listening to the arguments, of a learned Spanish monk,—a certain friar Soto—and other Catholics, he seems to have wished that it should be believed he was still open to conviction. He now renewed his applications for mercy, and turned a ready ear to those who suggested that mercy might be obtained, but only by recantation. It was a vital point with his enemies to lead him to this; and, if the truth is told, they proceeded with a dexterity and malice truly infernal, softening the hardships of his captivity, which might have rendered death less terrible, and giving him again to taste of the pleasures of life. They removed him to the house of the Dean of Christchurch, where he fared delicately, and was allowed to play at bowls and walk about at his pleasure: they told him that the queen loved him and only wished for his conversion; that the council were rather his friends than enemies, and would be glad to see him among them in honour and dignity. But the argument which probably had most weight of all, and which was likely to suggest itself to such a mind daily and nightly, was that he was not so advanced in life but that many years might in the course of nature remain to him of a lusty old age. Latimer, who had met death so boldly, was an aged, a very aged, man, sick and infirm, and so he only threw away, for conscience' sake, a few months, or weeks, or days, of a suffering life; but he, Cranmer, *was only in his sixty-seventh year*, and sound in bodily health! Not to dwell upon this miserable scene, in which, after all, Cranmer excites rather pity and compassion than contempt, and in which he is far more easily excused than in many others of his preceding career, he formally renounced the faith he had taught, and, as his enemies were not satisfied with his signature to one scroll, he signed recantation after recantation until the number amounted to six!* But if we make a charitable

* Cowper, Chron.—Godwin.—Strype.

* Strype has published them all. See Eccles. Memor. iv. 407, &c. A part of Strype's Preface to these papers is worth quoting:—"Our writers mention only one recantation, and that Fox hath set down, wherein they follow him. But this is but an imperfect rela-

and a proper allowance for the weakness of human nature in the case of the victim, we can make none for the diabolical malice of his persecutors, who, when they had thus, as they conceived, loaded him with eternal obloquy, led him to the stake. While the monks and the learned doctors at Oxford were in great jubilee at having brought down to the very mire one of the proudest columns of the reformed church, Mary sent secret orders to Dr. Cole, provost of Eton College, to prepare his condemned sermon. On the 21st of March the prisoner was brought up to St. Mary's Church, where Cole explained in the sermon that repentance does not avert all punishment, as examples in the bible proved; that Cranmer had done the church and the Roman Catholics so much mischief that he must die; and that their majesties had, besides, other good reasons for burning him. The fallen primate of England had learned the day before what was intended for him, and, having no longer the slightest hope of life, he seems to have summoned up resolution to meet his inevitable doom like a man. It is said that a prescribed speech was expected from him, in which he should publicly repeat his renunciation of Protestantism; but this appears to us rather doubtful, for the persecuting clergy knew their business too well to count even upon a simple recantation, except as the price of pardon or of life; and they had told Cranmer that he *must* burn. Some few men—their number was wonderfully small considering that death of torture—had recanted when brought to the stake and offered the queen's pardon on that condition; but it was not to be expected that any one would do so when there was no offer of pardon, but, on the contrary, a certain assurance of death. Accordingly, Cranmer acted as every man would have done in the like situation: he renounced the pope and all his doctrines,—he gave a brief summary of his real faith,—he protested against the atrocious means which had been used,—he accused himself of having, from fear of death, sacrificed truth and his conscience by subscribing the recantations. It was not convenient to permit him to make a long address: he was soon pulled down from the platform in the church on which he stood, and hurried away to the same ditch, over against Baliol College, where his more fortunate friends, Ridley and Latimer, had suffered five months before. He was stripped to the shirt, and tied to the stake: he made no moan or useless prayer for mercy in this world: the death which he had so dreaded, and for so long a time, seemed less dreadful when he saw it face to face. As soon as the flames began to rise he thrust into them his right hand,—that erring hand which had signed the recantations. "When the fire raged more fiercely his body abided as immoveable as the stake whereto he was fastened, and, lifting up his eyes towards heaven, he exclaimed, 'Lord receive my spirit!' and soon expired."* The Romish church of England, with all its absolute hopes, may almost be said to have perished in the flames that consumed Cranmer. The impression made by his martyrdom was immense, and as lasting as it was wide and deep. On the side of the Catholics, the putting him to death was as gross an error in policy as it was atrocious and detestable as a crime. "Had the malignity of his enemies been directed rather against his reputation than his life,—had the reluctant apostate been permitted to survive his shame, a prisoner in the Tower,—it must have been a more arduous task to defend the memory of Cranmer; but his fame was brightened in the fire that consumed him."†

On the very day after Cranmer's death, Cardinal Pole, who had now taken priest's orders, was consecrated and installed Archbishop of Canterbury. But, though primate and papal legate, and fully convinced of the atrocity and worse than uselessness of persecution, he could not change the temper of the queen, nor stay the bloody hands of her favourites and ministers. Paul IV., who now wore the tiara, had been his personal enemy; and Pole, who apparently had not more courage than Cranmer, seems to have stood in awe of his fierce and intolerant spirit. On the 27th of June thirteen persons, being condemned for opinions concerning the sacrament, were burnt at Stratford-le-Bow.‡ In all, eighty-four persons of both sexes are said to have been martyred this year by fire. "Neither did their cruelty exercise itself on the living only: the bones of Martin Bucer and Paul Phagius, long since dead, were dug up, formally accused of heresy, and, no man undertaking their cause (as who durst?), condemned, and publicly burned in the market-place at Cambridge. And Peter Martyr's wife, who died at Oxford, was disinterred, and with barbarous and inhuman spite buried in a dunghill."§

In order that we may not have to return to this revolting subject, we will here throw together a few other incidents, in completion of the picture of Mary's persecutions. From the martyrdom of John Rogers, who suffered on the 4th of February, 1555, about six months after Mary's accession, to the five last victims, who were burned at Canterbury on the 10th of November, 1558, only seven days before her death, not fewer than two hundred and eighty-eight individuals, among whom were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, fifty-five

tion of this good man's frailty; I shall therefore endeavour here to set down this piece of his history more distinctly. There were several recanting writings, to which Cranmer subscribed, one after another; for after the unhappy bishop, by over-persuasion, wrote one paper with his subscription set to it, which he thought to pen so favourably and dexterously for himself that he might evade both the danger from the state and the danger of his conscience too, that would not serve, but another was required as explanatory of that; and, when he had complied with that, yet, either because writ too briefly or too ambiguously, neither would that serve, but drew on a third, yet fuller and more expressive than the former. Nor could he escape so, but still a fourth and a fifth paper of recantation was demanded of him, to be more large and more particular; nay, and lastly, a sixth, which was very prolix, containing an acknowledgment of all the forsaken and detested errors and superstitions of Rome, an abhorrence of his own books, and a vilifying of himself as a persecutor, a blasphemer, a mischief-maker, nay, and as the wickedest wretch that lived."

* Godwin.—Burnet.—Strype.—Blunt, Sketch of the Reformation
† Hallam, Constitutional History of England.
‡ Stow. § Godwin.

women, and four children, were burned in different places for their religious opinions; and, in addition to these, there were several hundreds who were tortured, ruined in their goods and estates, and many poor and friendless victims that were left to die of hunger in their prisons. With the exception of some few of the churchmen, these individuals were almost entirely of the middling or humbler classes,—the rich and great, as we have noticed, and as has been observed by several writers before us, showing little disposition to martyrdom. Only eight laymen of the rank of gentlemen are named; but it would be unjust to represent all the aristocracy as supple hypocrites, though they did not expose themselves voluntarily to persecution. The earls of Oxford and Westmoreland and Lord Willoughby got into trouble, and were censured by the council for religion; and the second earl of Bedford suffered a short imprisonment. Among those who were said to have "contemptuously gone over the seas," there were several persons of rank, whose property and interests suffered during their forced travels on the continent. Other individuals, who held profitable places under government, voluntarily resigned them, and retired to the obscurity of a country life. Even Sir Ralph Sadler, the unscrupulous diplomatist, gave up his appointments and withdrew to the then quiet little village of Hackney, his native place, and there remained till the accession of Elizabeth, when his craft and talents were again brought into play for the support of the Protestant interests. In his case, no doubt, there was a reasonable apprehension of the odium and malice which the Catholics must have borne to him as one who had grown wealthy on the spoils of the church; and this feeling may have had its influence on many others in the like circumstances. But yet there were *some*, who had partaken far more largely than Sadler in the spoils of the abbeys, and who yet remained about the court, and even obtained a certain degree of royal favour by entering zealously into the spirit of Mary's persecution. The politic Cecil, who in heart and in head detested the course pursued, which he saw to be as bad in a political as in a religious light, conformed outwardly to what he could not resist; and it is said that he drew the line of conduct for the Princess Elizabeth, recommending humility and obedience, and certain compliances with the times. But it is quite certain that Elizabeth possessed a natural turn both for simulation and dissimulation, and that she scarcely stood in need of a guide and instructor in these particulars. She opened a chapel in her house, as commanded; she entertained mass-priests; she kept a large crucifix constantly suspended in her chamber; she worked with her own hands garments for saints and Madonnas; and, when permitted to visit the court, and take part in the entertainments, she also, as a price paid therefore, accompanied the queen in her religious processions, which were conducted with great pomp, and in her visits to the re-Catholicized churches, which were in part restored to more than their antient magnificence. *If* Elizabeth entertained *in her heart* a contempt for these ceremonials and observances, it was essential to her safety that she should keep it there, though it was not very easy for her to preserve that dangerous secret, and her other secrets of a political nature; for, though she enjoyed apparent liberty, she was in fact surrounded with spies and guards, so that it was supposed that nobody could come or go to her house, that nothing could be done or spoken there, but it was made known to the queen.* Elizabeth suffered more annoyance and persecution in the way of matrimony than on account of religion. Philip, who was most anxious to remove her by marriage out of the kingdom, proposed, and in fact insisted, that she should give her hand to the Duke of Savoy, who came into England to press his own suit; but the princess obstinately refused, and had the art or good fortune to gain over to her side her sister Mary, who rarely opposed the wishes of her husband. Soon after the King of Sweden tried to obtain her hand for his eldest son Eric. The Swedish ambassador intrusted with this delicate mission was directed by his sovereign to make his application directly to Elizabeth herself, by a message in which neither the queen nor her council was at present to participate. Elizabeth, who confidently looked to the succession of the English crown, as one well aware of the state of Mary's health and of her own great popularity with a large portion of the nation, not only rejected the suit, but resolved to turn the gallant and generous mode in which it was opened by the Swede to her own immediate advantage. She declared that she could never listen to any overtures of this nature which had not previously received the sanction of her majesty. Her majesty was charmed at this declaration, and the two sisters thenceforward lived in tolerable friendship. Elizabeth, who lavished her protestations of gratitude for her majesty's goodness,—her acknowledgments that she was bound to honour, serve, love, and obey her highness in all things,—passed the greater part of the remainder of her sister's reign at her pleasant manor of Hatfield, with few privations and no personal hardships to endure, but not without an almost constant dread of being implicated by the discovery of plots in which it seems almost certain that she secretly partook, or ruined by the rashness of some of her friends. A tender heart might have been racked and tortured by the fate of others; and in one particular case the royally dull feelings of Elizabeth must have been touched. Sir John Cheke, one of the finest scholars of that period, one of the best of men if he had risen above the intolerance and persecuting spirit of his age, had been preceptor to her brother King Edward, and had assisted in her own education. Sir John got free from the Tower, into which he was thrown for the part he had taken

* *Relazione*, by Michele, the Venetian ambassador.—Dispatches of Noailles, the French ambassador.—The Venetian says that, though Elizabeth was living *Catholically* (*vivendo Cattolicamente*), yet it was thought that she was only dissimulating.

in the affair of Lady Jane Grey, but all his landed property was confiscated. Having obtained her majesty's permission to travel on the continent for a limited period, he went to Switzerland, and stayed some time at Basil, where an English congregation was established. Led by his love of classical lore, he crossed the Alps into Italy, and even visited Rome, the head-quarters of the religion which he had attacked, without molestation, and apparently without risk. In the beginning of 1556 he reached Strasburgh, whence he addressed a letter to his dear friend and brother-in-law, Sir William Cecil, imploring him to hold fast his Protestant faith, and "take heed how he did in the least warp or strain his conscience by any compliance for his worldly security." From Strasburgh Sir John Cheke privately repaired on a visit to his two learned friends Lord Paget and Sir John Mason, who were then Mary's ambassadors in Flanders. Both these men were recent court converts to Catholicism, and Paget had testified great zeal. The fact is not clear, but it appears probable that his lordship betrayed his old friend, for on his return, between Brussels and Antwerp, Cheke, with his companion Sir Peter Carew, was arrested by a provost marshal of King Philip, bound hand and foot, thrown into a cart, and conveyed to a vessel which was about to sail for England. It seems that his leave of absence had expired, and that there was no new political offence to be alleged against him except his not returning home at the time fixed. But in these cruel proceedings the queen and her husband, and the zealots of their party, aimed at a high object. Cheke, though a layman, had done almost as much as Cranmer in consolidating the Protestant church, and it was resolved to force him to recant like Cranmer. Gagged and muffled, he was thrown into the Tower, and, to escape the stake and the miseries to which he was subjected, he signed three ample recantations, and publicly proclaimed his acceptance of all the tenets and doctrines of the Roman church. But this was not deemed price enough for a liberation from prison to shame and obloquy: he was made to applaud the heavenly mercy of his persecutors; nay, it is said that he was obliged to take his seat on the bench by the side of Bishop Bonner and assist that English inquisitor in sentencing his brother Protestants to the flames at Smithfield. Shame, remorse, and affliction caused this accomplished man to die in the forty-seventh year of his age, of a death more terrible than burning.

Although that institution never obtained a name or formal establishment in England, all the worst practices of the Inquisition were adopted. An ecclesiastical commission was appointed, without authority of parliament, for the effectual extirpation of heresy. The commissioners were empowered to inquire into all heresies, either by presentments, by witnesses, or by any other political way they could devise,—to seize the bringers in, the sellers, the readers of all heretical books,—to examine and punish all misbehaviour in any church or chapel, and negligence in attending mass, confession, and the rest,—to try all priests that did not preach pure Roman orthodoxy,—and if they found any that did obstinately persist in their heresies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be punished according to the spiritual laws. The commissioners had also full power to break open houses, to search premises, to compel the attendance of witnesses, "and to force them to make oath of such things as might discover what they sought after."* It appears, from letters written to Lord North and others, that there was a standing order "to put to the torture such obstinate persons as would not confess." Informers were encouraged and courted; so that nearly every villain could gratify his spite on his personal enemies by accusing them of heresy or of disrespectful words; and, at the same time, secret spies were retained, who not only frequented public places, but also invaded the sacred privacy of domestic life. The justices of the peace received instructions to call secretly before them one or two honest persons within their districts, or more, at their discretion, and impose on them, by oath or otherwise, the duty of secretly learning and searching out such persons as "evil behaved themselves" in church, or that spoke against the king's or queen's proceedings. And it was set down in the same diabolical instructions, "that the information shall be given *secretly* to the justices; and the same justices shall call the accused persons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they are accused."† Although the character of the upper classes of society had been wofully deteriorated, the naturally frank and generous spirit of the English people revolted at such practices; and not the hundredth part of the mischief was done which might have been expected from the establishing of such a system. Many—perhaps most—of the justices of the peace avoided the execution of the queen's orders, and the parliament would not assist her in enforcing them. This was the period of persecution for religious opinions; the efforts and the success of Luther, Calvin, and the other Reformers, had excited a fury among the Catholics which nothing short of blood and life could allay. The penal fires were blazing from one end of Europe to the other; and, terrible as was the brief rage of Mary's reign, England, as compared with most other Christian countries, was singularly fortunate.‡ Mary's care for the souls of her subjects did not improve their morals. Without going to the full length of some Protestant writers, we may assert, upon good evidence, that crime was on the increase, and that capital offences,

* Burnet. † Ibid.

‡ According to Fra Paolo, in the Netherlands alone fifty thousand persons were hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burned, on account of religion; and in France, even before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the number of victims who suffered death in the same cause was to be stated, not, as in England, by hundreds, but by thousands. In Germany, besides the happier tens of thousands who perished in battle fighting for the privilege of worshipping God in their own way, thousands died on the scaffold, in the flames, and in dungeons; and, as yet, the liberty of conscience was insecure.

independently of those of a religious kind, greatly multiplied. Fifty-two persons were condemned and executed at Oxford at one assize. Loathsome offences re-appeared: the highways became again insecure. On more than one occasion men of rank became thieves and cutpurses. On the 18th of June of this year, 1556, a younger son of the Lord Sandys was hanged in London, at St. Thomas à Waterings, for a robbery that he and others had committed, on the preceding Whit-Sunday, to the amount of four thousand pounds. On the 8th of July thereafter Henry Peckham (son to Sir Edmund Peckham) and John Daniel were hanged and beheaded on Tower-hill for concerting with others to rob the queen's treasure. In the same unlucky year London and other cities were visited by the "hot burning fevers" which were particularly fatal to old persons. In the following year the country was afflicted by an extreme dearth, and pestilence stalked in the rear of famine. Plots and conspiracies were not wanting. In Norfolk, one Clever, who had been a schoolmaster, with three brothers named Lincoln, attempted an insurrection which might have proved formidable but for a lucky accident. Clever and his three mates were taken prisoners, and were drawn, hanged, and quartered at Bury St. Edmond's. The counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, however, remained in an unquiet state, the people bitterly complaining of the queen's ingratitude and broken promises.*

A.D. 1557.—Mary's husband Philip was now King of Spain, and absolute lord of Naples, Sicily, the Milanese, the Low Countries, the Indies, and other fair and fertile countries, which well deserved a better master. This had not happened by the death, but by the voluntary resignation of his father Charles V. The emperor and king, who had been for forty years the mightiest potentate in Europe, becoming suddenly sick of worldly dominion,—

> Cast crowns for rosaries away,—
> An empire for a cell.

Though only fifty-five years old, and with his faculties, both mental and physical, to all appearance unimpaired, he determined to renounce his many crowns. On the 25th of October, 1555, he met the States of the Low Countries, explained to them the reasons of his resignation, absolved them from their oaths of allegiance, and devolved his authority on Philip,—weeping, it is said, as he reflected on the burden which he imposed upon his son. A few months later he formally resigned to Philip all his other dominions, and all his titles, with the exception of the lofty one of emperor, which it was not in his power to bestow.† He chose for his retreat the monastery of St. Just, situated on the frontiers of Castile and Portugal, near to Placentia; and there he shut himself up in the month of February, 1557, retaining about him no more than a dozen of servants, and keeping only one horse for gentle exercise. He survived about two years, chiefly occupying his time in cultivating a little garden, reading divinity, making clocks, and trying experiments and inventions in mechanics, for which he had always had a taste, with a famous engineer called, in Latin, Jannellus Turrianus. Many things are related of him in his retreat; one of the best, which is probably as true as any of them, being that, upon finding he could never make two clocks to go exactly alike, he deplored the pains he had taken, and the blood he had shed, in order to make all mankind think and believe in one way.*

It was not always that the Most Catholic king enjoyed the favour of the court of Rome; for even in that high quarter political considerations or personal animosities continually interfered with the spiritual scheme. Paul IV., who, as a bigot, and as the first that introduced the tribunal of the Inquisition in Rome,† might have been expected to lean towards the congenial fanaticism of Philip, hated the Spaniards with an antient and hereditary hatred, and, as a necessary consequence, favoured the French and their party in Italy; for, without the arms of France, the pope saw no possibility of overthrowing the dominion of Spain, which, be it said, was oppressive, and barbarizing, and odious to the Italian people. The great ability of the Emperor Charles had imposed respect; but Paul thought the accession of Philip, in such unusual circumstances, too good an opportunity to be lost, and, before the new king was well settled on his throne, the pontiff opened negotiations with the French. He set on foot plots and conspiracies in Naples, his native country, which was groaning under the weight of Spanish misrule; and he finally arranged a grand plan, by which the French king was to expel Philip by force of arms, and take possession of the Neapolitan kingdom, of the Milanese, and the other states in Upper Italy, which his ancestors had claimed, and several times held, though for very short periods. But Paul had formed an erroneous estimate of Philip, who was ever vigilant and suspicious, and who soon obtained intelligence of the secret manœuvres in Italy. In an opportune moment, at the end of the year 1555, he sent the Duke of Alva to take upon himself the government of Naples. Before this Alva was governor of Milan, and now he had the supreme

* Stow.—Holinshed.—Baker.—Godwin.

† Charles had secured it already to his brother Ferdinand, who became the Emperor Ferdinand I.

* De Thou.—Bayle.

† The *real* Inquisition was first established at Rome by the advice of Paul IV., then only Cardinal Caraffa, a Neapolitan, under the pontificate of Paul III. It was rendered frightful by its rigorous laws and novel forms of procedure; but it did not obtain all its monstrous vigour until the election of Paul IV.: and the first thing the Romans did after the death of this odious pontiff (which happened in 1559) was to burn the tribunal of the holy office, to liberate all the prisoners for matters of religion, and to raze the prisons of the inquisition to the ground. It is a great mistake to suppose that this horrid tribunal was most powerful at Rome. Many of the popes detested it. The true scene of its might was not beyond the Alps, but the Pyrenees,—in Spain and Portugal. In a considerable part of Italy it was never established at all. By a remarkable anomaly, the Neapolitans, the countrymen of Paul IV., and perhaps the most superstitious and least warlike of the Italians, would never submit to it, but rose in general insurrection, and fought desperately with the Spaniards, whenever there was a talk of introducing the accursed tribunal. And the Emperor Charles, in the plenitude of his power, found himself forced to declare that he never had intended to establish the Inquisition, and never would. "So boldly did the Neapolitans constantly oppose the inquisition,—a tribunal so odious to them, and so abhorred."—*Giannone.*

command of the whole of Italy that appertained to the Spaniards, whose armies were reinforced in order to meet the French (then preparing to cross the Alps under the Duke of Guise) and keep down the Italian people, who, in many places, were ready to rise. The pope was in a paroxysm of rage, which did not permit him to wear an almost useless mask. He arrested and threw into prison Garcilasso de la Vega, who was then at Rome as ambassador from Philip in his quality of King of England; and he imprisoned and put to the torture De Tassis, the Roman postmaster, for passing certain letters written in the Spanish interest. The Duke of Alva, who soon afterwards massacred the Protestants in heaps in the Low Countries, showed little delicacy towards this turbulent head of the Catholic church: anticipating his movements, he marched an army across the Neapolitan frontiers into the Roman states, being resolved that they, and not the Spanish kingdom of Naples, should be the seat of the war. The Spaniards spread confusion, destruction, and terror through the whole of the ecclesiastical states: people fled from the city of Rome, expecting another sack, and not doubting that the troops of his most Catholic majesty would prove as bloodthirsty and rapacious as the auxiliaries under the Constable Bourbon: but Paul IV., who had the fierce spirit of a pope of the fourteenth century, would not listen to terms of accommodation; and though one of his nephews, the Cardinal Caraffa, had a conference with the Duke of Alva on the little island of Fiumicino, they concluded nothing but a truce for forty days, which was rather meant for gaining time, and deceiving each other, than for a preliminary to any lasting peace. In the mean while, notwithstanding a solemn truce for five years, which still existed between France and Spain, the Duke of Guise had led an army of twelve thousand infantry, four hundred men-at-arms, seven hundred light-horse, and a great number of knights, through the passes of the Alps, and was looking forward with bright and not unreasonable hopes to the conquest of Lombardy.* This was the state of affairs in Italy towards the end of the year 1556. In the month of March of the present year (1557) King Philip gratified his wife Mary with a short visit, and he entered London in some state, being accompanied by the queen and divers nobles of the realm.† But it was soon seen that his most Catholic majesty had not come for love, the sole object of his visit being to drive Mary and her council into a declaration of war against France. This, however, was not so easy a matter as he had fancied: Cardinal Pole and nearly the whole of the council opposed the measure; and even such of the ministry as were more compliant dreaded the effects of a war with France, which was sure to be accompanied by a war with Scotland, in the present deranged state of the finances and evident ill-humour of the people. Philip told his miserable wife that, if she failed to gratify him in this respect, he would instantly leave England, and never see her again; her councillors told her that, by her marriage articles, she was not bound to engage the country in her husband's wars, and that her so doing would be considered by the people as a reducing of England to a dependence on Spain. But the Spanish interests were served by a strange accident. Among the numerous English refugees in France was one Thomas Stafford, a person of some rank and influence, who entertained the notion of revolutionizing England. With only thirty-two persons, he crossed over from France, landed at Scarborough in Yorkshire, and surprised the castle there:* but, on the third day, they were all made prisoners, without effusion of blood, by the Earl of Westmorland. Stafford, Richard Saunders, and three or four others, among whom was a Frenchman, were sent up to London, committed to the Tower, and there tortured into a confession that Henry II., the French king, had aided and abetted their enterprise; which was not altogether improbable, as the French court knew what Philip and the Spaniards were doing in London, as well as the devotion of Mary to her husband's interests. Upon the 28th of May Stafford was beheaded on Tower-hill, and on the morrow three of his companions were drawn to Tyburn and there executed. Richard Saunders, who had probably been a traitor, or had divulged more than the rest, received the queen's pardon. Making the most of what had happened, the queen accused the French court of encouraging many traitorous bands of her subjects,—of giving an asylum to her outlaws, who were maintained in France with annual pensions, contrary to treaty,—of sending over to the Castle of Scarborough Stafford and others in French ships, provided with armour, munition, and money; and on the 7th of June she made a formal declaration of war,—perhaps the first declaration of the kind thoroughly unpopular with the nation. Having obtained what he wanted, and earnestly recommended the instant raising of troops to act as auxiliaries to his own army on the northern frontiers of France, Philip took his departure on the 6th of July,—and, happily for England, he never returned! It was difficult—most difficult—to do her husband's bidding; but, with great exertions, Mary levied one thousand horse, four thousand foot, and two thousand pioneers, and sent them over to Flanders in the end of July, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, with the Lord Robert Dudley for his master of the ordnance.†

Amidst this din of war the Lady Anne of Cleves died very quietly at Chelsea. She left a good

* Giannone, Storia Civile del Regno di Napoli.—Summonte.—De Thou.

† Stow.—Holinshed.

* Though the means of execution were defective, the time was well chosen. King Philip had arrived in the beginning of March: Stafford came over at the end of the same month; and he instantly sent out letters, and bills, and manifestoes, printed and written, affirming the queen to be most unworthy, and that the king had brought into this realm the number of twelve thousand Spaniards, and that into their hands were to be delivered twelve of the strongest holds in this realm.—*Stow.*

† Stow.—Holinshed.

name behind her among the people, and was buried like a princess royal in Westminster Abbey. "She was," says Holinshed, "a lady of right commendable regard, courteous, gentle, a good housekeeper, and very bountiful to her servants."

Having joined the bands of Flemings, Germans, Italians, Dalmatians, Illyrians, Croats, and others, that formed the army of King Philip, the English marched with this mixed host, under the supreme command of Elizabeth's rejected suitor, the Duke of Savoy, one of the most approved captains of those times; and they soon distinguished themselves by their bravery in a fierce battle under the walls of St. Quintin, where many of the chief nobility of France were either slain or taken prisoners; and such a consternation was spread among the French, that it was thought by many that Philip might have taken Paris had he marched immediately upon it. But Philip was always wary and cautious; nor does he appear ever to have contemplated the doing of much more than the forcing of the Duke of Guise to come out of Italy. He sate down before the town of St. Quintin, which made a gallant resistance for seventeen days, during which the French had time to fortify Paris, and to call up troops from the provinces. But an invading army of sixty thousand men was so formidable that they were obliged even to recall the Duke of Guise, and, as Philip had calculated, that general, who had advanced to the frontiers of Naples, hurried back across the Alps. To prolong the campaign in an easy manner, Philip ordered the Spaniards, English, Croats, and the rest, to lay siege to Ham and Cattelet, which places they took, and then, on the approach of winter, they retired into quarters in Flanders. When the news of the great victory of St. Quintin reached England, which gained nothing by it, Mary caused processions to be everywhere made, and *Te Deum* to be sung, giving all laud and praise to Almighty God; "and in the streets of every city and town of the realm were made bonfires, with great rejoicing: which sudden gladness turned very shortly after to great and long sorrow."*

In fact, the coming of Guise out of Italy, which was so profitable to Philip, was a mortal blow to Mary; for that active commander, after securing the northern frontiers, resolved to sit down before Calais in the depth of winter, and vigorously, and with a large army, commence a siege which, for ages, had been deemed utterly hopeless. Calais, which the English considered as impregnable and as perfectly secure from an assault during the winter, had generally its garrison reduced at that season; but in the present year, through want of money and the efforts made to serve Philip, that reduction had amounted to two-thirds of the whole force; and when the Lord-Deputy Wentworth represented the danger of thus depriving the place of the means of defence, his representations were not heeded. In the month of November two skilful Italian engineers, Strozzi and Delbene, reconnoitred the town and all the forts adjacent, having gained admittance in disguise. When Philip obtained a hint of the intended project of Guise, he offered to reinforce the garrison of Calais with a body of Spanish troops; but the English council, with a jealousy certainly *not* groundless, declined this offer. But at the same time they were unable to make any ready effort themselves, even when warned of the danger: the English navy had been allowed to go to wrack and ruin:* to victual the remnant of it, to send the troops to Flanders, the queen had seized all the corn she could find in Norfolk and Suffolk, without paying for it: to meet the expenses of that expedition she had forced the city of London to lend or give her sixty thousand pounds; she had levied before the legal time the second year's subsidy voted by parliament; she had issued many privy seals to procure loans from people of property; she had, in short, exhausted her means for her husband, and at the moment of crisis she appears to have dreaded calling her parliament together to ask for more money. And thus were the weak garrison and the English citizens and merchants of Calais left to their fate, almost without a single effort being made for their relief.

A.D. 1558.—On New Year's Day Guise entered the English pale; and, sending one part of his army along the downs to Risebank, he, with the other, and an unusually heavy train of artillery, marched towards Nieulay, or Newnham Bridge, and, attacking in force an outwork at the village of St. Agatha, at the head of the causeway, drove the garrison into Newnham, and took possession of that outwork. The English Lord Deputy feeling that, from the miserable weakness of the garrison, he could spare no assistance for the defence of the other outworks, ordered them to be evacuated as soon as they should be attacked. This was done at Newnham Bridge, whence the captain retired with his soldiers into Calais, and that so secretly, that the French kept firing at the fort when there was not a man in it; but the outwork of Risebank surrendered with its garrison. Thus, by the third morning of the siege, the Duke of Guise had made himself master of two most important posts, of which one commanded the entrance of the harbour, the other the approach across the marshes from Flanders. The next day, with five double cannons, and three culverins, he battered the walls near to the Water-gate, in order to make the English believe that he intended to force an entrance at that point, and cause them "to have the less regard unto the defence of the castle," which was the weakest part of the town, and the place "where the French were ascertained by their espials to win easy entry;" and while

* Holinshed.

* The whole of the blame is not to be laid to Mary's government. The navy had been much diminished and shamefully neglected during the reign of Edward VI., when all the servants of government, from the highest to the lowest, were addicted to *gaspillage*. But sailors are superstitious, and Mary's reign opened with a bad omen. "The Great Harry," which Holinshed calls "the notablest ship of England," was burnt at Woolwich on the 26th of August, 1553, through the carelessness of the sailors. She is said to have been of a thousand tons burthen.

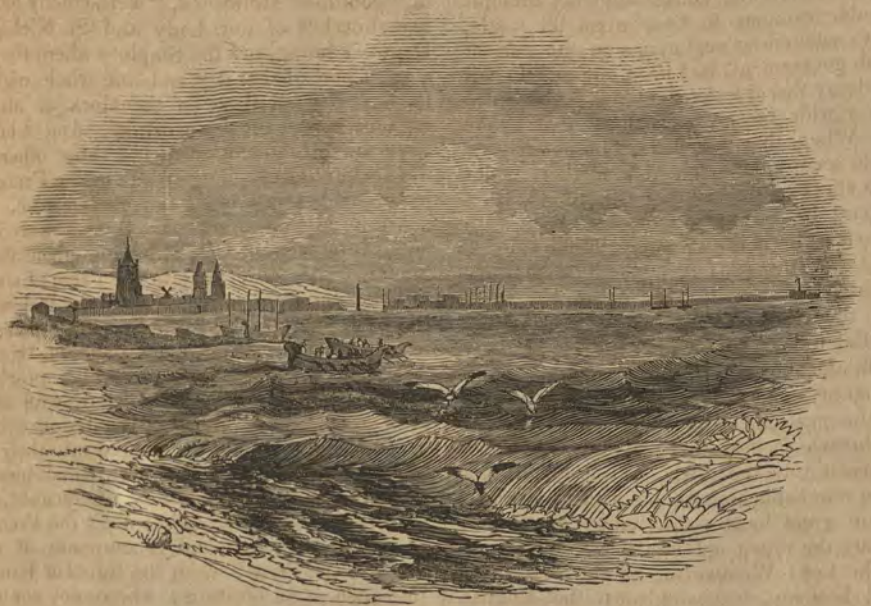
the garrison lost time in repairing a false breach made by the Water-gate, Guise suddenly brought fifteen double cannons to bear upon the castle, which, with astounding negligence on the part of the English government, had been suffered to fall into such decay that it tottered at the first cannon shot, and a wide breach was made in it before evening. When that was done, Guise detached one body to occupy the quay, and another, under Strozzi, to effect a lodgement on the other side of the harbour; but Strozzi was beaten back with loss. About eight in the evening, at ebb tide, de Grammont was thrown forward with some three hundred harquebusiers to reconnoitre the great breach in the castle. The ditch was broad and deep, but the water was low, having been partially drained off, and the French had brought up by sea a great quantity of hurdles and other materials to facilitate the passage. Upon Grammont's report that the breach seemed to be abandoned, Guise threw himself into the ditch, and forded it, not finding the water much above his girdle: his men followed in great haste—and happy men were they to enter the rotten old castle without resistance. The Lord Wentworth, as the best thing that could be done, had withdrawn the English soldiers, had made a train with certain big barrels of gunpowder, and now anticipated the pleasure of blowing the castle and the Frenchmen into the air together. But this train was badly laid; the French, coming up out of the ditch with their clothes wringing wet, moistened the gunpowder, and saw the attempt to destroy them fail. After passing the night in the castle, Guise sent on his men to the assault of the town, which he fancied would be taken with equal ease; but the marshal, Sir Anthony Agar, with a small body of brave men, repulsed the French and drove them back to the castle. Sir Anthony next tried to drive them from that position, and persevered till he himself, his son and heir, and some fourscore officers and men were laid low in front of the castle-gate. So miserably weak was the garrison, that this small loss of men was decisive. Having in vain expected aid from Dover,—having received no tidings, nor so much as a sign,—the Lord Deputy on that same night demanded a parley. The French acceded, but would grant none but the harshest terms of capitulation. After long debating, they concluded in this sort:—"First, that the town, with all the great artillery, victuals, and munitions, should be freely yielded to the French king, the lives of the inhabitants only saved, to whom safe conduct should be granted to pass where they listed; saving the Lord Deputy, with fifty such other as the duke should appoint, to remain prisoners, and be put to their ransom. The next morning the Frenchmen entered and possessed the town, and forthwith all the men, women, and children, were commanded to leave their houses, and to go to certain places appointed for them to remain in, till order might be taken for their sending away."*

* Holinshed.

"The places thus appointed for them to remain in," continues Holinshed, "were chiefly four—the two churches of our Lady and St. Nicholas, the Deputy's house, and the Staple—where they rested a great part of that day and one whole night, and the next day till three of the clock at afternoon, without either meat or drink. And while they were thus in the churches, and those other places, the Duke of Guise, in the name of the French king, in their hearing, made a proclamation, strictly charging all and every person that were inhabitants of the town of Calais, having about them any money, plate, or jewels, to the value of one groat, to bring the same forthwith, and lay it down upon the high altars of the said churches, upon pain of death, bearing them in hand also, that they should be searched. By reason of which proclamation there was made a great and sorrowful offertory. And while they were at this offering within the churches, the Frenchmen entered into their houses, and rifled the same, where was found inestimable riches and treasure, especially of ordnance, armour, and other munitions. Thus dealt the French with the English in lieu and recompense of the like usage to the French when the forces of King Philip prevailed at St. Quintin; where, not content with the honour of victory, the English, in sacking the town, sought nothing more than the satisfying of their greedy vein of covetousness, with an extreme neglect of all moderation. . . . About two of the clock next day at afternoon, being the 7th of January, a great number of the meanest sort were suffered to pass out of the town in safety, being guarded through the army with a number of Scottish light horsemen, who used the English very well and friendly; and after this, every day for the space of three or four days together, there were sent away divers companies of them till all were avoided, those only excepted that were appointed to be reserved for prisoners, as the Lord Wentworth and others. There were in the town of Calais 500 English soldiers ordinary, and no more: and of the townsmen not fully 200 fighting men (a small garrison for the defence of such a town), and there were in the whole number of men, women, and children (as they were accounted when they went out of the gate) 4200 persons."

Thus was lost, in eight days, the town of Calais, which had cost Edward III. an obstinate siege of more than eleven months, and which the English had kept through all the varieties of their fortune for 211 years. When it was too late, some troops and ships were collected at Dover for its relief; "but such terrible tempests then arose and continued without abatement for four or five days together, that the like had not been seen before in remembrance of man; wherefore some said that the same was done by necromancy, and that the devil was raised up, and become French; the truth whereof is known to God."* Such of the queen's ships as tried the passage were so shaken and torn with violence of weather, that they were

* Grafton.



CALAIS FROM THE SEA. Drawn from an Old Print.

forced to return with great danger, and with the loss of all their tackle and furniture. If this tempestuous weather had not chanced it was thought that they might have attempted to recover Calais, and to give some succour to Guisnes and Ham.

"So soon as this Duke of Guise, contrary to all expectation, had in so few days gained this strong town of Calais (afore thought impregnable), and had put the same in such order as best seemed for his advantage, proud of the spoil, and pressing forward upon his sudden fortune, without giving long time to the residue of the captains of the forts there, to breathe upon their business, the 13th day of the said month, with all provision requisite for a siege, he marched with his army from Calais unto the town and fort of Guisnes, five miles distant from thence."* Though miserably fortified, the castle of Guisnes was most gallantly defended by Lord Grey de Wilton, who had obtained some four hundred Spanish and Burgundian soldiers from the army of King Philip; but in a few days the walls were completely shattered; the Spanish auxiliaries were killed almost to a man, and the garrison forced their officers to capitulate. Nothing now remained unconquered within the English pale except the little castle of Ham, which was so completely surrounded with marshes that the French would have found great difficulty in bringing up their heavy ordnance. But Lord Edward Dudley, the captain who commanded there, abandoned the place without regard to the honour of arms, the night after the surrender of Guisnes, and fled with his small garrison into Flanders. "Now seemed every day a year to the French king, until he personally had visited Calais and his new conquered country: wherefore, about the end of January aforesaid, he took his voyage thither, accompanied with no small number of his nobility."* The grief of the English court, and the vexation of the people, were as great as the joy and triumph of the French. Yet, except as a humiliation to military fame, and as a blow to national pride, the loss was not so serious. Calais, indeed, had been reckoned as "one of the eyes of England," but it was an eye constantly in pain and peril, costing immense sums for its care and cure; and it was soon seen that England could see very well without it. Its importance as a mart was, indeed, wholly fictitious; and it was always a temptation to continental wars and invasions, by offering an easy entrance into France. If he had not been opposed by a public prejudice and the temper of Henry VIII., Cardinal Wolsey, it is said, would have sold Calais to its rightful owners—glad to have his country rid of it in any way that did not imply weakness or dishonour.† In very brief time, when better days came with Elizabeth, it was seen that English ships and English sailors were quite capable of guarding those narrow seas, without our having to support, at an enormous expense, a fortress on the opposite shores. Of course the weight of these reasons was not felt at the time—nor, indeed, till long after. The people murmured and lamented, and the government was disgraced and depressed in the extreme by this result of a war which they had engaged in without justice or reason. At the same time the Scots, acting on the usual impulse from

* Grafton.

* Grafton. † Southey's Naval History.

France, began to stir upon the borders. After the peace, which we have mentioned in the preceding reign, the Queen-dowager Mary of Guise made a journey to France, carrying with her many of the principal Scottish nobility. She visited her daughter Mary and her relations, and arranged a grand political plan, by which, on her return, though not without difficulty, the Earl of Arran was induced to resign the whole government of the kingdom into her hands.* On the 12th of April, 1554, she assumed the name of Regent. In this capacity she acted chiefly under the guidance of d'Oisel, a Frenchman of great ability. Her government, upon the whole, was judicious and beneficial to Scotland; it would have been more so had the Regent not been obliged to make sacrifices to the politics, religion, and interests of her family and friends in France. When Mary declared war in the preceding year, the French court required the Queen-Regent of Scotland to make a diversion in their favour. She summoned a convention at Newbottle, and requested the states to concur in a declaration of hostilities against England; but the Scottish nobles, in part from a jealousy of the French, in part from their conviction that the war would be unprofitable, refused their assent. Upon this, having recourse to stratagem, she ordered d'Oisel to begin some fortifications at Eyemouth. As this was upon ground mentioned in the last treaty with Edward, part of the garrison of Berwick made an inroad to prevent the erection of the works. This proceeding, as she had calculated, exasperated the Scottish people, who anon retaliated in their own fashion by making forays into England, without waiting or caring for any declaration or orders from the government. But when D'Oisel, in person, undertook the siege of the castle of Wark, the council prevented him, and, not only recalled him, but gave him a sharp rebuke.

"After the French king's departure from Calais he made great haste for the accomplishment of the marriage before moved between Francis his eldest son, called the Dauphin, and Mary Stuart, daughter and sole heir of James V., late King of Scotland."† The great political importance of this match will be developed in the following reign. For the present it will suffice to state that Mary Queen of Scots, in the sixteenth year of her age, was united to a sickly, silly boy, a few months younger than herself, and that the memorable marriage was solemnized in the city of Paris on the 24th day of April (1558) "with most magnificent pomp and triumph, being honoured with the presence of the most part of the princes, prelates, lords, and barons of both the realms, as if it were for a confirmation of this new alliance."* Before this great event, but at a time when it was known it would take place, and when the nation was smarting with the pang of the recent loss and disgrace at Calais, Queen Mary summoned a parliament that she might implore for more money. This parliament met, and the members being evidently excited by a passionate desire to recover Calais, or to vindicate the honour of the national arms by giving some notable defeat to the French, without making any reflections on the arbitrary methods recently resorted to by the queen for the raising of money, they proceeded to vote her a fifteenth, a subsidy of 4*s.* in the pound on land, and 2*s.* 8*d.* on goods, to be paid in four years, by equal instalments. From this liberal parliament the queen turned to the clergy, who readily granted her 8*s.* in the pound, to be paid in the like manner in four years. There was, however, some opposition in the Commons to the passing of an act confirming all the sales and grants of crown lands which the queen had made, or which she might make, for seven years to come. But the bill was passed, and one Copley, a member of the Lower House, was put under arrest for his opposition to it. With the money thus raised Mary, "who was a princess of heart and courage more than commonly is in woman-kind, thought herself so much touched in honour by the loss of her said town and possessions on that side the sea, as she counted her life irksome until the same were either recovered again or the loss redubbed† with some like victory against the French elsewhere."‡ She therefore hired a number of ships, and dispatched a fleet of upwards of a hundred sail of all sizes, but chiefly small, under the High Admiral, Edward Lord Clinton, who was ordered to join King Philip's squadron, and while the French king should be engaged in the field with the Spanish army and their auxiliaries, to lay waste his coast and surprise some of his towns: Brest in particular, "as well because of its convenient situation for receiving succours and supplies from England as because it was known not to be well garrisoned, was thought the best mark to be shot at for the time." "It is verily believed," says the chronicler, "that if the admirals of England and Flanders had been present there with their navies as the said other few ships of England were, and upon this sudden had attempted Calais with the aid of the Count of Egmont, having his power present, the town of Calais might have been recovered again with as little difficulty, and haply in as short a time, as it was before gained by the Duke of Guise. But the said admiral, as it appears, knew nothing thereof."§ But in other respects the expedition was badly managed: instead of making at once for Brest, Clinton and the Flemish admiral lay to near the little town of Conquet, where one morning at break of day they

* Arran had been gratified with French pensions, with the high-sounding title of Duke of Chatelherault, and with a public acknowledgment of his right as next heir (after the young Mary) to the Scottish throne. This paltry man had also thought it expedient to bargain that no severe investigation of his management of affairs, and of the public purse, while Regent, should be made by his successor in the regency. Arran's brother, the primate of Scotland, called him a fool for thus resigning the government "when nothing stood between him and the crown but the life of a puling girl."—*Sir Walter Scott, Hist. Scot.*

† Grafton.

* Grafton.

† Redubbed, *made up*, from the old French *redouber*

‡ Holinshed.

§ Holinshed.—Grafton.—Southey's Naval Histor..

sounded their trumpets, "as the manner was," and, "with a thundering peal of great guns," awoke the poor inhabitants. They landed with little or no opposition, and, mastering the town, "put it to the sackage, with a great abbey and many pretty towns and villages thereabouts, where our men found great store of pillage and good booties."* After this inglorious exploit they marched some way up the country, burning more villages and houses; and then the English retreated to the sea-side, where their ships lay ready to receive them; but their allies, the Flemings, being more covetous of spoil, or less cautious, passed farther into the interior, and being encountered by the power of the country, lost four or five hundred men before they could regain their ships. Notwithstanding Clinton's having with him a considerable land force under the command of the Earls of Huntingdon and Rutland he was alarmed at the reports of the forces collecting or collected in Bretagne, under the Duke of Estampes, and thought it best not to attempt any assault against the town of Brest, or to make longer stay thereabouts. "But yet, in hope to do some further exploit elsewhere, they (the English and Flemings), lay hovering on the coast awhile to understand the demeanour of the Bretons; but by this time there was such number of people raised in all those parts for defence of the same coasts that the admirals afterward attempting in divers places to land their men, and finding everywhere more appearance of loss than of gain, returned home without achieving any further enterprise."† A small squadron of ten English ships performed more honourable service. The Marshal de Termes, governor of Calais, had made an irruption into Flanders with an army of nine thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, among whom were three hundred Scots serving as light-horsemen. He easily forced a passage across the river Aar, or Aire, to Dunkirk, burned that town to the ground, and scoured and desolated the whole country, one of the most fruitful parts of Flanders, almost as far as Newport; but there he was suddenly checked by Count Egmont and forced to retreat. Apparently through the superior marching of the Spanish infantry, Egmont got to Gravelines before de Termes, and threw a part of his army between the French and the town of Calais, their only sure place of retreat. A general battle was thus inevitable, and to fight it the French general chose his ground very skilfully on the sea-coast, near to Gravelines. He fortified his left wing and brought his right flank to the bank of the river Aar, close to its mouth. When the Spaniards began cannonading, the ten English ships which happened to be on that part of the coast, attracted by the sound of battle, sailed up the river, opened a tremendous fire upon the right flank of the French, and contributed materially to one of the most decisive victories gained during these wars. The Marshal de Termes, Villebon, and many other distinguished Frenchmen were taken prisoners. Not a few of the men ran into the sea and perished there: the English sailors saved about two hundred of these from drowning and carried them to England as living witnesses of their memorable defeat. Fifteen hundred of the French perished on the field of battle, but a far greater number fell by the hands of the Flemish peasantry, who, enraged at the cruelty and the devastations they had committed, had followed the army of Egmont for the purpose of taking revenge. Only a few half-naked fugitives escaped both death and captivity, "but especially the bands of Calais went to wrack, so as very few returned there to bring tidings, which gave such a terror to the soldiers remaining at Calais that it is verily believed the place might easily have been retaken."*

But a greater piece of good fortune for England was approaching than would have been the recapture of Calais and fifty such victories as that of Gravelines. About the beginning of September the queen fell sick of a prevalent disorder, vaguely called a cold and hot burning fever, which appears to have been nothing more than a bad sort of ague. This "sickness was very common that year through all the realm, and consumed a marvellous number, as well noblemen, as bishops, judges, knights, gentlemen, and rich farmers; but, most of all, the clergy and other *ancient* and grave persons."† Other chroniclers tell us that the disease—whatever it was—was fatal only to persons in advanced life: but Mary had long been prematurely old, and when she was attacked, her heart was bruised and broken. She removed from her favourite residence of Hampton Court to Westminster, where she lay "languishing of a long sickness until the 17th of November, when, between the hours of five and six in the morning, she ended her life in this world at her house at St. James's," having reigned five years, four months, and eleven days, and lived a wretched life of forty-three years and nine months.‡ "As touching the manner of her death, some say that she died of a tympany: some, by her much sighing before her death, supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Her council, seeing her sighing, and desiring to know the cause, to the end they might minister the more ready consolation unto her, feared, as they said, that she took some thought for the king's majesty, her husband, which was gone from her. To whom answering again, Indeed (said she), that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound

* Holinshed. † Id.

* Holinshed.—Grafton. † Grafton.

‡ Godwin. According to the very Catholic Bishop of Winchester (John White), who preached her funeral sermon, she made a blessed end; and from the perfect conscience in which she had acted, and from the inward conviction she felt of having done God service, we have no doubt that she looked upon death without terror. As she was expiring she ordered mass to be said in her chamber; and her soul took its flight at the elevation of the host: or, in the words of the bishop who was present, "at the levation of the sacrament the strength of her body and use of her tongue being taken away, yet nevertheless she, at the instant, lifted up her eyes—*ministros nuncios devoti cordis;* and in the benediction of the church she bowed down her head, and withal yielded a mild and glorious spirit into the hands of her Maker."—Extract from MS. Funeral Sermon as given by Sir Frederick Madden, in Introductory Memoir to "Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary," &c.

that pierceth mine oppressed mind; but what that was she would not express to them. Albeit afterward she opened the matter more plainly to Mistress Rise and Mistress Clarentius (if it be true that they told me, which heard it of Mistress Rise herself), who then, being most familiar with her, and most bold about her, told her that they feared that she took thought for King Philip's departing from her. Not that only (said she), but when I am dead and opened you shall find Calais lying in my heart."*

Within twenty-two hours of the queen's death her friend and kinsman Reginald Pole, Cardinal Legate, and Archbishop of Canterbury, expired at Lambeth;† his death being a much surer injury——a more fatal blow to the Catholic church in England—than that of Mary, whose fierce bigotry advanced, perhaps, more than anything the cause of the reformation. "Many," says Mr. Hallam, "are said to have become Protestants under Mary, who, at her coming to the throne, had retained the contrary persuasion: and the strongest proof of this may be drawn from the acquiescence of the great body of the kingdom in the re-establishing of Protestantism by Elizabeth, when compared with the seditions and discontent on that account under Edward."‡

It has been the fashion with Protestant writers not to allow this unhappy woman a single virtue; and yet, in truth, Mary had many good and generous qualities. She was generally sincere and high-minded, and shrunk from that trickery and treachery in state matters which her more fortunate sister Elizabeth adopted without hesitation as a general rule of conduct. Notwithstanding her sad experience of the world, and the depressing influences of ill-health, she was capable of warm and lasting friendships: as a mistress she was not only liberal, but kind and attentive, even towards the meanest servant of her household; she was charitable to the poor, and most considerate for the afflicted; she was the first to suggest the foundation of an establishment, like Chelsea Hospital, for the reception of invalid soldiers, and in her will she appropriated certain funds to this national object.§ Like all the rest of her testamentary bequests, this was utterly neglected by her successor, notwithstanding the dying queen's earnest entreaties that she would suffer the intention of her will to be carried into effect.

Nor was Mary deficient in acquirements and accomplishments. As well as her junior half-sister she had received what may be called a learned education; she had some acquaintance with Greek, and not only read but also wrote Latin, and her letters in that language were praised by Erasmus. "Whatever she may lose in regard to beauty of person," says Michele the Venetian, "is, without flattery, compensated for by the beauties of her mind, because, besides a natural quickness and a capacity to acquire anything in common with others beyond her sex, she is mistress of five languages (a thing which seems marvellous in a woman), and not merely understands them but speaks four of them fluently. These are, besides her maternal and natural English, the Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian; but in the last she does not venture to speak, although she understands it. In Latin she would astound any one with the answers she gives and the conversations she holds in it." By the composition of three short devotional pieces and an unfinished paraphrase of the gospel of St. John, Mary is entitled to a place in the list of royal authors. Among her accomplishments are enumerated embroidering, dancing, and music. She played on three instruments,—the virginals, regals, and lute. In the letter of maternal advice sent to her by Catherine of Arragon, when mother and daughter were brutally separated and kept asunder, she was desired sometimes to use her virginals or lute, "if she had any;"* and it appears certain that she was passionately fond of music, and an able performer, though when she came to the crown she neglected the practice.†

In most matters her taste was more delicate and better than that of Elizabeth, and though she had less personal dignity, and cared not "to go slowly and to march with leisure and with a certain grandytie" as her half-sister always did when in public, she never gave way to violent gesticulation and the swearing of gross oaths, which her successor was almost as much addicted to as her father Henry. But as a queen all these qualities and accomplishments (abilities of a high order she had none) were of the slightest value, and their

* Holinshed.

† Some Catholic writers—among whom is Osorius—have not hesitated to say, or to hint a suspicion, that both Mary and the cardinal were poisoned by the Protestant party!

‡ Const. Hist. Eng.

§ See her will as published by Sir Frederick Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, &c.* For this "said house or hospital" to be erected "within or nigh the suburbs of the city of London," for the "relief and help of poor and old soldiers, and notably such as have been or shall be hurt or maimed in the war and service of this realm," she allotted 400 marks per annum—a small sum compared to what she left to monks and nuns—to her favourite ministers and personal attendants. Nearly every part of the will is exceedingly curious and interesting. Mary named her husband principal executor, and bequeathed him a diamond sent to her by his father the Emperor Charles, with other rich jewels presented to her at various times by Philip himself. To the most reverend Father in God, and her right entirely-beloved cousin Cardinal Pole, who was also named an executor, she left 1000*l.* She left 500*l.* a-year to the monks of the Savoy, charging them to pray for the soul of her grandfather, Henry VII., for her own soul, and for the soul of her most dear lord and husband, when God should call him out of this transitory life, for the soul of the queen her mother, and for the souls of all their progenitors.

The following clause, which of course was disregarded like the rest, is touching:—"And further I will that the body of the virtuous lady and my most dear and well-beloved mother of happy memory, Queen Catherine, which lieth now buried at Peterborough, shall, within as short time as conveniently may after my burial, be removed, brought, and laid near the place of my sepulchre, in which place I will my executors to cause to be made honourable tombs or monuments for a decent memory of us." Unfortunately the original will has not been found, though it appears to have existed at the beginning of the last century, when the Reverend George Harbin, chaplain to Lord Weymouth, made a copy of it, which is not quite complete, nor, apparently, altogether accurate in what it gives. The Harleian MS. in the British Museum used by Sir Frederick Madden is only a copy of Mr. Harbin's copy.

* Burnet.

† The Venetian ambassador praises her great skill in playing on the lute, "so that, when she attended to it, for now she pays little attention to those things, she astonished good professors both by her rapidity of hand and her style of playing." The Italian was likely to be a good judge of music, but it should appear that *he* had not been in the habit of hearing the queen play with his own ears.

insignificance is shown in the records of her miserable reign, and the boundless triumph over all of her master-passion.*

ELIZABETH.

A.D. 1558.—At the time of Mary's demise the parliament was sitting. Her death was concealed from the public for some hours; but, before noon, Heath, Archbishop of York, who had been lord chancellor since Gardiner's decease, went down to the House of Lords, and sent immediately to the speaker of the Commons, desiring him, with the knights and burgesses, to repair without delay to the Upper House, in order to give their assent in a case of great importance. Heath then announced in due form that God had called to his mercy the late sovereign lady Queen Mary,—a heavy and grievous woe, but relieved by the blessing God had left them in a true, loyal, and right inheritress to the crown,—the Lady Elizabeth, second daughter to the late sovereign lord of noble memory, King Henry VIII., and sister unto the said late queen. Not a challenge was raised to her title: the Lady Elizabeth was acknowledged in both Houses, which resounded with the shouts of "God save Queen Elizabeth, and long and happy may she reign!" and in the course of the day she was proclaimed first before the door of Westminster Hall, and after at Cheapside Cross, amidst lively demonstrations of popular joy. The bells of all the churches were set ringing; tables were spread in the streets, "where was plentiful eating, drinking, and making merry;" and at night bonfires were lit in all directions, and the skies were reddened by flames which had *not* consumed human victims.* Elizabeth was at Hatfield when she received the news of her easy accession. She fell upon her knees, exclaiming, in Latin, "It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."† On the following day several noblemen of the late queen's council repaired to her: she gave them a kind reception, but presently showed her decided preference for Sir William Cecil,—the astute, the most politic Cecil,—whom she instantly appointed principal secretary of state. On the 23rd of November the queen removed from Hatfield with a joyous escort of more than a thousand persons. At Highgate she was met by the bishops, who, kneeling, acknowledged their allegiance: she received them very graciously, giving to every one of them her hand to kiss with the exception of Bishop Bonner, "whom she omitted for sundry severities in the time of his authority."‡ At the foot of Highgate Hill she was very dutifully and honourably met by the lord mayor and whole estate of London, and so conducted to the Charter House, then occupied as a town residence by her friend Lord North. On the afternoon of Monday, the 28th, she entered into the city at Cripplegate, "and rode in state along by the Wall to the Tower:" here she remained till Monday, the 5th of December, when she removed by water to Somerset House. The ambiguity of her conduct with regard to religion had been well studied; and it appears quite certain that her compliances in the former reign had deceived many into a notion that she was really the good Catholic she professed herself to be; otherwise it is difficult to understand the unanimity of the Lords, for the majority of the Upper House were Catholics, and both the bishops and the lay peers would have been disposed to resist her claim if they had expected that she would venture to disturb the established order of things. The mistake was confirmed by her retaining in her privy council no fewer than thirteen known and sincere Catholics who had been members of that of her sister, and the seven new counsellors she appointed, though probably known to herself to be zealous Protestants, did not bear that character with the rest of the world; for one and all of them, like her favourite minister Cecil, had shrunk under the fiery bigotry of Mary, and had conformed to the Roman church. Even decency demanded some little time, but policy required more; and we feel convinced that if it had not been established beyond the reach of a doubt that the Catholics had lost ground immensely, and were no longer the majority of the nation, Elizabeth, who was never in her heart a thorough Protestant—who scarcely went farther with the Reformers than her father had done—would have left the Roman church undisturbed. She was too cool and calculating for a zealot; and even the fate of her mother,

* Dr. Lingard's defence of Queen Mary will not stand for a moment the examination of an impartial eye. He would make Mary appear not only as the best of women but as a good sovereign. Sir Frederick Madden, to whose researches we have been indebted, has collected the best proofs of Mary's possessing some amiable qualities, which none but bigots on the other side will attempt to deny; but in removing some prejudices he seems to contract others, and almost to fall in love with his subject. He carries most of his arguments too far, relying occasionally on the most doubtful kind of evidence, giving an interpretation at other times to words and things which they will scarcely bear, and now and then drawing conclusions directly contrary to what the premises would justify. We would scarcely attempt to defend the prejudices and the minor inaccuracies of David Hume, but it seems to us that sufficient account is not made of the wonderful quickness and sagacity of that great writer and most admirable of narrators, whose intuitive penetration generally made up for his indolence in examining records and original authorities. We seldom take up any new work relating, in however trifling a part, to the history of our country without finding taunts and sneers or louder reproaches against this first of our good historians. Hume, knowing that Mary suffered a wretched state of health, and having other good evidence to go upon, described her as being of a sour and sullen disposition. This, says Sir Frederick Madden, who classes Hume with Buchanan and Carte as a writer of coarse invectives (which Hume never was), is an inaccuracy notorious to those at all acquainted with the history of the period, and to support his opinion he mentions that Mary was once seen to laugh heartily at a tumbler at Greenwich,—that she kept in her service a female jester (every king at the time kept a fool royal),—that she once had a kennel of hounds,—that she was fond of music, played at cards, allowed valentines to be drawn in her household, and once lost a breakfast wagered on a game at bowls. But the accuser of Hume's inaccuracy admits (and gives, from the plain-spoken Venetian, the *broadest* account of her malady) that Mary, from the age of puberty, had suffered the most distressing of all female disorders. Ill-usage and ill-health were not likely to produce the best of tempers. But though Sir Frederick Madden may have known cheerful and light-hearted valetudinarians, we much question whether he ever knew a cheerful bigot. The disorders of body and of mind must have made Mary what Hume described her to be on her accession. In the minutiæ of the "Privy Purse Expenses" and incidental occurrences of court holidays, Sir Frederick Madden forgets Smithfield and the fires that blazed in all parts of the kingdom during this *cheerful* reign.

* Stow.—Holinshed.—Burnet.

† *A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile oculis nostris.* These words were afterwards stamped on her gold coin, a motto she chose for her silver coin being *Posui Deum adjutorem meum* (I have chosen God for my helper).

‡ Stow.

Great Seal of Queen Elizabeth.

Queen Elizabeth. From a Painting by Zucchero.

and the circumstances of her own birth, failed to excite her. "The Romish religion," says Camden, "stood a full month and more, after the death of Queen Mary, in the same state as it was before." In fact, Elizabeth seems to have adopted, at the beginning of her reign, the maxim recommended by the most crafty of then living politicians,—that the Protestants should be kept in hope, the Papists not cast into despair.* Her real intentions were kept a profound secret from the majority of her council; and her measures of change and reform were concerted only with Cecil and one or two others, who appear to have been most thoroughly aware of the fact that the Protestant party had become infinitely stronger than the Catholic. On the 13th of December the body of Mary was very royally interred in Westminster Abbey,† with all the solemn funeral rites used by the Roman church, and a mass of requiem; and on the 24th day of the same month a grand funeral service for the late Emperor Charles V. was celebrated in the same place and in the same manner, with a great attendance of Catholic priests, English and foreign, and of noble lords and ladies of the realm. And, yet, if we are to believe a letter written at the time, Elizabeth, on the very day after these obsequies, refused to hear mass in her own house. "You shall understand," writes Sir William Fitz-William to Mr. More, high-sheriff of Surrey, "that yesterday, being Christmas-day, the queen's majesty repaired to her great closet with her nobles and ladies, as hath been accustomed in such high feasts; and she perceiving a bishop preparing himself to mass, all in the old form, she tarried there until the gospel was done; and when all the people looked for her to have offered according (to) the old fashion, she, with her nobles, returned again from the closet and the mass into her privy chamber, which was strange unto divers."‡

On the 12th of January the queen took her barge, and went down the river, being attended by the lord mayor and citizens, and greeted with peals of ordnance, with music, and many triumphant shows on the water. She landed at the Tower; but, this time, it was not as a criminal, at the traitor's gate, but as a triumphant queen preparing for her coronation. Upon the morrow there was a creation of peers: it was not numerous, but Henry Carey, brother to Lady Knowles, and son to Mary Boleyn, her majesty's aunt, was included in it under the title of Lord Hunsdon. On the morrow, being the 14th of January, 1559, the queen rode with great majesty out of the Tower, "most honourably accompanied, as well with gentlemen, barons, and other the nobility of this realm, as also with a notable train of godly and beautiful ladies richly appointed," and all riding on horseback. The lord mayor and citizens had been lavish of their loyalty and their money; the artists had exhausted their ingenuity and invention; and all the streets through which the procession passed on its way to Westminster were furnished with stately pageants, sumptuous shows, and cunning devices. The figures of the queen's grandfather and grandmother, father and mother, were brought upon the stage, and Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, with a glorious forgetfulness of the past, were seen walking lovingly together. Prophecies and Latin verses were prodigally expended on the queen; nor was there a parsimony of English verse or rhyme. In another pageant Time led forth his daughter Truth, and Truth, greeting her majesty, presented to her an English Bible, which the queen accepted with a gracious countenance, and reverently kissing it and pressing it to her bosom, said that she would ofttimes read that holy book. In the last pageant of all there stood "a seemly and meek personage, richly apparelled in parliament robes, with a sceptre in her hand, over whose head was written 'Deborah, the judge and restorer over the House of Israel.'" Gog and Magog, deserting their posts in Guildhall, stood to honour the queen, one on each side of Temple-Bar, supporting a wondrous tablet of Latin verse, which expounded to her majesty the hidden sense of all the pageants in the city. "Be ye well assured," said Elizabeth to the people, "I shall stand your good queen,"—a promise which, on the whole, was gloriously kept. "At which saying her grace departed forth through Temple-Bar towards Westminster, with no less shouting and crying of the people than she entered the city with a noise of ordnance which the Tower shot off."* Her behaviour during the whole day was popular in the extreme; and from the beginning to the end of her reign she possessed the art of delighting the people, when she thought necessary, with little condescensions, smiles, and cheerful words. Above all things, especial points were noticed in her grace as signs of a most prince-like courage and great readiness of wit. About the nether end of Cornhill, towards Cheap, there was an ancient citizen who wept and turned his back. I warrant you it is for gladness, said the queen. In Cheapside her grace laughed: on being asked the cause, she answered that she had heard one say, 'I remember old King Harry.' "How many nosegays did her grace receive at poor women's hands!—how oftentimes staid she her chariot when she saw any simple body offer to speak to her grace! A branch of rosemary given her grace, with a supplication, by a poor woman about Fleet-bridge, was seen in her chariot till her grace came to Westminster, not without the mar-

* Sir Ralph Sadler.

† She was interred on the north side of Henry VII.'s Chapel.—During the reign of her successor not the slightest mark of respect was shown to her memory by the erection of a monument, and, even at the present day, no other memorial remains to point out the spot where she lies except two small black tablets at the west base of the sumptuous tomb erected by order of King James I. over the ashes of Elizabeth and her less fortunate sister. On them we read as follows:—

REGNO CONSORTES & VRNA HIC OBDORMIMVS ELIZABE THA	ET MARIA SORORES IN SPE RESVRRECTIONIS

—*Sir Fred. Madden, Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, &c.*

‡ Sir Henry Ellis, Collect. Orig. Lett.

* Holinshed.—Stow.

Queen Elizabeth surrounded by her Court, as she appeared in her progress to Hunsdon House.
From a Print engraved by Vertue, after an Old Picture.

vellous wondering of such as knew the presenter, and noted the queen's most gracious receiving and keeping the same."* On the following day, being Sunday, the 15th of January, Elizabeth was crowned in Westminster Abbey by Dr. Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, and afterwards she dined in Westminster Hall. The ceremony of the coronation was regulated strictly in the ancient manner of the most Catholic times, but there was one remarkable circumstance attending it. Either from a suspicion of the course she intended to pursue, or from a somewhat tardy recollection that, by the laws of the Roman church, Elizabeth was not legitimate, or in consequence of orders received from Rome since the death of Mary and their congratulatory visit to Elizabeth at Highgate, every one of the bishops, with the exception of Oglethorpe, refused to perform the coronation service. From whatever cause it might proceed, this refractoriness of the bishops was a great political mistake on the part of the Catholics.†

On the very day after her coronation the Protestants pressed her for a declaration of her intentions as to religion. They must have felt alarmed at the Popish celebrations in the Abbey; but it was some time before the cautious queen would in any way commit herself. The following anecdote is the great Bacon's:—"Queen Elizabeth on the morrow of her coronation (it being the custom to release prisoners at the inauguration of a prince) went to the chapel, and, in the great chamber, one of her courtiers, who was well known to her, either out of his own motion, or by the instigation of a wiser man, presented her with a petition, and, before a great number of courtiers, besought her, with a loud voice, that now, this good time, there might be four or five more principal prisoners released: these were the four evangelists and the apostle St. Paul, who had been long shut up in an unknown tongue, as it were in prison; so as they could not converse with the common people. The queen answered very gravely, that it was best first to inquire of themselves whether they would be released or not."* But, before this time, Elizabeth had taken the important step of authorising the reading of the Liturgy in English, and had shown at least a fixed determination to prevent the Catholics from re-lighting the fires at Smithfield. Yet, at the same time, to the scandal of all Protestants, she forbade the destruction of images, kept her crucifix and holy water in her private chapel, and strictly prohibited preaching on controversial points generally, and all preaching whatsoever at Paul's Cross, where, be it said, neither sect had been in the habit of preaching peace and good-will toward men. There was an additional

* Holinshed.

† Even the Bishop of Carlisle reluctantly consented to put the crown on her head. At her coronation, Elizabeth, of course, partook of the mass; but it appears from one account that she had forbidden the elevation of the host, and that this was probably the cause of the bishops refusing to crown her. By the laws of the Roman church it was cause enough.

* Apophthegms.

cause for the queen's slowness and circumspection. Upon the death of her sister the English exiles for religious opinions flocked back to their country with a zeal sharpened by persecution. Of these men many would have carried the Reformation wholly into the path of Calvin and Zuinglius, being disposed, after their theological studies in Switzerland, to dissent widely from the Anglican church as established in the reign of Edward VI.; and, what was not of less importance, some of them thought that the republican system, which they had seen to suit the little cantons among the Alps, would be a preferable form of government for England, and they were well furnished with texts of Scripture to prove the uselessness and wickedness of royalty. In a moment of indecision the queen had directed Sir Edward Carne, her sister's ambassador at Rome, to notify her accession to the pope; and the Protestants must have been delighted and re-assured when Paul IV. hastily replied that he looked upon her as illegitimate, and that she ought therefore to lay down the government, and expect what he might decide. We do not believe that this able woman, from the moment she became aware of the relative strength of the parties, ever intended to remain in the communion of the Roman church; but, if she had been so disposed, the pope certainly took the proper course to prevent it.

Ten days after the coronation (on the 25th of January) Elizabeth met her first parliament, with a wise resolution of leaving them to settle the religion of the state, merely giving out, through the able Cecil, and the scarcely less able Sir Nicholas Bacon, now keeper of the seals, what were her real wishes. "The creed of parliament since the time of Henry VIII. had been always the creed of the court, either because elections had constantly been influenced, or because men of adverse principles and different notions in religion had yielded to the torrent, and had left the way clear to the partisans of power."* If this had been the case under rulers of very inferior abilities, there was not likely to be a change under such a princess as Elizabeth. Lords and Commons showed a wonderfully eager desire to adapt themselves to precisely such a church regimen as she in her wisdom might propose. They enacted that the first-fruits and tenths should be restored to the crown,—that the queen, notwithstanding her sex,† should, in right of her legitimacy, be supreme head of the church,—that the laws made concerning religion in Edward's time should be re-established in full force,—that his Book of Common Prayer in the mother-tongue should be restored and used to the exclusion of all others in all places of worship. The act of supremacy, though the most ridiculous or the most horrible of all to the Catholics on the continent, met with no opposition whatever; but nine temporal peers and the whole bench of bishops protested in the Lords against the bill of uniformity, establishing the Anglican Liturgy, notwithstanding the pains which had been taken to qualify it, and to soften certain passages most offensive to Catholic ears. For example, a prayer, inserted in the reign of Edward, "to deliver us from the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities," was now struck out. At the same time, to conciliate all parties, the words used in distributing the elements were so contrived as neither to offend the Popish or Lutheran, nor the Calvinistic or Zuinglican communicant. A rubric directed against the doctrine of the real presence was omitted, to the avoidance of the long-standing and bitter controversies on this head.*

One of the first measures taken up by Queen Mary had been to vindicate the fame of her mother Catherine of Arragon and her own legitimacy; and it was expected that Elizabeth, if only out of filial reverence, would pursue the same course for *her* mother, Anne Boleyn, who, as the law stood, had never been a lawful wife; but she carefully avoided all discussion on this point, and satisfied herself with an act declaratory, in general terms, of her right of succession to the throne, in which act all the bishops agreed. Acts were passed restoring to the crown the first-fruits and tenths, and empowering the queen upon the avoidance of any bishopric to exchange her tenths and parsonages appropriate within the diocese for an equivalent portion of the landed estates belonging to the see. But the more active of the Protestants were checked and disappointed when they brought a bill into the Commons for the restoration to their sees of Bishops Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale; another, for the revival of former statutes, passed in the reign of Edward VI., authorising the crown to nominate a commission for drawing up a complete body of Church of England canon law; and a third for the restoration of all such clergymen as had been deprived for marriage during the late reign. The last bill was given up by command of Elizabeth herself, who was not Protestant enough to overcome a prejudice against married priests, and who, to the end of her days, could never reconcile herself to married bishops.† The two other bills also failed, for the bishops whom it was proposed to restore were married men; and as for the commission for a canonical code, Elizabeth entertained a salutary dread of the zealots. It was not possible altogether to avoid recrimination. Nor did the Catholics—now the weaker party—on all occasions submit in silence to such castigation. Dr. Story, who had acted as royal proctor in the proceedings against Cranmer, and who had given other proofs of his zeal and intolerance, had the boldness to lament that he and others had not been more vehement in executing the laws against heresy. "It was my counsel," said this doughty priest, "that heretics of eminence should be plucked down as well as the ordinary sort, nor do I see anything in all

* Hallam.

† The ambassador of a Catholic court wrote, with a ludicrous horror, that he had seen the supreme head of the English church—*dancing!*

* Burnet.—Strype.—Blunt.

† Harrington, in his "Brief View," says, "Cæteris paribus, and sometimes imparibus too, she preferred the single man before the married."

those affairs which ought to make me feel shame or sorrow. My sole grief, indeed, is, that we laboured only about the little twigs: we should have struck at the roots." It was understood that he meant hereby—what, indeed, had been proposed by several—that Elizabeth should have been removed out of the way while her sister lived. Soon after delivering this speech Dr. Story escaped out of the kingdom, and fixed himself at Antwerp under the protection of the Spaniards. There he ought to have been left, particularly as his notions were every day becoming less dangerous; but Elizabeth caused him to be kidnapped, to be brought over to England by stratagem, and executed as a traitor—a proceeding as base as that of her sister Mary with regard to that zealous Protestant refugee Sir John Cheke. Bishop Bonner, notwithstanding the unequivocal marks of the queen's displeasure, attended at his post in parliament, and even presented to the Lord Keeper Bacon certain articles drawn up by the convocation, and endeavoured, in part by ingenious compromises, in part by more open proceedings, to limit the authority of the queen, and maintain that of the pope, in matters of faith and ecclesiastical discipline. Bacon received the said articles courteously, but no further notice was taken of them, and the convocation, after a series of adjournments, separated in dismay.* The way in which the parliament had recognised her title was highly satisfactory to Elizabeth; but they were less fortunate in their treatment of another high question. In the course of this session a deputation was sent to her majesty by the Commons with an address, 'the principal matter whereof most specially was to move her grace to marriage, whereby to all their comforts they might enjoy the royal issue of her body to reign over them." Elizabeth received the deputation in the great gallery of her palace at Westminster, called the Whitehall; and when the Speaker of the House of Commons had solemnly and eloquently set forth the message, she delivered a remarkable answer—the first of her many public declarations of her intention to live and die a virgin queen:—"From my years of understanding, knowing myself a servitor of Almighty God, I chose this kind of life, in which I do yet live, as a life most acceptable unto him, wherein I thought I could best serve him, and with most quietness do my duty unto him. From which my choice, if either ambition of high estate offered unto me by marriages (whereof I have records in this presence), the displeasure of the prince, the eschewing the danger of mine enemies, or the avoiding the peril of death (whose messenger, the prince's indignation, was no little time continually present before mine eyes, by whose means if I knew, or do justly suspect, I will not now utter them; or, if the whole cause were my sister herself I will not now charge the dead), could have drawn or dissuaded me, I had not now remained in this virgin's estate wherein you see me. But so constant have I always continued in this my determination that (although my words and youth may seem to some hardly to agree together), yet it is true that to this day I stand free from any other meaning that either I have had in times past or have at this present. In which state and trade of living wherewith I am so thoroughly acquainted God hath so hitherto preserved me, and hath so watchful an eye upon me, and so hath guided me and led me by the hand, as my full trust is, he will not suffer me to go alone." After these somewhat roundabout, ambiguous, and ascetic expressions—which were anti-Protestant inasmuch as they showed a preference for a single life—she gave the Commons a foretaste of that absolute and imperative tone which she soon adopted:—"The manner of your petition," said she, "I do like, and take in good part, for it is simple and containeth no limitation of place or person. If it had been otherwise I must have misliked it very much and thought it in you a very great presumption, being unfit and altogether unmeet to require them that may command." In still plainer terms she told them that it was their duty to obey, and not to take upon themselves to bind and limit her in her proceedings, or even to press their advice upon her. As if doubting whether the Commons would rely on her determination of never marrying, she assured them that at all events she would never choose a husband but one who should be as careful for the realm and their safety as she herself was; and she made an end of a very long speech by saying,—"And for me it shall be sufficient that a marble stone declare that a queen, having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgin."*

At this moment Elizabeth had received one matrimonial proposal, the strangest of the many that were made to her! When she announced to King Philip the death of his wife and her own accession, that monarch, regardless of canonical laws, made her an instant offer of his own hand; for, so long as he could obtain a hold upon England, he cared little whether it was through a Mary or an Elizabeth. With a duplicity which was the general rule of her conduct she gave Philip a certain degree of hope, for she was very anxious to recover Calais through his means, and England was still involved in a war both with France and Scotland on his account. It would besides have been dangerous to give the Spaniard any serious offence at this moment.

On the 8th of May Elizabeth's first parliament was dissolved, and, on the 15th of the same month, the bishops, deans, and other churchmen of note, were summoned before the queen and her privy council, and there admonished to make themselves and their dependants conformable to the statutes which had just been enacted. Archbishop Heath replied by reminding her majesty of her sister's recent reconciliation with Rome, and of *her own promise not to change the religion which she found by law established*; and he told her that

* Holinshed.—Strype.—Burnet.

* Holinshed.

his conscience would not suffer him to obey her present commands. All the bishops took precisely the same course as Heath; and the government, which evidently had expected to win over the majority of them, was startled at their unanimous opposition. To terrify them into compliance, certain papers, which had been sealed up in the royal closet at the death of the late queen, were produced by advice of the Earl of Sussex; and these documents, which had lain dormant during two short reigns, were found, or were made, to contain proofs that Heath, Bonner, and Gardiner, during the protectorate of Somerset, had carried on secret intrigues with Rome, with the view of overthrowing the English government of that time. But this was a weak resource: the bishops, feeling themselves screened by two general pardons from the crown, continued as firm as ever; and the council wisely determined that these papers could not fairly be acted upon, and resolved to proceed merely upon the oath of supremacy, which they saw the prelates were determined to refuse at all costs. It appears that this oath was first offered to Bonner on the 30th of May. Bonner refused to swear, upon which proceedings were instituted to deprive him of his bishopric. In the course of a few months the oath was tendered to the rest, and they all refused it most decidedly, with the single exception of Kitchen, Bishop of Landaff, who had held that see since 1545, through all changes, and who was determined to keep it.* A considerable number of subordinate church dignitaries were also deprived by means of this test; but the great body of the clergy complied when, in the course of the summer, the queen appointed a general visitation to compel the observance of the new Protestant formularies. By a measure even more politic than it was liberal, pensions were reserved for those who quitted their benefices on account of religion. Many of the exiles during the Marian persecution now obtained good livings, and the vacant bishoprics were mainly filled by the more learned members of this body. Before the end of 1559 the English church, so long contended for, was lost for ever to the Papists.† In the course of the same year the two statutes, commonly denominated the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, were converted into the firm basis of that restrictive code of laws which, for more than two centuries, pressed so heavily upon the adherents to the Roman church. The first was accompanied by an oath which no conscientious Catholic could take, all that class being bound to believe that, in spiritual matters at least, the pope and the ancient councils of the church were supreme over every lay sovereign;* and yet to refuse this oath was to forfeit all hope of rising in the state, and to lose one's rights as a citizen, while to challenge the supremacy was highly penal, and in certain cases treasonable.

The second statute trenched more on the natural rights of conscience: it prohibited, under pain of forfeiting goods and chattels for the first offence, of a year's imprisonment for the second, and of imprisonment for life for the third, the using of any but the established liturgy of the church of England; and it moreover imposed a fine of 1*s.* on every one that should absent himself from the only true Protestant church on Sunday and holidays.† By this act, the Catholic rites, however privately celebrated, were interdicted, and priests and monks who celebrated mass, and prayed in the old fashion, had a mark set upon them to be hunted like wild beasts. In some respects, where it was not deemed expedient to irritate persons of very high rank, the government connived at the secret or domestic exercise of the Roman religion; but such cases were rare even in the early part of Elizabeth's reign; and the restored Protestant clergy, who had learned no toleration from their own sufferings, propelled the agents of government into the paths of persecution—a persecution not fiery hot, and bloody, like that of the late reign, but petty, minute, destructive of individual liberty, household independence, domestic peace, and too often of property. As early as 1561, Sir Edward Waldegrave and his lady were sent to the Tower for hearing mass

* Kitchen, who was originally a Benedictine monk, always believed or professed according to the last act of parliament, which meant the last enunciation of the royal will. In the time of Henry VIII., when he received the see, he professed the mitigated Romanism held by that monarch; in the time of Edward VI. he became a complete Protestant; and when Mary came to the crown he turned back to the point from which he had originally started, and became once more a thorough Papist. Now he turned Protestant again, and was allowed to keep the bishopric of Landaff to the year 1563, when he died.—*Soames.*

† Burnet.—Strype.—Soames.—Blunt.—Hallam. It appears from the report of the ecclesiastical visitors that only about one hundred dignitaries and eighty parish priests resigned their benefices or were deprived of them at this great period of change. But in the course of a few years many others resigned or were driven from their posts as much by the people as by the government. "It may be added, also," says Mr. Hallam, "that the visitors now restored the married clergy who had been dispossessed in the preceding reign, which would of course considerably augment the number of sufferers for popery."—*Const. Hist.*

* The oath of supremacy was expressed as follows:—"I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare, that the queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all *spiritual and ecclesiastical* things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, *within* this realm; and *therefore I* do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the queen's highness, her heirs and lawful successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, pre-eminences, privileges, and authorities, granted or belonging to the queen's highness, her heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm."

"The Catholics said that Elizabeth was thus making herself a she lay-pope; and there were expressions in this oath of supremacy unacceptable to those English Protestants who had imbibed abroad, in the school of Calvin, an apprehension of the merging of all spiritual powers, even those of ordination and preaching, in the paramount authority of the sovereign—a state of things towards which the despotism of Henry VIII. and the obsequiousness of Cranmer had seemed to bring the reformed church of England." (Hallam, Const. Hist.) In the injunctions to the ecclesiastical visitors in the summer of 1559, some pains were taken to remove these apprehensions, and the law of supremacy was diligently expounded. Her Majesty forbade her subjects to give credit to such malicious persons as attempted to prove that, by the words of the said oath, it might be derived that she meant "to challenge authority and power of ministry of divine service in the church." The true meaning of the oath and act was—so, at least, she now asserted—"to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them."—*Somers's Tracts, Scott's Edit.*

† Stat. 1st Eliz. c. 2.

and keeping a Popish priest in their house. Many others were punished for the same offence about the same time. The penalty for causing mass to be said was only a hundred marks for the first offence, but these cases seem to have been referred to the Protestant high commission court, and the arbitrary Star Chamber, whose violence, however illegal, was not often checked. About a year after the committal of Sir Edward Waldegrave and his lady, two zealous Protestant bishops wrote to the council to inform them that a priest had been apprehended in a lady's house, and that neither he nor the servants would be sworn to answer to articles, saying they would not accuse themselves. After which these Protestant prelates add,—"*Some do think that if this priest might be put to some kind of torment, and so driven to confess what he knoweth, he might gain the queen's majesty a good mass of money by the masses that he hath said; but this we refer to your lordship's wisdom.*"* It is dishonest to deny so obvious a fact, nor can the denial now serve any purpose: it was this commencement of persecution that drove many English Catholics beyond the seas, and gave rise to those associations of unhappy and desperate exiles which continued to endanger the throne of Elizabeth even down to the last years of her long reign. But that persecution would most assuredly have been ten-fold more fierce than it was, had it not been checked by the wise policy of the queen, Cecil, Bacon, Walsingham, and others, her great ministers and advisers, who had repeatedly to bear from the Protestants the taunt of being lukewarm in the true faith. In the same year, 1559, which saw the enforcing of the statutes of supremacy and uniformity, the queen published certain *injunctions* after the manner of those of her brother, and, for the better part, expressed in the very same words as those of Edward, twelve years before. There was, however, a greater decency of language in several of the clauses, and the church of Rome was treated with more courtesy than in Edward's time. The vulgar expression "of kissing and *licking* of images" was altered, the word "*licking*" being expunged. The words which declared the power of the pope in England to be "justly rejected, extirpated, and taken away utterly," were softened to "justly rejected and taken away." According to Edward's commands, images, shrines, pictures, and the like, were to be destroyed, nor was any memory of the same to be left in walls and glass windows. Elizabeth enjoined that "the walls and glass windows shall be nevertheless preserved." In the supplementary clauses added to the injunctions of Edward, there was one sufficiently violent against the growth of heresies, one against disturbing the congregation by disputation or otherwise in sermon-time, and a third for the better regulation of singing in churches. This last clause, which has been considered as a concession to the greatly increasing puritanism of the country, did not actually eject organs, and forbid the use of music and of all psalmody whatever, except such as was strictly congregational; but it discarded the graces and high ornaments of the science, and reduced church music to a very naked simplicity. Another of the injunctions seems to prove, what might have been expected, that the learning of the parochial clergy had not increased under the changes and spoliations of the church, for it expressly enjoins that "such as are but mean readers shall peruse over before hand, once or twice, the chapters and homilies, to the intent they may read to the better understanding of the people, and the more encouragement of godliness."*

Meanwhile the monastic establishments were universally broken up; three whole convents of monks and nuns were transferred from England to the continent; many of the dispossessed clergy were conveyed to Spain in the retinue of Feria, the Spanish ambassador, who exerted himself in their favour, and the deprived bishops were committed to safe keeping in England. The number of these prelates was not so considerable as might have been supposed. Through various circumstances, but chiefly by deaths, (for the recent epidemic had been very fatal to elderly persons,) there were many vacancies at Elizabeth's accession, so that (Kitchen, of Landaff, as already mentioned, being allowed to retain his see) all the bishops that she had to deprive were, fourteen in actual possession, and three bishops elect. For some time after their deprivation these prelates were left to themselves, and their poverty; but on the 4th of December (1559) Heath, Bonner, Bourn, Tuberville, and Poole imprudently drew upon themselves the queen's attention by presenting a petition, in which, after praising her virtuous sister, Queen Mary of happy memory, who, being troubled in conscience with what her father's and brother's advisers had caused them to do, had most piously restored the Catholic faith, and extinguished those schisms and heresies for which God had poured out his wrath upon most of the malefactors and misleaders of the nation; they called upon the queen to follow her example without loss of time, and concluded by praying that God would turn her heart and preserve her life, and also make her evil advisers ashamed and repentant of their heresies.† Elizabeth replied, in great wrath, that these very memorialists, or at least Heath, Bonner, and Tuberville, with their former friend, "their *great* Stephen Gardiner," had advised and flattered her father in all that he did; and she told them to be more circumspect for the future, lest they should provoke that punishment which was provided by law for impugners of her royal authority and prerogative; and shortly after the deprived bishops were committed to prison. Bonner, the worst of them, was conveyed to the Marshalsea on the

* Burleighe, State Papers. We regret to say that one of these two bishops was the learned Grindal, Bishop of London, who had been an exile for conscience' sake in the time of Mary.

* These injunctions are printed at length in Bishop Sparrow's collection, and abridged in Blunt's Sketch of the Reformation.

† Strype.

20th of April, 1560, where he was kept for more than nine long years, when he was liberated by death, on the 5th of September, 1569. The Catholic writers will not allow that the prelates were mildly treated, but at least it is certain that no blood was shed, and that no fagots were kindled to consume them. After passing different periods in the Tower and other prisons, all of them, with the exception of Bonner, were quartered by government, apparently from motives of economy, upon the Protestant bishops who had succeeded them, or upon rich deans or other dignified churchmen—an arrangement which could not have been very agreeable either to hosts or guests. The queen, however, in the high exercise of her supremacy in spirituals, caused Protestant excommunications to be issued against all or most of them, nor were they ever relieved from suspicion and a distressing surveillance.*

The settlement of the national religion had cost Elizabeth and her council much more time and trouble than the adjustment of the difficulties in the foreign relations of the country. After a little negociation, England was included in a general treaty of peace signed at Cateau Cambresis on the 2nd of April, 1559, within six months after her accession. The only impediment had been in Elizabeth's earnest desire to recover possession of Calais, but, by the advice of Cecil, she wisely consented to a clause in the treaty which saved her honour, though it could not have led her to believe that any King of France would ever have either the will or the power to fulfil it. It was agreed that Calais should be retained by the French king for eight years, and that at the end of that period it should be delivered to the English queen or her successor, upon certain conditions.† Scotland, as the ally of France, was included in the treaty of Cateau Cambresis, but many points regarding the Scottish quarrel were reserved for a future discussion, to take place in two months, and if possible to be conducted and terminated amicably. Philip of Spain did not, for the present, conceive or show any serious displeasure at Elizabeth's declining the honour of his hand: he soon after took to wife the daughter of Henry II. King of France, who had been affianced to his own son, Don Carlos, and he warmly recommended to Elizabeth, as a husband in every way suitable, his own cousin, the Archduke Charles of Austria, son of the Emperor Ferdinand.

According to every canonical law of the Roman church, according to the notions of nearly every Catholic in England, the claim of Mary Stuart to the English succession was far preferable to that of her cousin Elizabeth. The Guises represented that Anne Boleyn's marriage had never been lawful—that it had been pronounced null and void by a sentence of the church—that the attainder of Elizabeth's blood had never been reversed even by her own parliament, and that Mary of Scotland, though passed by in the will of Henry VIII., and overlooked by the English nation, was, by right of descent and purity of birth, indisputably entitled to the throne. In a fatal moment for Mary, she and her husband quartered the royal arms of England with their own, and even assumed the style of King and Queen of Scotland and England. But Elizabeth did not wait for this provocation to a most deadly quarrel. She resolved to anticipate events—to undermine the authority of Mary in the neighbouring kingdom, so as to leave her neither a Scottish nor an English throne; and this plan was acted upon through a long series of years with consummate and wonderful art. But the condition of Scotland served Elizabeth better than all the skill of her statesmen and diplomatists, great as it was. That country was rent by factions and religious controversies, more fierce, more determined than ever. Mary's mother, the queen regent, like the whole family of the Guises, was devotedly attached to the church of Rome, and, as a Frenchwoman—as a mother—she was naturally the enemy of the Scottish reformers, who had all along leaned to England, and who had even made desperate attempts to deprive her infant daughter of her crown. There was not, and there never could be, any affection or confidence between her and them; and if we take an impartial view of the proceedings of both we shall feel it extremely difficult to decide which party was the more violent and intolerant, and suspicious of the intentions of the other. The reformers, led on by their preachers, set all law and order at defiance, and in the face of day pillaged monasteries, burnt churches, and committed other excesses. The Catholics still cried for the stake and fagot against these sacrilegious miscreants, unmindful of the obvious fact that, in Scotland as in England, persecution and cruelty had only augmented the number of converts to the new doctrines. Mary of Guise, the queen regent, invited or summoned all the reformed clergy to appear at Stirling on the 10th of May, 1559, to give an account of their conduct. These reformers went to the place appointed, but so well attended with armed friends and partisans, that they looked more like the leaders of an army than the preachers of the gospel; and, perhaps less from a want of faith in the regent, than from the exasperated feelings of their own countrymen of the Catholic party, it would not have been safe for them to go in any other guise. The result of this meeting was, that the queen regent, in the presence of their superior force, pledged her word that no proceedings should be instituted for deeds that were past, provided only they would remain peaceable for the future. According to the reformers, they had scarcely dispersed when she, without any new stir or provocation on their part, caused them to be proceeded against in their absence. But it must be observed that many of the reformers were men of the most ardent zeal, who considered the remaining quiet under the rule and dominion of papists as an abominable connivance with Satan. Among these must certainly be included the famous

* Strype.—Burnet.—Soames. † Rymer.

John Knox, the very head and front of the Calvinistic reformation in Scotland—the pupil and bosom friend of Wishart, who had perished at the stake in Cardinal Beaton's time. On the 11th of May, the very day after the meeting at Stirling, John Knox preached in Perth with his usual vehemence against the mass, idolatrous worship, and the adoration of saints and images. When a priest proceeded to say mass as usual, a young man called this act idolatry—he received a blow—he retaliated by throwing stones at the priest, and damaged a church picture. The iconoclastic fury spread like flames running over gunpowder—pictures, statues, marble fonts were broken to pieces, wherever they could be reached—"temple and tower went to the ground" with hideous crash.* The reformers of England had rested satisfied with the destruction of the ornaments and accessaries, and had, generally, left the walls of the abbeys untouched; but the zeal of the Scots was far more furious,—they wished not to leave one stone upon another, and it was a maxim with John Knox that the best way of preventing the crows from ever returning was to destroy their nests. Hence arose the almost utter destruction of some of the most beautiful ecclesiastical edifices in the world—of Gothic abbeys and churches studded so closely over the face of the country as to excite astonishment at its ancient resources. The queen regent had no means of checking this barbarous spirit of destruction. She entreated, she promised, and by the end of May she concluded a treaty with the reforming party, wherein it was agreed once more that the past should be pardoned and forgotten, that there should be no further persecution of the reformed (for some time—from the moment they were strong enough—*they* had been the persecutors), and that the Protestants should enjoy full liberty of conscience; they engaging, on the other hand, to obey the government, to excite no tumults under the pretext of religion, to molest no Catholics, no priests, and to destroy no more churches and religious houses. It was also stipulated that Perth, the stronghold of the Protestants, should open its gates to the regent, she being bound to put no French troops or foreign mercenaries into the city. Neither party kept its bargain, nor was a second treaty, signed about a month after, more punctually observed by either. It has been said recently, by a one-sided writer, that the Scottish Catholics considered that there was no obligation to keep a promise made to heretics and rebels, especially when it was injurious to themselves; but in justice it should be stated that the Scottish Protestants from first to last were resolutely bent on the utter extirpation of the Roman religion, and always considered they were doing the devil's work in negotiating and allowing the Catholics breathing time. John Knox, by a single blast of his spiritual trumpet, assembled an irregular but a numerous army; and now the churches and monasteries which had escaped before fell almost as suddenly as the walls of Jericho at the trumpet of Joshua. Of late nearly the whole body of the Scottish nobility had fallen off from the queen regent and enrolled themselves under the banner of Knox, who, after all, was the real chief and leader of this holy war. Many of the lords acted from a conscientious dislike of the old superstitions; but there were few of them whose zeal for the gospel light was not allied with a greed after worldly lucre: and as for toleration, when it was not found in England, it could scarcely be looked for in Scotland. They marched with the bible in one hand and the sword in the other; and, by an unhappy process, they could always find texts in the former to sharpen the edge of the latter. Matters were made much worse when the queen regent brought in fresh troops from France to support her insulted and tottering government. The undisciplined rabble, however, who had not made up their minds to die martyrs, submitted in the towns and places where these disciplined troops were stationed, and the Protestant chiefs were fain to conclude another treaty, and to content themselves with toleration and freedom of conscience without insisting upon the immediate and total suppression of papistry; but this they only considered as a temporary sacrifice of principle to expediency,—as a connivance which was not to last; and, headed by the Earls of Argyle, Morton, and Glencairn, the Lord Lorn, Erskine of Dun, and others, they formed a general Protestant league, entered privately into agreements, and, styling themselves the Congregation of the Lord, published a solemn protest against the abominations and corruptions of popery. They had never had so many good materials for a manifesto. The people began to complain that it was the intention of the queen regent and her family to destroy the national independence,—to convert Scotland into a province of France; and several of the great lords who were not as yet very zealous for the reformed religion were very anxious to rid the country of French troops. Among those who went over to the Congregation of the Lord, or the Lords of the Congregation, was the Earl of Arran, formerly regent, who had now for some years rejoiced in his French title of Duke of Chatelherault, and whose religion was of a very elastic nature. But their principal leader—a man of extraordinary abilities whatever we may think of his honour or virtue—was James Stuart, prior, or commendator, of the monastery of St. Andrew's, a natural son of the late king, the unfortunate James V., and half-brother of the beautiful Mary Stuart, whom *he* mainly contributed to render even more unhappy than their common father had been. This man professed a wonderful zeal for the new religion, whereby, not less than by his talents, he attached to himself what was now most decidedly the popular and the stronger party. His enemies

* "Then there was a sudden affray amongst them (the Catholics); for down goeth the crosses, off goeth the surplices, round caps and cornets, with the crowns; the gray friars gaped, the black friars blew, the priests ranted and fled, and happy was he who first got to the house, for such a sudden fray came never among the generation of antichrist within the realm before."—*John Knox.*

always accused him of falsehood, treachery, and a boundless ambition; but, according to his friends and his own solemn asseveration, his sole object was to promote the extirpation of the old superstition for the honour of God and the good of his country.

At this critical moment the absent Mary Stuart had become queen of France, a transitory grandeur, which only lasted, as it were, for a moment, and which tended still further to increase the jealousies of the Scots and to embarrass her friends in her native country. Her father-in-law, Henry II. of France, had not been very happy ever since the signing of the (to him) disadvantageous treaty of Cateau Cambresis, but the immediate cause of his death was an accidental wound in the eye from a broken lance while tilting.* He expired on the 10th of July, 1559, in the forty-first year of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the husband of Mary, under the title of Francis II. In this manner the Scots became more and more confirmed in their idea that their country was to be held and treated as a French province or dependence; and hence every Frenchman, every

* The occasion of this grand tilting-match was the celebration of the matrimonial alliances between Henry's daughter Isabella and Philip II. of Spain, and Henry's sister Margaret with the Duke of Savoy. Thus were two of Elizabeth's old suitors settled in matrimony.

QUEEN MARY OF SCOTLAND. From a Painting by Zucchero.

ship, every bale of goods that arrived from France was looked upon with a jealous eye. Nor did Francis and Mary, on their accession to the French throne, neglect to take measures for the re-establishment of the royal power in the northern kingdom. In the end of July a thousand French soldiers landed at Leith; and that the spiritual interests might not be neglected, Francis and Mary sent with these men-at-arms a certain number of orthodox divines from the Sorbonne. With these reinforcements, and giving out that more were coming, the queen regent took possession of Leith and quartered the odious papistical and foreign soldiers on the townspeople. When the citizens of Leith complained, she assured them that the measure was necessary for the preservation of her daughter's throne, and that she could not, and would not, desist until the lords should dismiss their armed men. The Lords of the Congregation had of course less intention than ever of laying down the sword,—their party was daily increasing, and that of the queen dowager was as rapidly declining. At this crisis it seems to have fallen principally to the preachers to expound the lawfulness of resistance to constituted authorities; and in so doing some of them occasionally broached doctrines which were exceedingly odious to all the royal ears of Europe, whether Catholic or Protestant. When, for example, it was proposed to deprive Mary's mother of the regency, Willock, one of the most eminent after Knox, said that the magistrates and rulers were certainly ordained of God, but also bound by God's word, so that when they departed from that word they might be de-

posed. Such depositions had not always been effected by God's making use immediately of his own power, but, as the Old Testament proved, they had, at times, been brought about by indirect and mortal means. There could be no doubt that the regent might lawfully be deposed by the subjects, for she had not suffered God's word to be freely preacned,—she had maintained superstition, and rejected the advice of the nobility,—and therefore deserved to be removed from the government. Knox himself, though he said something about allowing her a little time for repentance and the changing of her conduct and administration, did not hesitate to give it as his opinion, that the regent might be deposed for just causes. But the Protestants soon found that the Catholics were still powerful,—that many, even of their own communion, disapproved of their extreme measures, and looked upon their conduct as rebellion,—that the foreign troops were formidable from the excellent state of their discipline and appointments,—that the chief fortresses of the kingdom were in their hands,—that money was pouring in from France, and that the Lords of the Congregation were, as usual, excessively needy. In this emergency, when a large portion of the people was so embittered with religious animosity as to forget their old political jealousies of the English, they resolved to apply for assistance to Elizabeth, and, in order to gain her favour, some of them adopted, for the present, the English Liturgy,—a great political blunder, which contributed to produce fatal consequences, for that Liturgy did not accord with the spiritual notions of the Scots. Elizabeth was solemnly bound by the recent treaty of Cateau Cambresis to do nothing in Scotland to the prejudice of Mary's rights and authority; but then Mary, since the signing of that treaty, had behaved disrespectfully to one of Elizabeth's servants; and it was known or shrewdly suspected that the Catholic fanatics, who mainly ruled the councils of the French court, were determined, on the first favourable opportunity, to assert the Scottish queen's rights, and strike a blow in England for Mary, God, and the church. We will not pretend to say that, if all these provocations had been wanting, Elizabeth would not have adopted precisely the same line of conduct, which was nothing but a drawing out of the old line of Henry VIII., which fell to her as a political heir-loom. When the matter was debated in the English council, there was, however, some difference of opinion, and a strong repugnance on the part of the queen, to what was deemed the anarchical polity of John Knox. It was represented as a very dangerous example, and contrary to justice and law, to assist subjects in their rebellion against their legitimate sovereign,—that it was clear the Scots had had little patience, and had misconstrued examples in the bible in their proceedings against the queen regent, whose person was sacred; and, finally, and with still more weight than all, it was stated that England had not yet recovered from her poverty and embarrassment,—that she could ill afford the expenses of a war,—that peace would of a certainty be broken if she sent any extensive aid to the Scottish Protestants,—and that France and all the Catholic powers of the continent, in alliance with the Catholics of Scotland and the Catholics of England, might prove too much even for the great and wise Elizabeth. The Scottish lords, or rather the great English statesmen who espoused their cause, putting aside the delicate question of rebellion and aiding of rebels, represented that the French were keeping and increasing an army in Scotland, and aiming at nothing less than the entire possession or mastery of the country; that Scotland would only prove a step to England; that when the Protestants there were overpowered the French and Catholics would undoubtedly try to place Mary Stuart on the throne of England, and renew the tyranny of Mary Tudor; that the safety of the queen, the state, the church, the liberty of England, depended essentially on the turn which affairs might take in Scotland.* There was undeniably much reason in this startling exposition. It was obvious that a final and decisive conflict between the Catholics and Protestants of Scotland was approaching. In this the sagacity of Cecil saw that the queen-regent, armed with legal authority, supported by disciplined forces, and furnished from France with means of paying them, must ultimately prevail over a league who had only religious zeal and the tumultuary assemblage of their feudal retainers and undisciplined burghers to oppose against such advantages. But Scotland, if reduced to the situation of a French province, and ruled by a Catholic queen, who boasted some pretensions to the throne of Elizabeth, must have been a most inauspicious neighbour to England. It was therefore resolved to support the Protestant nobility in their struggle with the queen-regent; but with such secrecy as neither to bring upon the Lords of the Congregation the odium of being the friends and pensioners of England, nor to engage Elizabeth in an open war with her sister and rival.† Elizabeth had not far to look for an agent competent to manage this business: our old friend Sir Ralph Sadler, who knew Scotland better than any Englishman, who had been in old times the bosom friend of the Scottish lords in the pay of Henry VIII., many of whom figured in the new movements, had quitted his rural retirement at Hackney on the accession of her present majesty, who had forthwith appointed him to a seat in her privy council. Sir Ralph, who had begun public life betimes, was not old, being only in his fifty-second year; and his great talent for intrigue and manœuvre had probably been improved even by the shifts to which he had been put in the dangerous days of Queen Mary. He was full of energy, and he entered on his new

* Memorial written by my Lord Treasurer (Cecil) with his own hand, 5th August, 1559.—Sadler's State Papers.—Raumer.

† Walter Scott's Biographical Memoir of Sir Ralph Sadler, prefixed to the State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight Banneret, edited by Arthur Clifford.

duties with a happy anticipation of success. In the course of the month of August Cecil issued a commission to Sir Ralph to settle certain disputes concerning border matters, and to superintend the repairs which it was proposed to make in the fortifications of Berwick and other English fortresses on or near to the borders. Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Sir James Croft, the governor of Berwick, were joined in the commission, but more for form than for anything else; for Northumberland, as a Papist himself, was suspected,—Croft, though a good officer, was not much of a diplomatist,—and the whole business was, in fact, intrusted to Sadler. The repairs, which were actually begun on a large scale at Berwick, seemed a very sufficient reason to account for Sadler's protracted stay; and Elizabeth had "thought necessary to provoke the queen-regent, her good sister, to appoint some of her ministers of like qualities to meet with the said earl (Northumberland) and the said Sir Ralph and Sir James." Sadler was thus brought into contact with Scottish commissioners, whom he was instructed to bribe, if possible, and enabled to correspond in a most convenient manner with the Lords of the Congregation. By his private powers and instructions, in Cecil's hand writing, he was authorised to confer, treat, or practise with any manner of person of Scotland, either in Scotland or England, for his purposes and the furthering of the queen's service; to distribute money to the disaffected Scots, as he should think proper, to the amount of three thousand pounds, which sum was delivered to him, for more convenience, *in gold;* but he was always to proceed with such discretion and secrecy, that no part of his doings should awaken suspicion or impair the peace lately concluded between Elizabeth and Scotland. Sir Ralph soon reported progress to the cool and circumspect Cecil, telling him that if the Lords of the Congregation were properly encouraged and comforted, there was no doubt as to the result. On his arrival at Berwick he had found in that town a secret messenger sent from Knox to Sir James Croft (who appear to have been old friends), and by means of this messenger they signified to Knox that they wished that Mr. Henry Balnaves, or some other discreet and trusty Scotsman, might repair "in secret manner" to such place as they had appointed, to the intent that they might confer touching affairs. Sir James Croft had understood from Knox that his party would require aid of the queen's majesty for the entertainment and wages of fifteen hundred harquebusiers and three hundred horsemen, which, if they might have, then France (as Knox said) should "soon understand their minds." To this demand for aid Sadler had so answered as not to leave them without hope; but he is anxious "to understand the queen's majesty's pleasure in that part, wishing, if it may be looked for that any good effect shall follow, that her majesty should not, for the spending of a great deal more than the charge of their demand amounteth unto, pretermit such an opportunity." But it was money, ready money, that the Scottish reformers incessantly clamoured for. "And to say our poor minds unto you," continues Sir Ralph, "we see not but her highness must be at some charge with them; *for of bare words only, though they may be comfortable, yet can they receive no comfort.* The bestowing of two thousand or three thousand crowns to relieve them, which have sustained great losses, and spent, as we undertand, in manner all they had in this matter, now to encourage them to do somewhat, and, if the same be well spent, a great deal more, cannot but be well employed; and if such effect do not follow thereof as we desire, her highness must account that she hath cast so much into the sea, the loss whereof may be easily borne and recovered, and either must her majesty adventure the loss of money amongst them, or else leave them to themselves, for we see not that the mean can serve the turn in this part." This letter was written on the 20th of August (1559), immediately after Sadler's arrival at the scene of intrigue, and on the same day John Knox was requested to send his secret agent to Holy Isle. By a letter dated on the 24th of the same month, Elizabeth told Sadler that he should immediately deal out "in the secretest manner" the money committed to him at his departure from London "to such persons and to such intents as might most effectually further and advance that service which had been specially recommended unto him." And on the same day Cecil addressed to Arran, or Chatelherault, a much more remarkable letter, which it should appear Sir Ralph was to forward to its destination. "I beseech your Grace," writes Cecil to this noble and royal Scot, "at this present, neglect not such opportunity of doing good to your country, as the like was never offered this hundred years, nor per case shall not many other hundred happen, if this time be omitted. Repentance doth most harm where no remedy remaineth. But I will not molest your grace with my writing: this one thing I covet, to have this isle well united in concord, and then could I be content to leave my life and the joy thereof to our posterity . . . . . and so I take my leave, praying Almighty God to make you the instrument of his true honour against antichrist, the perpetual enemy of his dear Son, our Saviour Christ." From these and other expressions it should almost seem that Elizabeth entertained the notion of uniting the two kingdoms under her own dominion, without any reference to the rights of Mary; but the Scottish nation was certainly *not* prepared for any such measure, nor did the fastest pace of the Lords of the Congregation come up with it. On the 28th of August the queen-regent of Scotland, in the name of Francis and Mary, king and queen of the French and Scots, appointed Scottish commissioners to treat with Sadler and Northumberland for the settlement of the border disputes, the release of prisoners on both sides, and the establishing a sound and lasting tranquillity on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, the seat of ancient and fierce enmities. These com-

missioners were the infamous James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell,* who, a few years later, involved Queen Mary in disgrace and destruction; Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, father of the celebrated secretary of Mary; and Sir Walter Car, or Kerr, of Cessford, ancestor of the dukes of Roxburgh. On the "penult day of August" they addressed, from Edinburgh, a letter to the Earl of Northumberland and his colleagues, commissioners of England, stating that they would be ready to meet them at Our Lady Kirk, near Berwick, the 5th day of September next, at which time, God willing, they would fully testify a good inclination to justice and combination of amity betwixt their realms. The Earl of Northumberland, or rather Sir Ralph Sadler, thought fit to postpone the meeting to the 11th of September, and the Scottish commissioners do not appear to have been sensible of the fact that, in the meanwhile, those of England were actively corresponding with the insurgents. Great caution was used in that matter. In conformity with Cecil's advice a comfortable letter was drawn up between Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft to the Lords of the Congregation,† expressing their hearty sorrow at understanding that their godly enterprise, tending principally to the advancement of God's glory, and next to the safeguard and defence of their natural country from the conquest of the French nation, should be unfortunately stayed and interrupted. They went on to say that they could not do less than give their poor advice to the Lords of the Congregation not to shrink from that which they had enterprised, —not to yield to fear nor vain persuasions,—not to be through false practices or otherwise *attrapped* or betrayed into their enemies' hands, but, on the contrary, to use all good means to allure and persuade the whole nobility of the kingdom to take part with them; "whereunto," says this ingenious document, "their natural love to their country ought to induce them, rather than to suffer the violence and conquest of the French, which undoubtedly do mean to subvert and extinct the native blood of Scotland, inheritable to the same, if the French queen, your sovereign, should die without issue, and to annex that realm perpetually to the crown of France, which we think all true Scottish men should naturally detest and abhor, and, while time serveth, ought to prevent and foresee the same. And for your help and defence in that behalf, be ye most assured that ye shall not lack aid, both of money and otherwise, out of England, more than hitherto hath been mentioned or promised; for ye may assure yourselves that, if ye will nobly and stoutly debate your own cause, and pursue your enterprise as to men of honour and good courage appertaineth, as ye shall lack no such help and aid of us to that effect, as ye can reasonably require, so, rather than the French should have their wills over you, and bring you to subjection, you may be sure that England will show herself your friend, and an open enemy to your adverse party. This we write to you not without good commission, and therefore it may please you to give firm credence to the same, and to send some trusty man hither to confer with us in this matter, by whom we may understand your lordships' determinate mind and pleasure therein with as much speed as you may conveniently."* But this letter was not sent to its destination; and it seems to have been stopped in consequence of the journey into Scotland of the son and heir of the Duke of Chatelherault, who had been in England in close conference with Cecil, by means of whom the necessary encouragement might be transmitted to the insurgents by word of mouth, thus diminishing the chance of committing Queen Elizabeth as a fomenter of the rebellion.

The ex-regent's son, who at this time bore his father's former title of Earl of Arran, stole into Scotland with an English pass, under the assumed name of Monsieur de Beaufort, and he was accompanied by Master Thomas Randall, or Randolph, an able and intelligent agent of Queen Elizabeth, an adept in secret intrigues, who assumed, for the nonce, the name of Barnyby.† This Randall, or Randolph, alias Barnyby, remained a considerable time in Scotland, being, in fact, the resident envoy of Elizabeth to the Lords of the Congregation. He occasionally corresponded directly with the queen's council, but more generally with Sir R. Sadler, who was the prime mover and director of the whole scheme. On the 8th of September, three days before the appointed meeting with the commissioners of the Queen-regent of Scotland, Sadler wrote to inform Cecil that Mr. Balnaves had at last arrived at midnight from the Lords of the Congregation, and had made him "the whole discourse of all their proceedings from the beginning." English money and promises had worked the desired effect; the Lords of the Congregation were encouraged to strike another blow. "And now," writes Sadler in his report of Balnaves's disclosures, "they intend to revive the matter; for that the Regent hath not observed the articles of their last agreement, but hath infringed the same, as well in that she hath set up the mass again in the abbey of Holyrood House (which *they* had before suppressed), as also in that the Frenchmen do remain still, and a more number since arrived."

In the armistice concluded at the Links of Leith on the 24th of the preceding month of July, it was covenanted—1. That the town of Edinburgh should use what religion they pleased. 2. That no one should be prosecuted for religion. 3. That no garrison should be placed in Edinburgh. A dispute arose concerning the possession of the high church of St. Giles's in Edinburgh, which the queen-regent desired to retain for the exercise of

* The mode in which Bothwell is mentioned in the commission is rather striking. *Itaque de probitate, industria, et erga nostra mandata fide delecti consanguinei nostri Jacobi comitis Boithwel domini Hallis, et Creichtoni admiralli*—Sadler's State Papers, &c.

† This letter is in the handwriting of Sadler.

* Sadler's State Papers.

† In the passport M. de Beaufort, alias Arran, was designated as "a gentleman of our good brother the French king;" Barnyby, alias Randolph, as a gentleman appointed to accompany him.

the Catholic worship, and which the reformers were equally eager to occupy. But, in fact, the vehement John Knox was determined to drive the Roman clergy from every church, from every altar, whether public or private, and thus, immediately after the agreement of the Links of Leith, he extended his demands, insisting that mass should not be said even within the precincts of the palace of Holyrood. Balnaves complains of a new matter, which was, that the queen-regent abased the Lords of the Congregation, to their grief and impoverishment. Other passages of this dispatch are too remarkable to be overlooked. They convey a wonderfully clear notion of the way in which the business was gone about, and will serve well in lieu of details which would too much encumber this part of our narrative.

"For these matters he (Balnaves) saith they will begin again, and would have done at this time, but sundry causes, he saith, they had to protract the time in pursuing thereof, whereby they have rather great advantage than hindrance. One for that the Regent, by her policy, devised to stir James M'Donnel and others of the Scottish Irishry against the Earl of Argyle, to the intent the same earl might be so occupied at home in defence of his country as he should have no time to attend this matter; wherefore it behoved him to go home for the stay thereof, which he hath now so well ordered, as the Regent shall be clearly frustrate and deceived of her expectation in that behalf. Another cause is, for that harvest is late with them this year, and if they should have assembled any power in the fields, it could not otherwise be but that a great destruction must have ensued of the fruits of the earth, which would have greatly moved the people against them. Again, during this mean time they have had their preachers abroad in the realm, which, by their preaching and doctrine, have so won and allured the people to their devotion, as he saith their power is now double that it was in the cause of religion; and such as yet be not fully persuaded thereto, bear, nevertheless, such hatred to the Frenchmen, as he thinketh in manner the whole realm favoreth their party. And also he saith, that in this protract of time, practices have been used, and conferences had, both with the duke, the Earl of Huntley, and others; and the duke (Chatelherault) persuaded so far, that he hath promised to come no more at the regent, nor to take any part with her; the rest he will refer to the coming home of his son, who, he saith, may take the matter in hand if he himself list to be sick or lame, and to wink at the matter. "And here the said Balnaves seemed to be greatly desirous of the coming home of the said duke's son, who, indeed, was *nearer him than he was aware of.* The like promise he saith they have obtained of the Earl of Huntley, and be in good hope that he will manifest himself on their side; others also they have won, as he saith, to their party, which be the best borderers of the march and Tweeddale, which, indeed, have their preachers amongst them; and though some of the older sort do draw back, yet, having young and lusty gentlemen to their sons, they are content to let them follow their purpose, and dissemble the matter themselves with the regent. These advantages, saith Balnaves, have they gotten by this protract of time: and now, as soon as their harvest is at good point, they will assemble all the power they can make; for which purpose the Lords of the Congregation do meet and convene, as he saith, the 10th or 12th of this month, at Stirling; where, he saith, they be in good hope to hear of some good aid and comfort at the queen's majesty's hands, for the which purpose they had now sent him unto us. When he had said what he would, we told him, that they might assure themselves that the queen's majesty, any all the lords of her highness's council, did so much tender their cause, as they would be no less sorry than they themselves if the same should not take effect, and such aid and comfort as her highness might minister unto them, without touch of her *honour*, and breach of the peace which she now hath both with France and Scotland, they might be sure to have it at her grace's hands. Marry, we told him they were wise men, and could consider, as well as we, what might be done by her highness in that behalf, considering that, albeit their cause was grounded upon a good and godly foundation, to extirpate idolatry, and to advance Christ's true religion, and also for the preservation of the freedom of their country, and to deliver the same from foreign government, as in conscience they are bound to do; yet the world can make no other exposition of it, but that they be as it were a *faction* gathered together, contending against the authority: and how the queen's majesty may seem to maintain them in such a case, we doubted not but he, being a wise man, could weigh the same as deeply as we did. He confessed all that we said to be true, and wished that the queen's majesty should remain still *in peace*, which he said should also serve better for their purpose, than if we were in the wars; for that if we were in the war, they could then find no fault with the coming of the Frenchmen into Scotland, which might say they came to defend our country; but now, being in peace, all Scotland may and doth well perceive that they come rather to make a conquest of them than for any other cause. And in their conferences, he saith, they have considered as much as we said unto them. And, therefore, whatsoever pretence they make, the principal mark they shoot at is, he saith, to make an alteration of the state and authority, to the intent, the same being established as they desire, they may then enter into open treaty with her majesty, as the case shall require. This, he saith, is very secret; and if the duke (Chatelherault) would take it upon him they mean to bestow it there; or if he refuse, his son is as meet, or rather more meet, for the purpose. In the mean season he said they trusted, and the Lords of the Congre-

gation were in good expectation, that her highness would comfort them with some secret aid of money; and, because they had spent a great deal of their substance in maintaining and keeping all this while certain bands of soldiers, for their more strength and surety, to their no little impoverishing, if they might now have such relief at her majesty's hands, as would keep together one thousand harquebusiers and three hundred horsemen for two or three months, besides such power as they trust to make at their own charge, they will either achieve their enterprise, or spend their lives in the pursuit thereof. Upon this, we resolved with him, that indeed there was none other way for the queen's majesty to relieve or comfort them, but with *money;* which, if it might be done with such secrecy as the case doth require, we said we doubted not but her majesty so much tendereth their case and godly action, as they might and should taste of her liberality and goodness in that part. And here I, Sir Ralph Sadler, put him in remembrance how liberal the king, her majesty's father, had been aforetime to the nobility of Scotland, as he knew, and how little they considered it; and also, that they used therein no secrecy at all. He confessed it to be true; but he said the case is now much otherwise than it was then; for then we sought of them, and now they seek of us; and then, quoth he, we be so far already entered into this matter, that, though we have no aid at all at your hands, we must needs for our surety either go through with it or lose our lives; and so we be fully bent and purposed to do. And, quoth he, for the secrecy of the matter, if it please the queen's majesty to aid us according to our desire, it shall be so secret, that none, except a few which be of the privy council amongst us, shall know any other but that the *force* is levied of the benevolence of the whole Congregation."*

"To come to the end of this long talk," as Sadler expresses it, he granted the Lords of the Congregation for the present 2000*l.*, telling their envoy, that if they made a good use of it, and kept the secret, and the queen's *honour* untouched, they should soon have more. Balnaves returned well satisfied to the Lords of the Congregation, who took the money as secretly as possible.† In the same long letter, in which he reports all that had passed with Balnaves, Sir Ralph informs Cecil that there were other Scottish Protestants as Kirkaldy of Grange, Ormeston, and Whitlaw, "which have spent much for this matter, whereof they be earnest prosecutors, and, having lost fifteen or sixteen months' pay, which they should now have had out of France," looked for some relief, and had been put in some hope thereof; "but," continues Sadler, "because we have been so liberal of the queen's purse, albeit it pleased her majesty to commit the same to the discretion of me the said Sir Ralph, yet we would be glad to know how her highness liketh or misliketh what we have done before we do any more." Elizabeth was obliged to send down more money to Berwick, some of which was paid to Kirkaldy, Ormeston, and Whitlaw, and some, it should appear, to the Earl of Arran, the son of the Duke of Chatelherault, the ex-regent.* In a day or two Arran was safely delivered in Teviotdale to one of his friends who undertook to convey him surely and secretly to his father in the castle of Hamilton; and it appears to have been after this return of his son that the ex-regent fully declared for the Lords of the Congregation. Meanwhile, on the appointed day, Sadler, with Croft and the Earl of Northumberland, met the commissioners of the queen-regent upon the frontiers. A dispute about the wording of their respective commissions consumed some time, and then, with proper diplomatic slowness, Sadler proceeded to business,—a business which, like all border disputes, could be lengthened *ad infinitum*. During these discussions Knox let his preachers loose on the country; the queen-regent fell into a great melancholy and displeasure; the Congregation began to assemble, and the Frenchmen began to devise means for their own defence, looking daily for the Marquis d'Elbœuf, and with him more aid out of France, with which they thought they would be strong enough for the Protestants. Had she but known half the treachery that was at work, the queen-regent had good reason to be melancholy. Her secretary, William Maitland, wrote to Sadler's associate, Sir James Croft, desiring him to have no less good opinion of him than heretofore, and offering his service to the queen's majesty (Elizabeth) in anything that he could: "and further," says Croft in a joint letter, "he sent me word that he attended upon the regent in her court no longer than till he might have good occasion to revolt unto the Protestants." At the same time, however, more troops arrived from France, and more French money was placed at the disposal of the queen regent and her party. John Knox was greatly alarmed as to the *French* money, and he immediately besought Elizabeth to counteract its dangerous effects to the Protestant interests by sending more *English* money into Scotland. On his recent return from Geneva through England he had had an interview with Cecil, and evidently had arranged beforehand the plan of his operations.† He corresponded afterwards with the English secretary and others in England; and on the 21st of September, under the feigned name of John Sinclear, he wrote to Sadler's colleague, Croft, a remarkable letter from St. Andrew's. After mentioning the return of the younger Arran.

* Sadler.

† During all their talk with Mr. Balnaves, the Earl of Arran was in the castle, the one not knowing of the other; for Balnaves arrived at midnight, and the earl three hours after, before day-break. Upon learning that Balnaves and the earl were old friends, and could rely the one upon the other, Sir Ralph, when the business was done, brought them together.

* We infer this from a letter in which Secretary Cecil requests Sir Ralph Sadler to recover from the earl two hundred crowns on his own private account. "The Earl of Arran," writes this great statesman, "borrowed of me at his being at London two hundred crowns which he promised should be paid to you, Mr. Sadler, for me. After some time passed, I pray you ask it of him, and I will send you by some thorough post his bill" (receipt).

† Knox had arrived in Scotland only on the 2nd of May of this present year, 1559.

and how the Lords of the Congregation had departed for Stirling to join him and his father, the Duke of Chatelherault, at Hamilton Castle, he passed at once to the question of money, and told Mr. Secretary that unless more money was sent, especially for some chiefs whom he had named in writing, it would be impossible for them to serve in this action. "For albeit that money by the adversary party largely offered could not corrupt them, yet should extreme poverty compel them to remain at home, for they are so superexpended already that they are not able to bear out their train; and the same thing I write unto you again, requiring you to signify the same to such as tender the furtherance of this cause. If any persuade you that they will or may serve without support, they do but deceive you. If I did not perfectly understand their necessity I would not write so precisely, for I nothing doubt to obtain of them, by the authority of God's word, what lieth in their power; yea, if they could have money upon their lands, I should never solicit for them; but the knowledge of their poverty and the desire which I have that the cause prosper, maketh me bold to speak my judgment. If we lack those, Sir, whom in my former letters I expressed, our power will be weaker than men believe. France seeketh all means to make them friends and to diminish our number. Ye are not ignorant what poverty on the one part and money largely offered on the other part is able to persuade. Be advertised, and advertise you others, as you favour the success of the cause. I have done what in me lieth that corruption enter not amongst them, and at my last departing from them I verily believe that they were of one mind, to promote the cause enterprised, but the power of some is such as before I have expressed."*

Those who take the least favourable view of the character of John Knox can hardly suspect that he wanted money for himself, but he knew the world and the mercenary character of most of the Scottish chiefs; and, besides, the sinews of war appear really to have been wanting, and the Catholic party, as we have seen, were drawing funds from France. For a time it was a struggle of the purse between England and France. Elizabeth, at all times parsimonious, was at the present poor and embarrassed, and yet, under the wise guidance of Cecil and Sadler, she continued to send gold down to Berwick. Meanwhile the French fortified Leith, as if "intending to keep themselves within that place, and so to be masters of the chief port and entrance into that part of Scotland;" and the Lords of the Congregation attempted to get possession of Edinburgh Castle, in which, however, they were defeated by Lord Erskine the governor, who professed to observe a neutrality between the contending parties, and refused to admit either Protestants or Catholics. "This enterprise of Leith," according to Balnaves, "inflamed the hearts of the people to a wonderful hatred and despite of France. Elizabeth's heart was inflamed quite as much both against the French and her cousin and sister Mary. On the 24th of August, a few days after Sadler had established himself at Berwick, Cecil informed him that, on the 13th of that month, the old king (of France) was buried, and the new proclaimed, and no more but with the accustomed style, although they (*Francis and Mary*) have a seal engraving for the affairs of Scotland, with the arms and style of England and Ireland." Cecil professed not to know what would follow, but he seems to have expected that Francis and Mary, on their accession, would have assumed, among their titles, that of King and Queen of England. Five weeks later, in a letter dated the 27th of September, Cecil told Sir Ralph that he did "*much muse*" at hearing "that the French have sent a great seal into Scotland graven with the arms of France, England, and Scotland, with a style for the French king and queen, naming them "K. & Q. of France, England, and Scotland:" "Whereof," adds Cecil, "I beseech you to inquire as circumspectly as ye may possibly, for the manner of those proceedings be too sharp to be long endured." It was perfectly true that Mary had quartered the arms of England, —an offence which Elizabeth never forgave; but it is not so clear that the first provocation proceeded from the Scottish queen, for before any possible notice of this act of Mary, Elizabeth had given encouragement to her revolted subjects, and even appointed Sir Ralph Sadler to his mission. In spite of all the precaution of the English queen and the marvellous address of her agent, Mary's mother was not altogether blind to what was passing, and some thirteen days before Cecil began to *muse*, she complained, through her commissioners, that, without her license and knowledge, many of the Scottish insurgents were allowed to pass through England into Scotland, and also out of Scotland into England, to work mischief to her government. It is indeed certain that the Cardinal of Lorraine, and others who directed the councils of that very youthful couple, would have made Francis and Mary quarter the English arms under any circumstances; but notwithstanding this, Elizabeth, with reference to her own conduct, could not justly allege that the first provocation to their mortal quarrel proceeded from Mary. It is almost idle to consider this as a moral question, or as an affair directed personally by the two rival princesses; but as many writers have viewed it in this

* Sadler Papers. At the end of the letter is a curious passage about Knox's mother. "One thing must I suit of you, to wit, that either by yourself or else by Sir Ralph Sadler, to whom I could not write, because no acquaintance hath been betwixt us, you would procure a license for my mother, Elizabeth Bowis, to visit me, and to remain with me for a season; the comfort of her conscience, which cannot be quiet without God's word truly preached and his sacraments rightly ministered, is the cause of her request and of my care." "I do not know," says the Editor of the Sadler Papers, "that the name of our reformer's mother is to be found elsewhere. His father resided at Gifford, in East Lothian, and was, as it would seem from a passage in Knox's History, a retainer of the Earl of Bothwell." But, according to M'Crie (Life of John Knox), this Elizabeth Bowes, or Bowis, was not Knox's mother, but his mother-in-law, the mother of his first wife Marjory Bowis, or Bowes, a young woman of Berwick, who was descended from a respectable English family. The reformer, it appears, always called Mistress Elizabeth his mother. His real mother's name, as appears from the same authority, was Sinclear, or Sinclair, "which he wrait himsel in time of trubil."

light it may be proper to make prominent one or two little facts. Mary was only in her seventeenth year, her husband was nearly a year younger, and both were entirely guided by others. Elizabeth was in her twenty-sixth year, the mistress of her own council and actions, an experienced and most competent person. If, therefore, a false and unfair direction was given to the policy of Mary it was her misfortune, or an offence for which morally she was not accountable, but in Elizabeth such a thing would be her own crime.

The ex-regent Chatelherault took occasion openly to declare himself on the French fortifying Leith, and he told the queen-regent that she must either dislodge them or be sure that the nobility of Scotland would not suffer nor endure it. The regent replied that it was surely as lawful for her daughter to fortify where she pleased in her own realm as it was for him, the duke, to build fortifications for himself at Hamilton Castle, and that she would not remove the French from Leith unless she were compelled by force. As soon as these matters were known at Berwick, where agents and spies were constantly going and coming, Sadler wrote a short but sententious letter to his old acquaintance the duke, assuring his grace that if it might lie in so poor a man as he was to do his grace any service he should find him most willing and ready thereto, to the uttermost of his power at all times. This was matter of form, and then came the pith of the business, lubricated with a devout unction. "I have heard," quoth Sir Ralph, "of your grace's and the other lords' proceedings, wishing that the same may take such effect as your noble heart desireth, for the which I shall pray to the living God, to make you his instrument to advance his glory and defend your country from foreign government, and give you grace, not to pretermit such good opportunity as he of his goodness hath now sent you for the same." And thus the singular epistle ended without a word about Elizabeth. The duke and the Lords of the Congregation suppressed the abbeys of Paisley, Kilwinning, and Dunfermline, burning all the images, idols, and popish stuff in the same, and by means of Alexander Whitlaw, "*a godly man, and most affectionate to England*," they assured Sadler that they would take the field after harvest against the French,—*only they wanted some more money*, without which they should not be able to keep their men together. At the same time Knox sued again for relief for certain Scottish leaders whom he would not name, but whom Sadler set down as the Earl of Glencairn, the Lairds of Dun, Ormeston, and Grange, and the honest and righteous Alexander Whitlaw. La Brosse and the Bishop of Amiens had arrived with a few troops at Leith, and more were expected. In this posture of affairs Sadler recommended the immediate spending of 4000*l.* or 5000*l.*, which he thought might save the queen's highness a great deal another way. While they were getting ready this money in England the regent wrote to the duke, reproving him for joining with the Lords of the Congregation, and accusing him and the said lords of their practices with Queen Elizabeth. At the same time the regent spoke of a new agreement, offering to leave off fortifying Leith, to secure liberty for all men to use their conscience, and to send the French out of Scotland by a certain day; but the duke answered that he could do nothing without the Lords of the Congregation. The sum of 3000*l.* in French coin was down at Berwick by the 10th of October; and from Berwick it soon found its way into the pockets of the Lords of the Congregation; but still those chiefs were slow in taking the field; and Sadler, through Thomas Randolph, alias Barnyby, told them that they ought to be more diligent in this great and weighty business. "For," says Sir Ralph, "we be advertised that the Marquis D'Elbœuf is dispatched out of France, and will very shortly arrive in Scotland; and also that there is a band of Almaynes (Germans) prepared to come thither, with as much speed as is possible. Wherefore it behoveth the Lords of the Congregation to look unto it, and to take their time whilst it serveth; for as, in our opinions, they have lost much time, and thereby suffered the French to fortify Leith, which, at the beginning, might well have been impeached, so, if the said marquis and the said strange and foreign power may safely arrive and set foot on land, to join with the French at Leith, it must needs be very dangerous to the Lords of the Congregation." A few days afterwards Sir Ralph was still more pressing, telling the Lords of the Congregation that they ought "to take their time while they have it, and thereby prevent the malice of their enemies." Randolph, who was moving about with the Scottish lords, assured Sadler that something would be done presently, for the queen-regent had set forth *her* proclamation, and the Lords of the Congregation had also set forth their proclamation "as vehement on the other side, with full determination to fall to no composition." By this time continual vexation and alarm had broken the health of Mary of Guise. "Some," writes Randolph, "think that the Regent will depart secretly; some that she will to Inchkeith, for that three ships are a preparing. Some say that she is very sick: some say the devil cannot kill her." In the same secret dispatch, which, like most of the rest, was written in a cipher, Randolph says that the Prior of St. Andrew's has just sent to the Earl of Arran a powerful letter, said to be received out of France, containing many news of the great preparations making in that country against Scotland, with earnest advice to the lords to seek aid of England; "which letter," adds the adroit agent, "I guess to savour too much of Knox's style to come from France, though it will serve to good purpose." Randolph requests them to send him advice and money, assuring Sadler that the queen's majesty Elizabeth may have the Scots "entirely at her devotion"—that is, all the Protestants; and that, as for the Papists, they were "standing in great fear." The Bishop of Glasgow's coffers had

HOLYROOD HOUSE, THE ANCIENT ROYAL PALACE OF EDINBURGH. From an Original Drawing made in 1828. Only a portion of the left or north wing of the present building existed in the time of Mary.

been seized and searched, but no money found. The castle of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's was to be taken by the Protestants, or betrayed to them on the day of his writing.

The queen-regent by this time had conveyed all her property out of Holyrood House and Edinburgh, into Leith. At last, the Lords of the Congregation, with the Duke of Chatelherault and his son, the Earl of Arran, at their head, marched upon the capital: the regent, with the French and the Scottish lords of the Catholic party who yet adhered to her, withdrew at their approach within the fortified lines of Leith, there to await aid from France. The lords called a parliament, and summoned to Edinburgh all the gentlemen living upon the borders, upon pain of treason in case of non-attendance. On the 22nd of October Balnaves, in great glee, reported that all hope of concord had that day been taken away, by reason that blood had been drawn largely on both sides.* At the same time he pressed for *more money*, and asked for some English gunpowder.† Two days after, the Lords of the Congregation themselves addressed Sadler, telling him that they had deprived the queen-regent of her authority, by common consent of all the lords and barons present at Edinburgh,—that they had openly proclaimed her deprivation, had inhibited her officers from executing anything in her name, and had further denounced "her French and assistants" as enemies to the commonwealth. The letter continues: "A council is created, whereof the duke and the earl of Arran are chief head. These things, together with our further request, we have thought good to signify to the queen's majesty; but because we would do nothing without your honour's advice, we have sent this bearer for knowledge of your mind, counsel, and opinions, requiring your answer with expedition possible. Further, of necessity, we must have more soldiers to the number of two or three thousand, for the assault of Leith. We are presently taking up of them, *but we lack money*, which we must at this time as it were crave of your favours present relief. Farther, we stand in need of powder, as well for culverins as harquebusiers; for the sending whereof, we heartily pray you to take order with expedition." Sadler, on the same day, informs Cecil that it was commonly said that the Scottish lords had a force of fifteen or sixteen thousand men, and that there had been divers hot skirmishes betwixt them and the French, and many hurt and slain on both sides; but whether the lords would assault the town of Leith or not, he could not tell; "for you know," adds he, "that the Scots can climb no walls"—meaning, we presume, that they were not clever at sieges, for which, however, at this moment, they had no proper artillery, and, as we have seen, no gunpowder. And, knowing these circumstances, Sir Ralph committed an error of judgment when,

* This blood was drawn in skirmishes outside of the works of Leith. Knox, in his history, says that there was skirmishing, but without great slaughter.

† In praising himself, Balnaves seems to cast a reflection on his colleagues. He tells Randolph to assure their honours, the English commissioners, in his name, that the little money he had brought with him had gone farther than 5000*l.* would have gone entrusted to anybody else.

on the very next day (the 25th of October) he pressed the Scottish lords to lay immediate siege to Leith, and to attack it by storm. Touching the lords' request for *more money* and for gunpowder, Sadler replied that he trusted they would consider *secrecy* above all things,—that he did not see how he could send them powder without an open show and manifestation of Elizabeth as an enemy to the French, who were then *in peace and amity with her*: and yet he adds, if they can devise which way the same may be secretly conveyed unto them, in such sort as it could not be known to come from England, he could be well content that they had as much gunpowder as might be spared from Berwick conveniently. And likewise for *money*, he was in good hope of having some to send them soon, but he prayed that they would use such precautions and mysteries as the importance of the matter and the *honour* of Queen Elizabeth required, and be more close and secret in their doings, and especially in their communications and conferences with him and the other English commissioners. At this moment it should appear that the zeal of John Knox outran his discretion, and that his demands for English co-operation and assistance went beyond all bounds. In a letter which runs in the name of Sir James Croft, but which was in the hand-writing of Sadler, the Scottish reformer is taken to task roundly for forgetting the position and the plans of the English court. "Yet can I not but marvel," says this strange letter, "that *you, being a wise man*, will require of us such present aid of men, money, and ammunition, as we cannot minister unto you without an open show and manifestation of ourselves to be as open enemies, where, as you know, by league and treaty we be bound *to be friends;* praying you to consider how we may, without touch of *honour* and hurt of our commonwealth, *being now in good peace and amity*, enter suddenly into open war and hostility, there being *no cause of breach*, no manifest injury offered unto us. . . . . And, as for your devices, how to colour our doings in that part (*France*), you must think that the world is not so blind, but that it will soon espy the same. And surely we cannot *bona fronte* so colour and excuse the matter, but that it will be expounded a plain breach of our league and treaty, whereby the *honour* of the prince cannot be a little touched; wherefore I pray you require that of us which we may do with honour and safety, and you shall not find us unwilling." As to the support and relief the preacher had again asked for, his friends the English commissioners were quite ready to send it if they could only know how to do so "in secret and close manner." "But, to be plain with you," writes Sadler, again becoming angry, "*you are so open in your doings as to make men half afraid to deal with you.*" Knox, who, notwithstanding his zeal for heavenly things, could reason like a politician, had written to Croft or to Sadler, saying that the queen-regent "had plainly spoken that she knew the means how to frustrate the expectations of aid from England," by delivering up Calais to Queen Elizabeth; and he had evidently expressed himself as if he suspected that the English court was coquetting in that direction. Sir Ralph was very earnest in removing this doubt. He replied, almost eloquently, "I dare boldly say that there is no such matter in treaty, nor yet in question; and you may be sure that Calais cannot make us to neglect or refuse the establishment of this island in perpetual unity and concord, wishing to live no longer than to see the same, and so to leave the joy thereof to our posterity." This letter was written on the 27th of October: on the last day of the same month Sir Ralph addressed Randolph, telling him that he expected every day some good answer from the court *touching the money*, and that, in the mean time, be forwarded by the Laird of Ormeston 1000*l.* sterling in French crowns, which was all the money they had been able to raise in Berwick, and which was sent because it was understood that the necessities of the Lords of the Congregation were great and pressing. As the Laird of Ormeston was travelling from Berwick towards Edinburgh, he was set upon by the Lord Bothwell, who took the money-bags from him and kept them, apparently for his own use. Ormeston reached the capital "sorely hurt;" upon which the Earl of Arran and the Prior of St. Andrew's went with two hundred horsemen, one hundred footmen, and two pieces of artillery, to the Lord Bothwell's house, "trusting to have found him; howbeit they came too late only by a quarter of an hour." They, however, took his house and threatened to burn it to the ground, and declare the earl a traitor, unless he returned the money. This loss was a most serious mishap; but though both Elizabeth and her chief adviser Cecil were grieved to the heart by it, they soon sent more money.* At the same time, Knox (whose 'Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women' always grated harshly on the queen's ear) had excited apprehension, and jealousy, and disgust, at the English court by his advocacy of the Calvinistic discipline and of political tenets that seemed both republican and democratic. "Of all others," writes Cecil to Sadler, "Knox's name is most odious here, and, therefore, I wish no mention of him hither."† But Cecil was as deeply convinced as ever of the necessity of supporting the Protestant insurrection.

* Cecil concealed the loss for some time. In a letter to Sadler, dated the 12th of November, he says, "As yet, I have not manifested to the queen's majesty the loss of the money by Ormeston, but only to certain counsellors; nevertheless her majesty shall know of it to-morrow, though it will be too soon. I trust to hear of some better fortune." "This is a very characteristic trait both of Cecil and Elizabeth. The statesman was afraid that the parsimony of his mistress would be alarmed at hearing of the loss of the treasure, and that she might be deterred from entering upon the great scheme which her counsellors had chalked out."—*Editor of the Sadler State Papers.*

† Two or three days later, in another letter to Sir Ralph, Cecil says, "Surely I like not Knox's audacity, which also was well tamed in your answer. His writings do no good here; and, therefore, I do rather suppress them, and yet I mean not but that ye should continue in sending of them." Balnaves also had incurred the suspicion and dislike of Sadler and Cecil, and for the same republican tenets.

"It is here seen," he says, "by such to whom it hath been secretly committed, that the end of this *their* matter is certainly the beginning of ours, be it weal or woe; and, therefore, I see it will follow necessarily that we must have good regard that they quail not." In this letter, which is dated on the 3rd of November, he goes much farther than he had hitherto gone, authorising Sadler to tell the Scottish lords that, if they would forthwith raise a sufficient force, and venture on the siege of Leith, all the charges should be borne for them; and that if they took Leith, in case of the French making any array by sea to invade Scotland, they should be met and hindered if their power appeared greater than the Scottish Protestants could reasonably withstand.

Sadler entered completely into these views, and was of opinion that *now* deception could no longer be practised, by reason of the mischief which had befallen Ormeston. "You may be sure," writes Sir Ralph to Cecil, "that, if France list to break with you, they will take occasion so to do as well for what is done already as for anything which we shall do more in this matter; which, considering how many we have had to deal withal, cannot be kept so secret as we desire, but must needs break out at one time or other, which we always feared." Succour was therefore sent in more boldly to the Lords of the Congregation, who, at last, beleaguered Leith. But in so wretched a state of discipline was this Scottish army, that at every sortie the French took them by surprise, and gained an advantage over them. On the 6th of November the Presbyterians, commanded by the Earl of Arran and the Prior of St. Andrew's, were surrounded in the marshes of Restalrig, and defeated with some loss by a portion of the French garrison. Their retreat to Edinburgh was nearly cut off, and when they got there they fell to serious debating, the end of which was, that the Earl of Glencairn, with some other lords, resolved to leave the capital in order to collect more men. But, finally, upon perceiving that the greatest part of their force, "which consisted of the *commons* that were not able to abide and serve any longer upon their own costs and charges," were all departing from them, the whole of the Congregation evacuated Edinburgh, and fled to Stirling by night. At the latter place Knox finished a sermon which he had commenced at Edinburgh before the flight, and, according to his own account, "the lords were much erected" by this long discourse. He was, no doubt, the great animating principle in this remarkable contest: but, while he was preaching at Stirling, the queen-regent and the French reentered the capital in great triumph. In communicating this intelligence to Cecil, Sir Ralph speaks like a true politician, asking for *more money*, and showing that there was no ground for despair of the Scots: "for," says he, "though they be thus retired, we see not but that they may reinforce themselves, and begin again; or, at the least, we may think them so strong in their counties, that, if they have any help or maintenance, they may remain as long as they list at pike with the French; *and the longer the enmity may be continued betwixt them, the less opportunity shall the French have to look towards us.*"

A. D. 1560. — Notwithstanding the effective preaching of John Knox, and the reviving spirit of the Scottish Protestants, it soon became evident that something more must be done for them than the sending of money to the needy and mercenary nobles, who must have made a selfish use of a good part of it; and when Elizabeth learned that the queen-regent was promised fresh supplies and troops from France, she resolved to make such preparations as should prevent the Scots from being crushed. This indeed seemed essential, even though it should involve her in a general war. Therefore, without altogether giving up her secret practices, or stopping her private subsidies, she began to prepare a fleet and an army. Her warlike preparations were soon rumoured abroad, and at this moment the French court really made her an offer of the immediate restitution of Calais, provided only she would not interfere in the affairs of Scotland. To this tempting offer Elizabeth replied, that she could never put a fishing-town in competition with the safety of her dominions; and she continued her preparations, and intimated to the Lords of the Congregation that she was now ready to enter upon a treaty with them. The Scottish lords chose for their negotiator the able William Maitland of Lethington, who had now deserted from his post of secretary to the regent, a step he had been contemplating for some time. If the English queen had any lingering doubts and misgivings as to braving a war, they were soon removed by this truly accomplished diplomatist. On the 27th of February she concluded, at Berwick, a treaty of mutual defence, which was to last during the marriage of the Queen of Scots with the French king, and for a year after; she solemnly promised never to lay down her arms till the French should be entirely driven out of Scotland; and she gave equally solemn assurances that she would not attack the liberties, laws, and usages of the Scots.*

In the month of March, notwithstanding the storms of winter, the English fleet, which consisted of thirteen large ships of war besides transports, appeared in the Frith of Forth, and at a critical moment, for four thousand Frenchmen, horse and foot, had been detached from Edinburgh and Leith, and were then engaged in ravaging the fertile and Protestant county of Fife. D'Oisel, their general, who had not proceeded unmolested, and who was checked by the appearance on his left flank of numerous Scottish bodies under the Prior of St. Andrew's, Lord Ruthven, and Kirkaldy of Grange, was transported with joy at the sight of the gallant fleet, which he mistook for the long-promised ships of D'Elbœuf, and he wasted a great deal of valuable gunpowder in

* Rymer.

firing a general salute. But, presently, Winter, the English admiral, hoisted his flag, and at that unwelcome sight D'Oisel turned, and began a difficult and dangerous retreat, which he conducted with admirable skill, though not without loss. He, however, reached Edinburgh, where he found the queen-regent in an alarming state of health. Foreseeing the dangers and hardships to which her sinking frame would be exposed in a besieged town, the broken-hearted and dying Mary of Guise implored the Lord Erskine to receive her into the castle of Edinburgh; and his lordship, who still maintained his curious neutrality and independence, granted her an asylum upon condition that she should take only a few attendants into the castle with her. Quitting his royal mistress, his steady and affectionate friend, for ever, D'Oisel threw himself into Leith. That place had been well fortified before, and now he employed a short time allowed him by the enemy in adding to its defences; and, notwithstanding the fact that the English attacked Leith rather like bull-dogs than soldiers, D'Oisel and the French engineers must have evinced very considerable skill. The whole force of the French now in Scotland did not exceed three thousand men. An English army, amounting to six thousand men, under the Lord Grey de Wilton, having marched by Berwick to Preston on the 6th of April, 1560, joined a considerable force brought thither by the Lords of the Congregation; and while the fleet blockaded the port of Leith, and prevented the arrival of any succour from France, the united armies of Scotland and England laid siege to the town on the land side. The Marquess d'Elbœuf had embarked for Scotland with a large force, but his transports were scattered by a storm, and either wrecked on the coast of Holland or driven back to France. In this way the English fleet had no opportunity of distinguishing itself in battle. The land troops soon gave glaring proofs that they had in a great degree lost the habit of discipline, and that they were unskilfully commanded. They opened their trenches in ground utterly unfit for the purpose, and their guns were so badly pointed as to make little or no impression on the bastions which the French had thrown up, or on the walls of Leith. Their line of circumvallation was loose and ragged, and so little vigilance was used that for some time the French broke through it with impunity. In one sally the besieged were defeated at the Hawk-Hill, near Lochend, where the Scottish cavalry charged very brilliantly, but shortly after the French avenged themselves by a successful sortie, in which they took both English and Scots by surprise, and killed a considerable number of them. It soon appeared that Leith, "though not thought inexpugnable, would percase be found of such strength as would require time, and that the greatest want which the Scottish chieftains did fear was *lack of money;* for, otherwise, they were of good courage."* This courage, however, had been damped by sundry suspicions and misgivings. At the very commencement of hostilities, even while the Scotch and English were engaged with the French at Hawk-Hill, Sir James Croft and Sir George Howard had an interview with the queen-regent in Edinburgh Castle. This circumstance instantly excited the suspicion of the Lords of the Congregation, who apprehended that Elizabeth had empowered her diplomatic agents to make a separate peace, upon conditions advantageous to herself, and that thus the Scottish insurgents would be abandoned to the vengeance of the French and the queen-mother. And we have very satisfactory evidence to prove that their fears were not altogether groundless. Elizabeth wrote to the Duke of Norfolk, who had just been appointed to the command of the northern counties of England with the title of lieutenant, that "because the Lord Grey de Wilton cannot attend both the martial affairs and a treaty," she thought it necessary "that Sir Ralph Sadler should, with foresight of safety, repair to the camp, and to understand the former proceedings, and so consequently proceed in treaty with the best diligence that he can: and so we pray you to let him know our desire is chiefly and principally to have that matter of Scotland accorded rather by communication than by force of bloodshed. And we be pleased that ye shall authorise him in our name to assure the queen-dowager that, whatsoever she may be borne in hand, we mean nothing more than the preservation of our own realm, which her daughter challenged and sought many ways, and the continuance of that kingdom in due obedience to her daughter, to be governed by the laws thereof, and without force of arms. And if there shall be objected, as always is, by the French, to colour the remaining of their men of war, that the same is done for subduing of the rebellion, we mean not to have the same removed until the due obedience shall be acknowledged unto the sovereign lady, agreeable to the laws and liberties of the land; and for continuance of the same we will be content that covenants shall be made on our part, for to give aid to the Queen of Scotland for the subduing of any such as shall withstand to the contrary."* Elizabeth went on to explain to Norfolk that there were divers great causes that moved her not to reject any probable offers of the queen-dowager, "for that," she proceeds, "if the matter should not be ended, either by force or treaty, shortly, it may grow more harder hereafter to be compassed: and so let Sir Ralph Sadler show, if he think good, to the duke and his party of Scotland, with assurance to them that this motion ariseth, not of any lack of good-will towards them, but of consideration and

* Sadler to Cecil.

* Burleigh Papers.—It should be mentioned, on the other hand, that Elizabeth had all along been suspicious of the sincerity and good faith of the Duke of Chatelherault. As soon as her army entered Scotland hostages were required, and the fourth son of the duke, a son of the Earl of Glencairn, and some other young gentlemen of noble family, were sent into England in safe keeping. The parents of these hostages earnestly requested that the youths might be brought up in some English university, but Elizabeth thought it better "to have them distributed hereabouts to certain our bishops, as of Canterbury, London, and Ely, where they may be both safe and increase their learning."

foresight of matters subsequent." There can be little doubt that the selfish and vacillating Duke of Chatelherault and several noble lords of his party, who were at best but lukewarm Protestants, would have entered with Elizabeth and the queen-regent into any "reasonable accord" that would have promoted their personal interests, and that they would have left John Knox and the Congregation to shift for themselves: but, most auspiciously for the latter, Elizabeth's agents and Mary of Guise, who retained a high spirit even in death, could not agree; the treaty in Edinburgh Castle was broken off, and in a few days the English queen resolved that the siege of Leith should be more earnestly prosecuted, and her forces both by sea and land augmented.* At the same time the English commanders were instructed not "to contemn or neglect any reasonable offers of agreement" that might be made by the French. But these veterans for a long time had no inclination to make any offers, and they continued to defend Leith with a skill and bravery which gained for them high honour among soldiers in every part of Europe. According to Brantome a seal was put to a soldier's reputation if he could say that he had served in this gallant defence of Leith.† On the side of the English and Scots the operations advanced very slowly, and their labour was repeatedly rendered of no avail by the ingenuity of the French engineers. At last a bad breach was made, and towards this the English, who at least had lost none of their physical courage, rushed in blind fury, heedless of the well-directed artillery of the enemy: but when they came to use their scaling-ladders they found them far too short for the purpose, and after a dreadful struggle they were repulsed and obliged to flee to their intrenchments, leaving a ditch half filled with dead,—the victims of the ignorance or inconsiderateness of their officers. The English were so much dispirited by their failure on this and other occasions, that they talked of a retreat; but more money was sent down to their Scottish allies, and the Duke of Norfolk, in addition to several smaller bodies dispatched already, forwarded a reinforcement of two thousand men, together with an assurance that the besiegers should not lack men so long as there were any remaining between Tweed and Trent. Thus the siege was carried on more closely than ever, or, rather, it was converted into the closest of blockades. Every issue from Leith on the land side was closed up, and the fleet performed its part of the duty so effectually that not an ear of corn could be carried in to the now famishing garrison, and not a Frenchman could go forth to gather cockles on the sea-sands, which they had been accustomed to do for their relief and sustenance. But even starvation could hardly make these veterans lay down their arms.

Matters were in this state when, on the 10th of June, the queen-regent breathed her last in Edinburgh Castle. On her death-bed she sent for her daughter's half-brother, the bastard James Stuart, and some others of the Lords of the Congregation, to whom she earnestly recommended her absent child, and their queen. We shall presently see how little impression this solemn and touching scene made upon the cold, hard heart of the Prior of St. Andrew's. The death of Mary of Guise hastened the conclusion of a peace, which, however, the French government was made to desire by other circumstances and alarming demonstrations, which, at the least, threatened France with a fierce civil war. The two brothers of the deceased queen-regent of Scotland, the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise, who in fact governed the French kingdom in the name of Francis and Mary, had excited the deadly animosity of the French Protestants, and of other great and powerful factions: they had recently discovered an extensive conspiracy directed against the whole House of Lorraine, and though they had prevented its outbreak for the present, they well knew that the conspirators would never be reconciled to them, and were only watching for a favourable opportunity to renew their attempt. At such a moment they could not spare fresh troops for the very doubtful and expensive struggle in Scotland, and even the veteran force blocked up in Leith was much missed and its return anxiously desired. We have already seen Elizabeth's anxiety for a termination of these hostilities. She opened a ready ear to some overtures or hints made by the House of Lorraine, and it was finally agreed that her commissioners should have a meeting with certain French commissioners in the town of Berwick on the 14th of June. The able men appointed by Elizabeth were Cecil and Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury; the French negotiators were Monluc, Bishop of Valence, and the Count de Randan, both men of consummate abilities. These diplomatists, who seem to have been very fairly matched, met, and proceeded on the 16th of June to Edinburgh; and, as Master Secretary Cecil and the others passed the English camp, they were saluted with a gallant peal of harquebusiers.* Several days were consumed in settling conditions; but on the 6th of July, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the Lord Grey de Wilton, Sir William Cecil, and Sir Ralph Sadler, gave orders in the besiegers' camp that there should no piece be shot nor show of hostility be made; and on the following day Sir Francis Leake and Sir Gervase Clifton, accompanied by two French gentlemen, were sent into the town of Leith to signify unto M. D'Oisel, the Bishop of Amiens, La Brosse, Marigny, and other the French lords and captains, that they were come thither by command of the commissioners of France and England to cause the peace already concluded to be proclaimed, which accordingly was done. Leith was then surrendered, and the French governor D'Oisel regaled the captains of the besiegers with a banquet of thirty or forty dishes, in which the only flesh used was that of a salted horse,—a circumstance which, as it has been ob-

* Burleigh Papers.
† Vies des Grands Capitaines François.

* Stow.

served, marks national manners and French skill, as well as the extremity to which the place had been reduced.*

The treaty, which appears to have been the joint production of Cecil and Sadler, was highly honourable and advantageous to Elizabeth. Besides Leith, Dunbar and Inchkeith were to be surrendered, and the fortifications destroyed; the administration of affairs in Scotland was to be vested in a council of twelve Scottish noblemen, of whom seven were to be named by the queen, and five by the parliament; no foreign forces were thenceforward to be introduced into Scotland without the full consent and will of the Scottish parliament; an indemnity was stipulated for all things passed in Scotland since March, 1558, that is, for whatever violences had been committed by either party during this last civil war; and every man was to be restored to the office he held before these hostilities, while no Frenchman was ever to hold any office in Scotland. On the subject of religion, the *main* cause, but certainly not the only one, of the late war, it was agreed that the estates of the kingdom should report to Queen Mary and her husband their opinion and their wishes touching that matter: it was also agreed that the parliament should be convoked without further summons. At the same time there was a separate treaty made between France and England, by which France recognised the right of Elizabeth to her crown, and agreed that Mary, in time to come, should neither assume the title nor bear the arms of England.†

The removal of the foreign troops secured the triumphant supremacy of the Protestant party, which, by this time, unquestionably included the majority of the Scottish nation of all classes, and which henceforward had the field almost entirely to itself. The French veterans were embarked at Leith in English vessels, and sent directly to France, with the exception of a few, who were permitted to pass through England. The "Treaty of Edinburgh," as this pacification was called, was the first of the many political successes obtained by Elizabeth; and her management in this instance, which we have narrated on the authority of official documents, may be taken as a fair specimen of the system generally pursued by her afterwards.

While the Scottish affairs were as yet unsettled, the English queen's vanity was flattered by another pressing offer of marriage from her old suitor Eric, who had now ascended the throne of Sweden. In his extreme anxiety for this match, Eric sent his own brother, the Duke of Finland, to plead in his behalf. The duke arrived at Harwich, where he was honourably received and entertained by the Earl of Oxford and the Lord Robert Dudley, who, with a goodly band of gentlemen and yeomen, conveyed him to London. At the corner of Gracechurch-street he was received by the Marquess of Northampton, the Lord Ambrose Dudley, divers knights and gentlemen of the court, and *divers ladies also*, well mounted on horseback. By the queen's orders he was lodged in the Bishop of Winchester's palace in Southwark, and there he remained amused for some time with false hopes of succeeding in his suit. Those who knew her best, knew well that Elizabeth had never any intention of making any such marriage. Sir Ralph Sadler, who was then at Berwick, wrote to Randolph in Scotland, that the King of Sweden had sent a great ambassador to the queen's majesty with great and liberal offers, "which you may be sure," he adds, "will take no place." A few days after his arrival, Cecil wrote, "Here is the Duke of Finland, who, on his brother's behalf, showeth himself very politic to further the suit. He is very courteous, and yet princely liberal, and yet *in things necessary*. Well spoken in the Latin tongue. How he shall speed God knoweth, and not I." In the next paragraph Cecil, evidently in amaze, says, "We also hear that the Archduke of Austria is on the way hitherward, not with any pomp, but rather, as it may seem, by post, in stealth. The King of Spain is earnest for him. What may come time will shortly show. I would to God her majesty had *one*, and the rest honourably satisfied." The Duke of Austria did not come as was expected; but the King of Denmark entered the arena, and being unwilling that his neighbour and rival, the King of Sweden, should bear off so glorious a prize, he sent his nephew, the Duke of Holstein, into England to try his fortune with this most royal virgin. On his arrival the royal Dane was lodged at Somerset-place, and treated with so much honour that he became very sanguine in his hopes that he was destined by heaven to carry off the prize. An elegant writer* has made a parallel between Elizabeth and the fair and wealthy Portia; but the queen could hardly exclaim—"While we shut the gate on one wooer, another knocks at the door,"—for she kept her door open for several suitors at once, coquetting with Sweden, Denmark, and Austria, to say nothing of minor pretenders.† His majesty of Sweden was a pertinacious suitor, but, for the present, his brother, the Duke of Finland, was fain to return home after spending some months in attendance on the English court. The Duke of Holstein was more successful, for though he failed in obtaining the hand of the queen, he got from her, for his uncle, a yearly pension and the Order of the Garter.

As soon as the Scots were relieved of the presence of the French army they proceeded to settle their religion. The parliament assembled on the 1st of August, 1560, in greater numbers than had

* Walter Scott.—Stow says, "Where was prepared for them a banquet of thirty or forty dishes, and yet not one either of flesh or fish, saving one of a powdered horse, as was avouched by one that avowed himself to have tasted thereof."

† Rymer.

* Aikin, Mem. of Queen Elizabeth.

† In the words of Camden, there were not wanting at home "some persons who fed themselves (as lovers use to do) with golden dreams of marrying their sovereign;" and he mentions particularly Sir William Pickering, "a gentleman well born, of a narrow estate, but much esteemed for his learning, his handsome way of living, and the management of some embassies into France and Germany;" Henry, Earl of Arundel, a vain, formal man; and Robert Dudley, afterwards the notorious Earl of Leicester.

ever been known before; and their first business was to receive and discuss a petition from the chief Lords of the Congregation, who required a formal and national manifesto against the church of Rome. Without much debate the parliament adopted the declaration that the authority of the Roman church was a usurpation over the liberties and consciences of Christian men, an odious tyranny not to be borne. This manifesto was accompanied by a confession of faith, in which they renounced all the tenets and dogmas of the church that had been attacked by the reformers of Germany, Switzerland, and England, and disowned for ever the whole authority of the pope. A few years before, the reformers would have been contented—or, at least, so they affirmed—with liberty to follow the dictates of their own conscience, and to worship God in the way they thought best; but now that they were the powerful party, they showed a most fixed resolution not to allow the sweet and precious liberty they claimed for themselves to others. Adopting one of the very worst tenets of the Roman church, they menaced with secular punishments those who continued to worship according to the manner of their fathers; and this parliament proceeded to enact the most oppressive laws against the Catholics. Not content with abolishing the mass in all churches and public places of worship, they forbade its celebration in private. Whosoever officiated in, or was present at a mass, was, in the first instance, to be punished with confiscation of goods and imprisonment at the discretion of the magistrate; for the second offence he was to be banished; and for the third to suffer death. The Presbyterian form of discipline was adopted, and bishops and other dignitaries were declared to be limbs of papal superstition and tyranny. The ancient prelates of the kingdom would, in part, have conformed to any system that left their dignity and their property untouched; but these extreme measures of the parliament and of John Knox scared them all away from their seats in the house. They were cited to appear, and, as they failed to do so, the parliament, taking silence for consent, voted that the ecclesiastical estate was satisfied with the new constitution for the church. When they had proceeded thus far, they condescended to consult with their absent queen, and sent over Sir James Sandilands, formerly Prior of the Knights Hospitallers, to France, to demand the ratification of their acts. It is said that Sandilands met with a very cold reception; and, whatever his demeanour to the young queen may have been, the errand upon which he came would sufficiently account for this. Mary not only refused her assent to the statutes passed against the religion in which she had been brought up, but denied the validity of the parliament which had been summoned without her consent, and she and her husband would not even ratify the treaties of Edinburgh. It is said that Mary's uncles, the princes of Lorraine, *openly* expressed their resentment, and *secretly* made preparations for invading Scotland with a French fleet and army, and in order to renew the civil war there, immediately called together all those who, like the Lord Seaton, still adhered to the ancient religion. But if these intentions were really entertained, they were all frustrated by the sudden death of Francis II., Mary's weak and imbecile husband, who expired on the 5th of December, 1560, after a reign of seventeen months. His brother and successor, Charles IX., was in his eleventh year, and with small promise of being healthier or more intellectual than Francis. By this accident, however, the chief power of the government fell out of the hands of Mary's uncles into those of her mother-in-law, the infamous Catherine de' Medici, who had no affection for the beautiful young widow. The Duke of Guise, who had been instigated to aspire to the direction of affairs during the minority of Charles IX., refused, saying that it was Catherine's right as a mother, and that neither God nor reason authorised the assumption of another's right; and, therefore, Catherine de' Medici, in an unhappy hour for France, was appointed regent. Mary was now treated both disrespectfully and harshly, upon which she retired wholly from the court, and took up her residence at Rheims. The destinies of these two relations were so cast, that whatever was prejudicial to Mary was beneficial to Elizabeth. By the death of Francis, the English queen was freed from the perils attending the close union of Scotland and France, and from pretensions which might have been dangerous if urged at the moment with the whole power of the French monarchy. On the death of her husband, Mary had desisted from bearing the arms and title of Queen of England; and now Throgmorton,* a diplomatist of the school of Cecil and Sadler, who was residing in France, as ambassador, received instructions to work upon the mind of the young widow, and induce her to ratify the treaties of Edinburgh. This Mary refused to do, principally on the ground that, by one of the clauses of the French treaty, her undisputed right of being at least next in succession to Elizabeth, would, as she had been taught to consider, be compromised or impaired. Soon after, when Mary was making up her mind to return to her native country, she requested Elizabeth to grant her a safe conduct to cross the seas into Scotland, and allow her to pass through England if absolutely necessary. This application was made through D'Oisel, who had returned from France as Mary's ambassador; and it should appear, from what followed, that Elizabeth, in refusing the permission, gave way to angry and indecorous expressions of resentment in public.† When Throg-

* This was Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, or Throkmorton, who had saved his head by his able defence and the courage of the jury, in the preceding reign.—See ante, p. 518.

† Some of Elizabeth's motives for refusing the safe conduct are pretty plainly stated by Cecil in a letter to Throgmorton. The secretary says,—"By this our denial, our *friends in Scotland* shall find us to be of their disposition." These *friends* meant the enemies of Mary who had so recently been in arms, and who were almost ready to take up arms again, even before they had tried their young queen. Cecil adds in the same letter, "I think plainly the longer the Scottish queen's affairs shall hang in an uncertainty, the longer will it be

morton waited again upon Mary, to show how reasonable and proper it would be in her to gratify his royal mistress by ratifying the treaties of Edinburgh, the young widow cleared the room of her attendants, and then said to him, with great dignity and spirit:—"How weak I may prove, or how far a woman's frailty may transport me, I cannot tell: however, I am resolved not to have so many witnesses of my infirmity as your mistress had at her audience of my ambassador D'Oisel. There is nothing disturbs me so much, as the having asked, with so much importunity, a favour which it was of no consequence for me to obtain. I can, with God's leave, return to my own country without *her* leave; as I came to France, in spite of all the opposition of her brother King Edward. Neither do I want friends both able and willing to conduct me home, as they have brought me hither; though I was desirous rather to make an experiment of your mistress's friendship than of the assistance of any other person. I have often heard you say, that a good correspondence between her and myself would conduce much to the security and happiness of both our kingdoms: were she well convinced of this truth, she would hardly have denied [illegible] so small a request. But perhaps she bears a [illegible]r inclination to my rebellious subjects than to [illegible] their sovereign, her equal in royal dignity, her near relation, and the undoubted heir of her kingdoms. Besides her friendship, I ask nothing at her hands: I neither trouble her, nor concern myself in the affairs of her state: not that I am ignorant that there are now in England a great many malcontents, who are no friends to the present establishment. She is pleased to upbraid me as a person little experienced in the world; I freely own it; but age will cure that defect. However, I am already old enough to acquit myself honourably and courteously to my friends and relations, and to encourage no reports of your mistress, which would misbecome a queen and her kinswoman. I would say, by her leave, that I am a queen as well as she, and not altogether friendless; and, perhaps, I have as great a soul too; so that methinks we should be upon a level in our treatment of each other. As soon as I have consulted the states of my kingdom, I shall be ready to give her a reasonable answer; and I am the more intent on my journey, in order to make the quicker dispatch in this affair. But she, it seems, intends to stop my journey; so that either she will not let me give her satisfaction, or is resolved not to be satisfied; perhaps on purpose to keep up the disagreement between us. She has often reproached me with my being young; and I must be very young indeed, and as ill advised, to treat of matters of such great concern and importance without the advice of my parliament. I have not been wanting in all friendly offices to her; but she disbelieves or overlooks them. I could heartily wish that I were as nearly allied to her in affection as in blood; for that, indeed, would be a most valuable alliance."* The whole tone of this speech must have stung Elizabeth to the quick; and if the truth contained in it—of her encouraging Mary's rebellious subjects—wanted further proofs, she had just given a new and glaring one by receiving a deputation from the Lords of the Congregation, who applied to her for encouragement and assistance as soon as they found that Mary was loth to ratify their proceedings. This deputation consisted of the Earls of Montrose and Glencairn, and the astute Maitland of Lethington—men who had all gone to the farthest limits of the course taken by the Protestant party.

ere she shall have such a match in marriage as shall offend us."—*Hardwicke State Papers.* All this was part of a system which was never interrupted by the English court till Mary was ruined and disgraced.

There was one party in Scotland that would gladly have left Mary where she was; and there were some men who would as gladly have seen her—even at this moment when she was untried, and when little was known of her, except her attachment to the old religion—a state prisoner in the hands of Queen Elizabeth; but the mass of the nation retained a certain loyalty and romantic affection for the orphan descendant of their kings; and it was found indispensable to recall her in an honourable manner. The person chosen to negotiate this return, and to conduct Mary to her native country, was her half-brother, James Stuart—a man more alien in views and conduct, than he was near in blood to the young queen—a most "stirring commotioner," who had been a principal agent in all the changes and revolutions which had taken place during the last three eventful years,—a man identified with the Presbyterian party, not, there is much reason for suspecting, from any honest conviction, or religious zeal, but from a desire to make up by their means for the accident of his birth, and to place himself supreme over that throne from which his illegitimacy excluded him. The Catholics of Scotland, alarmed at the choice of this agent, and fearing the effect he might produce on his half-sister, resolved to send an ambassador of their own at the same time; and they selected for this office Lesley, Bishop of Ross, an historian of credit and ability, whose fidelity to Mary during her afflictions commands honour from all honourable and feeling hearts. But on this mission the worthy bishop, it is said, gave a most dangerous piece of advice to his young sovereign, for, in the utter desperation of these Scottish Catholics, they proposed that Mary should land in the Highlands and place herself in the hands of the orthodox Earl of Huntley, who would conduct her to her capital at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, and restore by force of arms the antient form of religion: and the Bishop of Ross, according to this account, made this dangerous proposal in secret. But Mary, it is added, refused to make her return a signal for civil war, and by the advice of her uncles, who were anxious to see her peaceably established in her own kingdom, she acquiesced in certain pro-

* Cabala, as quoted by Hume.—Spotswood.

posals of the Scottish parliament, and placed herself under the guardianship of her half-brother. Three of her French relatives, the Duke of Aumerle, the Grand Prior, and the Marquis of Elbœuf, together with the Marquis Damville and other French noblemen, agreed, however, to accompany her into Scotland, and to see her safely lodged in her capital. In the month of August Mary embarked at Calais with a heavy heart. As she had been brought up in France from her infancy, she was naturally more French than Scotch, and it needed no great power of exaggeration to view Scotland as a very turbulent and very unattractive country; while, if Mary was at all conversant with its history, she must have known that the people had murdered all the kings of her most unhappy race, or sent them to the grave broken-hearted, as had been the case with her own father. She had been queen, though but for a short time, in the rich and fertile country she was leaving: until very recently she had been gay, and happy, and honoured, among a cheerful and courteous people, but what might await her in a poor and barren land? There was nearly everything to sadden and darken the prospect, and nothing to enliven it, but a youthful hope, not likely to be strong in such a moment: there was also the dread of being captured by Elizabeth, who had refused her a safe conduct; nor, though the matter is debated, is it quite clear that an English fleet in the Channel had not orders to intercept her. As her own little fleet glided from the port, she kept her eyes fixed on the coast of France, often repeating, "Farewell, France—farewell, dear France,—I shall never see thee more!" She arrived safely at Leith on the 19th of August, and her spirits revived on seeing the honest enthusiasm of the common people, who crowded the beach to salute the only relic of their kings, who had been torn from them in her childhood, and whom they had scarcely hoped ever to see again. But the lords had taken small pains to do honour to her reception, or to "cover over the nakedness and poverty of the land." Tears came into the young queen's eyes as she saw the wretched ponies, with bare wooden saddles or dirty and ragged trappings, which had been provided to carry her and her ladies from the water-side to Holyrood, then a small and dismal palace, consisting only of what is now the north wing. But again her spirits revived at the enthusiastic plaudits of the people, who seem to have been enraptured at her youth and beauty and graceful and condescending demeanour. A great writer of our day, who never permits a characteristic trait to escape him, has given, in his happiest manner, an instance of the good nature of the queen, who, be it remembered, had a delicate taste in music, and had been accustomed to the performance of the best Italian masters of that period. "Two or three hundred violinists, apparently amateur performers, held a concert all night below her windows, and prevented her getting an hour's sleep after the fatigues of the sea. Mary, though suffering under the effects of this dire serenade, professed to receive the compliment of these 'honest men of the town of Edinburgh,' as it was intended, and even ventured to hint a wish that the concert might be repeated."* For a time even religious intolerance was soothed into tranquillity by the amiable manners and the prudent conduct of the young queen, who following the advice of D'Oisel and of some members of her family, who, though Frenchmen, had learnt to their cost the difficulty of managing the Scottish people, gave her confidence to the leaders of the reformed party, and entrusted the chief management of affairs to her half-brother James Stuart and to Maitland of Lethington, both men standing well with the people and the preachers. It should appear that when James Stuart went over to France he had promised to Mary the free exercise, within her own house, of her own religion, notwithstanding the warning of John Knox and the rest, that to import one mass into the kingdom of Scotland would be more fatal than to bring over a foreign army of ten thousand men. The zealots, however, were resolved to stop the queen's masses at starting. On the Sunday after her landing, when preparations were made in the chapel at Holyrood, they said to one another, "Shall that idol, the mass, again have place? It shall not." And the young master of Lindsay called out in the court-yard of the palace that the idolatrous priest should die the death according to God's law. Mary's half-brother had great difficulty in appeasing this tumult, and saving the Catholic priest from being murdered at the foot of the altar. But it did not suit James Stuart to set himself forward as the defender of idolatry; and while he stood with his drawn sword by the door of the chapel, he ingeniously pretended that it was only to prevent any Scot from entering to witness the abominable ceremony within.† It was immediately after this riot, and before Mary had well recovered from that giddiness of the head which is the consequence of a long voyage, that John Knox, in the first of his many celebrated interviews, undertook to convert the queen. Of the perfect honesty of his zeal, of his thorough conviction that the cause of the kingdom and of Christ was in danger so long as there was a Papist on the throne, there can be no doubt,

* Walter Scott, Hist. Scot.

† Knox. The reformers had not even waited till the Sunday mass to give their queen a hint of their intolerant spirit. "Pageants were presented before her calculated to throw dishonour and reproach on the religion which she professed; and shows, made for the ostensible purpose of honouring the queen, were so conducted as to cast derision on the Catholic worship. As Mary made her solemn entry into Edinburgh she was conducted under a triumphal arch, when a boy came out of a hole, as it were from heaven, and presented to her a bible, a psalter, and the keys of the gates, with some verses, now lost, but which we may be sure were of a Protestant tendency. The rest of the pageant exhibited a terrible personification of the vengeance of God upon idolaters; and Koran, Dathan, and Abiram were represented as destroyed in the time of their idolatrous sacrifice. The devisers of this expressive and well-chosen emblem intended to have had a priest burnt on the altar (in effigy, it is to be hoped), in the act of elevating the host; but the Earl of Huntley prevented that completion of the pageant. These are the reports of Randolph, envoy of England, who was present on the occasion, and who seems to have felt that by such proceedings the Protestants were acting too precipitately, and overshooting their own purpose."—Sir Walter Scott.

yet the warmest of his admirers must now admit that Knox was singularly unfit to be an apostle in high places, and that the course he pursued from the very beginning, when, as it has been remarked, Mary had probably never heard a single word of argument against the faith she professed, was calculated only to disgust and alienate a high-spirited sovereign. It is said that he knocked at her heart until she shed tears;* but these were tears of offended pride and dignity,—tears forced from her by long-cherished feelings, among which the least could not be a reverence for her deceased parents, who, according to this fiery zealot, must both be in the region of eternal weeping and gnashing of teeth. The sagacious Randolph, who, like his employers, was an utter stranger to this religious enthusiasm, plainly intimated to Cecil that Knox was pursuing a wrong course. "I commend," says he, "better the success of his doctrine and preachings than the manner of them, though I acknowledge his doctrine to be sound. His daily prayer for her is, that God will turn her heart, now obstinate against God and his truth; and if his holy will be otherwise, that he will strengthen the hearts and hands of the chosen, and the elect, [illegible]ly to withstand the rage of tyrants." This [illegible] in other words, to pray that the Protestants [illegible]ht rise in general rebellion against their young queen, and depose her, unless she forthwith abjured her religion. As for rage and tyranny, they were certainly not at this time on the side of the throne: the Catholics, as a political party, were crushed, and Mary had not the daring zeal to attempt their re-elevation at the expense of a civil war. Indeed it may be fairly doubted, from her youth and freedom from bigotry, whether, under a different treatment, she might not have been brought over to what was now the national religion.†

When Mary removed from Edinburgh to Stirling she found the same intolerance of her now persecuted church: the people, inflamed by their preachers, rose tumultuously, and threatened with death all such as should partake in the idolatry of the mass. Here the queen wept again; but seeing no remedy, she followed the advice of her half-brother, and by issuing proclamations of banishment against the monks and friars, and by other steps in favour of the Protestants, she obtained for a time a tacit permission to worship God in her own way—*but always in private.* In the natural gaiety of her disposition, Mary sought to amuse her leisure hours (which, from her earnest attention to business, were not over numerous) with hunting and hawking, music and dancing,—things which had all become so many crimes in the eyes of the ascetic John Knox and his Calvinistic followers. It is difficult to conceive a greater vulgarity of ideas or coarseness of language than that in which the Presbyterian clergy assailed these pastimes, which can only be sinful in excess,—an excess not proved in the case of the queen. The preachers, one and all, were at least as bold in public as John Knox had been in his private conference. Every pulpit and hill-side was made to shake with awful denunciations of God's wrath and vengeance; and, following the example of their leader, they affirmed that, instead of dancing and singing, and hearing vile masses,—the worst offence of all!—the queen ought to go constantly to the kirk, and hear *them* preach the only true doctrine. It was repeated, daily, that idolatry was worthy of death, —that papistry was rank idolatry,—that the person who upheld or in any way defended the Roman church, was on the high road to hell, however sincerely convinced of his religion being the true one. This sour spirit fermented wonderfully among the citizens of Edinburgh: the town-council, of their own authority, issued a proclamation banishing from their town all the wicked rabble of anti-Christ, the pope,—such as priests, monks, and friars, together with all adulterers and fornicators. The privy-council, indignant at this assumption of an authority which could belong only to the sovereign and the parliament, suspended the magistrates; and then the magistrates, the people, and the preachers, declared that the queen, by an unrighteous sympathy, made herself the protector of adulterers and fornicators. Before any circumstance had occurred calculated to throw suspicion on the propriety of Mary's conduct either as a queen or as a woman, she was openly called Jezebel in the pulpit; and this became the appellation by which John Knox usually designated the sovereign. It was in vain Mary tried to win the favour of the zealous reformer. She promised him ready access to her whenever he should desire it; and entreated him, if he found her conduct blameable, to reprehend her in private, rather than vilify her in the kirk before the whole people. But Knox, whose notion of the rights of his clerical office was of the most towering kind, and who, upon other motives besides those connected with religion, had declared a female reign to be an abomination,* was not willing to gratify the queen in any of her demands. He told her that it was her duty to go to the kirk to hear him,—not his duty to wait upon her. And then came the usual addition, that if she gave up her mass-priest, and diligently attended on the true servants of the Lord, her soul might possibly be saved, and her

* "I assure you," writes Randolph to Cecil, "the voice of one man is able, in one hour, to put more life in us than five hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears. Mr. Knox spoke upon Tuesday unto the queen: he knocked so hastily upon her heart that he made her weep, as well you know there be of that sex that will do that as well for anger as for grief, though in this the Lord James will disagree with me. She charged him with his book, with his severe dealing with all men that disagree with him in opinions. She willed him to use more meekness in his sermons."—Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters: edited by Thomas Wright, M.A., 2 vols. 8vo. Lon. 1838.

† If we are to believe Randolph, her brother was not always inclined to protect Mary in the exercise of her religion. In a letter to Cecil, written about a month after the queen's return to Scotland, he says, "Sunday the 8th of September, the Earl of Argyle and Lord James so disturbed the queen during mass that some priests and others left their places with broken heads and bloody ears. This was a sport for some, while others shed tears for that matter. It is suspected that Lord James seeketh to mind his own advancement; but as yet he has had but little from the queen."

* In his 'Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regimen of Women.'

kingdom spared the judgments of an offended God. There was certainly a Calvinistic republicanism interwoven with this wonderful man's religious creed. Elizabeth afterwards blamed Mary that she had not sufficiently conformed to the advice of the Protestant preachers; but if Elizabeth herself had had to do with such a preacher as John Knox, she would, having the power, have sent him to the Marshalsea in one week, and to the pillory, or a worse place, in the next. He once told Queen Mary that he would submit to her even as Paul had submitted to Nero: but even this expression was mild and moderate compared with others, in which he renounced his submission, and upheld the holiness of regicide and the slaughter of Catholic priests. "Samuel," said this fearful man to the young queen, "feared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom King Saul had saved: neither spared Elias Jezebel's false prophets and Baal's priests, though King Agag was present. Phineas was no magistrate, yet feared he not to strike Cozbi and Zimri in the very act of filthy fornication. And so, madam, your grace may see that others than chief magistrates may lawfully inflict punishment on such crimes as are condemned by the law of God."* Notwithstanding their avowed contempt of worldly riches and honours, we are justified in believing that the poverty to which the Presbyterian clergy were condemned by a grasping and selfish aristocracy had much to do with their over-severity. It would lead them to exclaim against pleasures from which they were excluded by an iron barrier; and then, except in the pulpit, where, correctly and incorrectly, they could enlist the gospel in their service, they were little or nothing, being condemned, through want of worldly means, to a stinted and obscure way of life. In the same manner, the mendicant orders of monks—the Preaching Friars, the Dominicans, and others—were fierce and intolerant against all worldly pomp and pleasure; but when these monastic orders attained ease and competence, and some of them wealth, they became mild and forbearing in these respects. But the Scottish lords, by absorbing nearly the whole of the property of the ancient church, left not enough to remove the asceticism of the new one. These nobles affected surprise, and expressed a very sincere displeasure, when the Presbyterian ministers put in their claim for a share of the monastic and other church property, which, in ways both direct and indirect, had fallen almost entirely into the hands of the aristocracy, in most cases even without any intervention of the court, which was thus deprived of that means of strengthening its party. It was with extreme reluctance that the Scottish statesmen were induced to listen to a proposal that the church revenue should be divided into three shares, to be applied—first, to the decent support of the new clergy; secondly, to the encouragement of learning, by the endowing of schools and colleges; and, thirdly, to the support of the poor. This plan was proposed by the reformed clergy, as a proper method for the rebuilding of the temple: on which the astute Maitland of Lethington asked whether the nobles of Scotland were now to turn hod-bearers in this building of the kirk? John Knox boldly replied that they might find a worse employment, and that those who would not aid in building the House of God should look to the security of the foundations of their own houses. But the eloquence of the vigorous reformer was less prevalent with the iron-clad and iron-handed barons than with the delicate queen of nineteen summers: he could draw no tears from their eyes; and being resolved to keep what they had gotten, they voted his plan of partition to be "a devout imagination,"—a well-meant, but visionary system, which could not possibly be carried into execution. And though, at a later period, the Scottish parliament were obliged to make some provision for the reformed clergy, chiefly payable out of the tithes which either remained in the hands of the bishops and abbots of the old church or had fallen into the hands of lay-impropriators, the appointments were miserably small. A hundred marks Scotch per annum, not quite six pounds sterling,—an excellent sum to keep men down to the sour point,—was the usual revenue of a parish priest: some few, indeed, got thrice that amount; but the whole sum allowed for the maintenance of the national church, consisting of about one thousand parishes, fell short of four thousand pounds sterling: and even these paltry endowments were irregularly paid, and very much begrudged, by the hungry nobles, who were fattening on the lands with which the piety of their ancestors and of the old kings had enriched to excess the Roman church. It was the very Lords of the Congregation, who had pretended to go hand-in-hand with Knox and his disciples (without whom they would have been crushed), that cut down the allowances to this miserable scale. The Prior of St. Andrew's, the queen's half-brother, and the sworn friend and brother-in-the-spirit of John Knox, thought the clergy well paid with these hod-bearers' stipends; for the levying and paying of which Wishart of Pittarrow, another most zealous reformer, was appointed comptroller. Knox, who though not greedy of worldly pelf, had expected very different treatment for himself and his brethren when his friend should have, as he now had, the resources of the country at his disposal, was sufficiently loud in his lamentations. "Who would have thought," cried he, "that when Joseph ruled in Egypt, his brethren would have come down thither for corn, and returned with their sacks empty?" But his complaints had no more effect than the rumbling of distant thunder; and though the Lords of the Congregation were pretty constant in their attendance at the kirk, they always considered that the preachers departed from

* On the 11th of November Randolph wrote to Cecil, "It is now called in question whether the queen, being an idolatress, may be obeyed in all civil and political actions. I think marvel of the wisdom of God, that gave this unruly, stout, and cumbersome people no more substance or power than they have, for then they would run wild."

the true doctrine when they spoke of worldly goods. And in this manner the Presbyterian clergy continued to be kept in a state of body and mind most favourable to spiritual intemperance. They had already adopted one of the worst practices of the Roman church,—that of persecuting for matters of belief; and they soon took up another,—that of making search and inquest into the private and domestic concerns of men; and it may be doubted whether the confessional chair of the Popish priest was a more mischievous or distressing engine than the one which they adopted. Omitting many tedious or revolting details, which all tend to prove that, if the unfortunate Mary had had all the human virtues in the utmost perfection, she would have failed to satisfy these people so long as she remained a Catholic, we will merely mention one significant fact. During the queen's absence from Holyrood some of the populace of Edinburgh broke into her chapel, defiled the altar, and committed all kinds of indecent outrages. Mary was naturally indignant at this proceeding, and two—*only two*—of the rioters were indicted. Upon this, John Knox wrote circular letters to the faithful,—to men having power and good broadwords,—charging them to come up to Edinburgh and protect their persecuted brethren. Before this, Knox had done and written things which, by the law of every monarchical state in Europe, amounted to treason and rebellion; but now he was summoned before the privy council. Some men sitting there abhorred every part of the queen's religion as much as he did, and some there were who longed for the gathering storm, that they might fish in troubled waters. Knox knew this well, and his tone more resembled that of a defiance than a defence. He told the queen that the pestilent Papists, who had inflamed her against these holy men (the two indicted chapel-breakers), were sons of the devil, and obedient to the directions of their father, who had been a liar and a man-slayer from the beginning. In the end Knox was fully acquitted, and thus encouraged in his intolerant course; and never was crowned head so braved and insulted by bishop or pope, even in the fourteenth century, as was Mary by this oppugner of the Roman tyranny.

At the same time Elizabeth was haunted with a dread of Mary's pretensions to the throne of England, well knowing that, in the eyes of the Catholics at least, her claim continued to be held preferable to her own. Soon after her arrival in Scotland Mary sent Maitland of Lethington to negotiate at the English court. Elizabeth again demanded the full ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and in especial manner of the article by which Mary was to lay aside for ever the title and arms of England. This demand was somewhat unreasonable, for if Mary had complied with it in its full extent it would have been a virtual resignation of her right of succession to the English crown through her grandmother, Margaret, daughter of Henry VII.,—a right which was indisputable so long as that crown was considered under all circumstances to be hereditary. Lethington met the proposition half way, proposing to ratify Mary's renunciation if it were limited to Elizabeth's lifetime, which was all that could have been intended in the original treaty; but he demanded from Elizabeth a recognition, by a solemn act of parliament, of Mary as the next heir to the English throne, in the event of her dying without children; for the Scots entertained some apprehension, that as the will of Henry VIII. passed over their line, Elizabeth might by her will appoint another successor. This, however, was touching the English queen in a most sensitive part, seeing that through her whole life, and even at the hour of death, she had the greatest reluctance to name or in any way to allude to her successor; therefore, evading the question, she repeated her demand that Mary should unconditionally resign all right to the crown of England, without restriction as to time or circumstance. Lethington told Cecil that he feared Mary could rather be content to hazard all—such was her courage—than receive that dishonour to forego her right. During these negotiations the rival princesses kept up a correspondence, in which each professed the greatest esteem and affection for the other; and both were guilty of a gratuitous insincerity which deceived no one.*

While Elizabeth watched with increasing pleasure the turbulence of Mary's subjects, she checked her own with a firm hand, her government being to the full as despotic as that of her father, but infinitely more wise, keeping generally, though not always, in view high national objects. By her frugality she was soon enabled to pay off the great debts of the crown, and to regulate the coinage, which had been debased by her predecessors. She made large purchases of arms on the continent; she introduced, or greatly improved, the arts of making gunpowder and casting cannon; and, what was of foremost importance, she directed her energies to the increase of the naval force, so that she was soon justly entitled to the appellations of Restorer of Naval Glory,—Queen of the Northern Seas.†

But the thread of Elizabeth's career was always of a mingled yarn,—the little, the mean, and the base being mixed with what was great, and noble, and national, and she herself, in the words of her own minister, Robert Cecil, being more than a man, and, in truth, sometimes less than a woman.‡ She not only dreaded the claims to the succession of Mary Queen of Scots, but she was also most jealous of the weaker rights of the line of Suffolk, and she persecuted the Lady Catherine Grey, the heiress of this house, with an unrelenting spirit. It will be remembered that the hand of this lady was given to Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Pembroke, on the same black day on which her sister, Lady Jane Grey, was united to Guildford Dudley. On the accession of Queen Mary the

* Burleigh Papers.—Walter Scott.—Hume. † Camden.
‡ Letter from Sir Robert Cecil to Sir J. Harington, 1603, published in Dr. H. Harington's Nugæ Antiquæ.

however, kept for some time in the Tower, and Elizabeth raised her right arm against all false prophets. She caused the parliament to pass a severe law touching fond and fantastical prophecies, promulgated with design to disturb the queen's government, and against all such as should prognosticate on, or by occasion of any coats of arms, crests, or badges.*

A.D. 1562.—Elizabeth was made to feel, in many ways, that the Catholic princes of Europe regarded her and her proceedings with an evil eye, and to *suspect* that constant machinations were on foot in France to expel her from the throne, and to seat Mary Queen of Scots in her place. She, therefore, resolved to ally herself with the Protestant powers on the continent, and to avail herself to the utmost of the religious animosities of men both at home and abroad. The persecutions practised by Philip and the French court, made it easy for her to put herself in a position of great might and reverence, as the head and protector of the Protestant religion. Her course was shaped out by the instinct of self-preservation, and not by any religious zeal; and in pursuing it she was inevitably induced to encourage revolted subjects in their wars with their governments—thus beginning in her own practice the system which she afterwards accused her enemies of carrying on against herself.

France, under the regency of Catherine de' Medici, soon became the seat of confusion and anarchy. The Protestants of the south took up arms for the liberty of conscience; and in 1561 the government consented to a hollow treaty, by which they were to be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and not to be punished and persecuted as heretofore as heretics. But the Duke of Guise, the leader of the Catholic party, soon infringed this treaty, and having possession of the person of the young king, Charles IX., he dictated to the regent, who, however, wanted no stimulus. She was a real bigot, while Guise's religious zeal was more than half feigned and politic. The Protestants, or Huguenots, as they were called in France, flew once more to arms, under the command of the Prince of Condé, the Admiral Coligni, Andelot, and others, and fourteen armies were presently in motion in different parts of the kingdom. The success was various—the fury of both parties pretty equal. Between them the country was stained with blood from the banks of the Garonne to the banks of the Seine and the shores of the British Channel. The parliament of Paris, which was very orthodox, published an edict, authorising the Catholics everywhere to massacre the Protestants; and the Protestants replied by making sharper the edges of their own swords. Women and children flocked to the ranks on both sides, and partook in the carnage. The Huguenots, notwithstanding their great inferiority in numbers, pressed the Catholics so hard, that the Duke of Guise was fain to solicit aid from Philip II.; and that sovereign, for various reasons besides his desire to check the spread of heresy into his dominions in Flanders, gladly entered into an alliance, and sent six thousand men and some money into France. Upon this, the Prince of Condé, the chief leader of the Huguenots, solicited the assistance and protection of Elizabeth; and, with a correct estimate of her character, he offered to her, as an immediate advantage, possession of the important maritime town of Havre-de-Grace. After some short negotiations, during which Sir Henry Sidney, the able and accomplished father of the more famous Sir Philip Sidney, was sent into France, ostensibly to mediate between the Catholics and Protestants, Elizabeth concluded a compact with the Prince of Condé, furnished him with some money, and then sent over three thousand men, under the command of Sir Edward Poynings, to take possession of Havre. No declaration of hostilities was made to the French court, and Elizabeth asserted to the foreign ambassadors that her only object was to serve his majesty of France, and to free him from the hands of the Guises, who, according to her version, held the youth an unwilling prisoner. "But," said the Catholic envoys, "you are siding with the minority of the French nation, and joining your arms with rebels." "Not so," replied Elizabeth; "I am only seeking to serve the king." Soon after his arrival, Poynings was obliged to throw some reinforcements into Rouen, which was besieged by the Catholics under the command of the King of Navarre and the Duke of Montmorency. This detachment was cut to pieces to a man; for the besiegers carried the place by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. But the handful of Englishmen behaved bravely, and, before they met their fate, the Catholic King of Navarre was mortally wounded.* As the Huguenots were still strong in Normandy, and as Elizabeth dreaded "lest such as were known to bear no good will to her or her realm should get into their possession such towns and havens as lie over against the sea-coast of this realm, and, by stuffing the same with garrisons and numbers of men-of-war, upon occasion seek to make invasions," she resolved to reinforce her very small army; and she sent over Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, the elder brother of her favourite, with a fresh force of three thousand men.† Warwick took the command of Havre, and began to fortify that place, which was threatened with a siege by the Duke of Guise, the captor of Calais, the expeller of the English, whose party was strengthened by the odium excited against Condé, for calling the old enemies of his country back to it, and giving them something

* The latter clause is supposed to have proceeded from the queen's anger at certain allusions made to the Bear and Ragged Staff of her favourite Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester. Some star-gazers, it appears, had predicted that the Bear would wear the Rose,—*i. e.* that Robert Dudley would marry the queen.

* During the siege of Rouen a French gentleman of the Protestant persuasion attempted to assassinate the Duke of Guise.

† Ambrose Dudley, the eldest son of the late Duke of Northumberland, was restored to his father's title of Baron L'Isle, in 1561, and to that of Earl of Warwick in the present year, 1562. (Sir H. Nicolas gives the latter date erroneously, 1567, in 'Synopsis of Peerage,' i. 384, and ii. 678.)

politic father of the bridegroom procured a divorce and dissolution of her marriage, which in all probability had never been consummated. From the year 1554 to 1560 the Lady Catherine had lived in quiet obscurity, but now it was discovered that she had formed a clandestine marriage with the Earl of Hertford, son of the late lord protector, the Duke of Somerset.* The queen's wrath at this discovery was not allayed by her learning immediately after that the young lady was pregnant. By a stretch of authority familiar to the Tudors, she sent her victim a close prisoner to the Tower, and then summoned her husband Hertford, who was absent in France, to answer for his doings. The earl travelled home as fast as he could, and made no scruple of acknowledging the marriage, which he maintained had been legally performed, and was suitable to the condition of both parties. He also was committed to the Tower, and Elizabeth appointed a special commission,† from which there was to be no appeal, to inquire into the matter. An early day was then named for the earl's appearing before these commissioners, and as Hertford could not produce his witnesses to the nuptials within the time limited, or—what was equally probable—as the witnesses feared the wrath of the queen, and purposely kept away, the commerce between him and his wife was declared unlawful, and their posterity illegitimate.‡ The unfortunate Lady Catherine gave birth to a child soon after her committal; and, in spite of the arbitrary decision of the queen and her special commissioners, the people considered the infant as the fruit of lawful marriage. As they lay both in the Tower, Warner, the lieutenant, probably thinking that it was opposing the laws of God and nature to keep man and wife asunder, permitted them to meet in secret. The consequence of this was a second child, and an aggravated rage on the part of the queen. The Earl of Hertford was sentenced in the unlawful and detestable Star Chamber to pay a fine of 15,000*l.* for seducing, as it was said, a female of the royal blood, and for breaking his prison to renew his heinous offence. The poor Lieutenant Warner lost his place, and the unhappy wife was kept in the Tower, or in private custody, till death liberated her from the suspicious tyranny of her relative, in the beginning of the year 1567. For attempting legally to record the proofs of his children's legitimacy the Earl of Hertford was afterwards imprisoned, without law or reason (except that awful reason of state), for nine whole years.* This cruel persecution led to many discontents, but few men at court were bold enough to express their opinion, and such as did suffered rather severely. The branch of Suffolk was preferred, on account of religion, to the Scottish line with a Catholic head in Mary Stuart. Hales, clerk of the Hanaper, a zealous Protestant, was arbitrarily sent to the Tower for having written in defence of Lady Catherine Grey's marriage and of her title to the succession: the Lord Keeper Bacon, a known friend to the House of Suffolk, lost much favour with his mistress, who suspected him of prompting and encouraging poor Hales; and even Cecil had a narrow escape notwithstanding his forwardness in prosecuting and persecuting the unfortunate young lady,—more unfortunate even than her sister the Lady Jane.

About the same time Elizabeth showed more mercy to another royal line,—to the Poles, who had caused so much uneasiness to her father. This business is somewhat mysterious; but it is related that Arthur and Edmund Pole, two nephews of the late cardinal, with Sir Anthony Fortescue, who had married their sister, and other accomplices had meditated a revolution;—that Arthur Pole was to proceed to France to solicit the aid of the Guises and other friends or relatives of the Scottish queen, was to return at the head of an army into Wales, there to take upon himself the title of Duke of Clarence, and to proclaim Mary, who was to give her hand to him, or to his brother, as legitimate Queen of England. Of course a change of religion was attached to this change of the dynasty. *If* this plot was ever really conceived it was imbecilely managed, for the parties were all arrested in England before any steps were taken. When put upon their trial, they confessed, it is said, to the indictment, but asserted that they never meant to execute any such project during Elizabeth's lifetime,—that they had only thought it expedient to concert measures in case of her death, which some judicial astrologers had assured them would inevitably take place before that year (1561) should expire. The jury condemned them all, but the queen, who ought not to have dreaded such drivellers, granted them a pardon. They were,

* He was the eldest son of Somerset by his second wife, and had been restored to his father's title of Earl of Hertford a few months after the commencement of the present reign.

† Sir W. Petre, Bishop Grindal, and Parker, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, were at the head of this arbitrary commission. Parker, in many respects, was as subservient as Cranmer had been.

‡ There are certain instructions sent by Elizabeth to Sir Edward Warner, the lieutenant of the Tower, which bear a close resemblance to similar documents in the reign of Henry VIII. "Our pleasure is that ye shall, as by our commandment, examine the Lady Catherine very straitly, how many hath been privy to the love between her and the Earl of Hertford from the beginning; and let her certainly understand that she shall have no manner of favour except she will shew the truth, not only what ladies or gentlewomen of this court were thereto privy, but also what lords and gentlewomen: for it doth now appear that sundry personages have dealt herein, and when it shall appear more manifestly, it shall increase our indignation against her if she will forbear to utter it. We earnestly require you to use your diligence in this. Ye shall also send to Alderman Lodge, secretly, for Mistress St. Low, and shall put her in awe of divers matters confessed by the Lady Catherine; and so also deal with her that she may confess to you all her knowledge in the same matters. It is certain that there hath been great practices and purposes; and since the death of the Lady Jane she hath been most privy. And as ye shall see occasion so ye may keep St. Low two or three nights more or less, and let her be returned to Lodge's or kept still with you, as ye shall think meet."

* Sir Henry Ellis has published an affecting and an unusually bold letter, which was written to Cecil by the Lord John Grey, uncle to the unfortunate lady, about a year and a half after her committal to the Tower. His lordship says, "It is a great while, methinketh, Cousin Cecil, since I sent unto you, in my niece's behalf, albeit I know (opportunity so serving) you are not unmindful of her miserable and comfortless estate; for who, wanting the prince's favour, may count himself to live in any realm; and because this time of all others hath been counted a time of mercy and forgiveness, I cannot but recommend her woful life unto you. In faith I would I were the queen's confessor this Lent, that I might join her in penance to forgive and forget; or, otherwise, able to step into the pulpit to tell her highness that God will not forgive her unless she freely forgive all the world."

like a firm footing in it. Havre, indeed, might have been made a second English Calais, and something better.

By means of English money, a considerable body of Protestant soldiers were engaged in Germany; and this force and others under the command of Andelot and the Admiral Coligni, obliged Guise to move from the Seine and the neighbourhood of Havre towards the Loire, where the Huguenots were very powerful, possessing the city of Orleans. After a remarkable campaign, during which the Huguenots, under the admiral and Condé, threatened the city of Paris, a fierce battle was fought at Dreux, and the Protestants were defeated. The affair, however, was not very decisive; and, to support Coligni, Elizabeth sent over some more money, and offered to give her bond for a further sum if he could find merchants disposed to lend on such a security.*

A.D. 1563.—At this moment the queen's exchequer was empty, and she was obliged to summon a parliament—a body for the wisdom or authority of which she never testified much respect. Almost as soon as this parliament met, the odious subject of the succession and matrimony was renewed. Elizabeth had just undergone that dangerous disease the small-pox,† and, as her life had been despaired of, people had been made more than ever sensible of the perils likely to arise from a disputed succession. The commons, therefore, voted an address to her majesty, in which, after mentioning the civil wars of former times, they entreated her to choose a husband by God's grace, engaging on their part to serve, honour, and obey the husband of her choice: or if, indeed, her high mind was for ever set against matrimony, they entreated that she would permit her lawful successor to be named and acknowledged by act of parliament. The nation, they observed, had never since the Conquest, been so unhappy as not to know a legal heir to the throne. Being thus placed between the sharp horns of a dilemma, and being fully resolved on no account to acknowledge the rights either of Mary Queen of Scots, or of the Lady Catherine Grey, the representative of the Suffolk line, whose children she had just bastardized, she pretended that her resolution of living and dying a virgin was shaken; and, without making anything like a positive declaration, she gave them to understand that she might be induced, for the sake of her people, to think of marriage. Nearly at this moment another suitor appeared in the field. The Duke of Wirtemburg, a German Protestant prince, offered his service to the queen in case she were minded to marry. To which Elizabeth replied, with her usual indirectness, "that, although she never yet were weary of single and maiden life, yet, indeed, she was the last issue of her father left, and the only of her house; the care of her kingdom and the love of posterity did counsel her to alter this course of life. But in consideration of the leave that her subjects had given her in ampler manner to make her choice than they did to any prince afore, she was even in courtesy bound to make that choice so as should be for the best of her state and subjects. And for that he offered therein his assistance, she graciously acknowledged the same, promising to deserve it hereafter."*

The parliament was obliged to be satisfied with the queen's evasive answer, and to proceed to other business. A most remarkable law they passed was the act of "assurance of the queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions." This was, in effect, an extension of the former acts of supremacy. For asserting twice in writing, word, or deed, the authority of the pope, the offender was subjected to the penalties of treason: all persons in holy orders were bound to take the oath of supremacy, as were also all who

* Holinshed.—Burghley Papers.

† It was in this year (1563), but whether before or after her illness we know not, that Elizabeth set forth the following proclamation against portrait painters and engravers:—

"Forasmuch as through the natural desire that all sorts of subjects and people, both noble and mean, have to procure the portrait and picture of the queen's majesty, great number of painters, and some printers and gravers, have already, and do daily attempt to make in divers manners, portraitures of her majesty in painting, graving, and printing, wherein is evidently shown that hitherto none hath sufficiently expressed *that natural representation of her majesty's person, favour, or grace*, but for the most part have also erred therein, as thereof daily *complaints* are made amongst her majesty's loving subjects, insomuch that for the redress hereof her majesty had been so instantly and so importunately sued unto by the lords of her council and others of her nobility in respect of the great disorder herein used, not only to be content that some *special cunning painter* might be permitted, by access to her majesty, to take the natural representation of her majesty, whereof she hath been always *of her own right disposition very unwilling*, but also to prohibit all manner of other persons to draw, paint, grave, or portrait her majesty's personage or visage for a time, until by some perfect pattern and example the same may be by others followed. Therefore her majesty, being herein, as it were, overcome with the continual requests of so many of her nobility and lords, whom she cannot well deny, is pleased that, for their contentations, some cunning person meet thereof shall shortly make portrait of her person or visage to be participated to others for satisfaction of her loving subjects, and furthermore commandeth all manner of persons in the mean time to forbear from painting, graving, printing, or making of any portrait of her majesty until some special person that shall be by her allowed shall have first finished a portraiture thereof, after which finished, her majesty will be content that all other painters, printers, or gravers, that shall be known men of understanding, and so thereto licensed by the head officers of the places where they shall dwell (as reason it is that every person should not without consideration attempt the same), shall and may at their pleasure follow the said pattern or first portraiture. And for that her majesty perceiveth that a great number of her loving subjects are much grieved, and take great offence with the errors and deformities already committed by sundry persons in this behalf, she straightly chargeth all her officers and ministers to see to the due observation hereof, and, as soon as may be, to reform the errors already committed, and, in the mean time, to forbid and prohibit the showing or publication of such as are apparently deformed until they may be reformed which are reformable."—*Archæologia*. Communicated by Sir Joseph Ayloffe The original draft, in the handwriting of Secretary Cecil, and bearing his minute corrections, is in the State Paper Office. This was curious work to employ a great minister and statesman upon, but Cecil had to get through a great deal more work of the same sort.

* At this time Eric, King of Sweden, the most persevering of all her suitors, had scarcely given himself over to despair. He had sent her majesty eighteen large piebald horses, and two ship-loads of undescribed goods, telling her that he would soon follow these cumbrous love-gifts in person. She, however, threw cold water on this project, and, in the end, he never came. At one moment, indeed, she apprehended that he would come in spite of her coolness, and the united wisdom of her Lord Treasurer, Lord Steward, and Lord Chamberlain, was employed in settling the ceremonials of his reception. The following is a good specimen of the document they drew up and of Elizabeth's solemn prudery:—"Because," it says, "the queen's majesty is a maid, in this case would many things be omitted of honour and courtesy, which otherwise were meet to be showed to him, as in like cases hath been of kings of this land to others; and, therefore, it shall be necessary that the gravest of her council do, as of their own judgement, excuse the lack thereof to the king; and yet, on their own parts, offer the supplement thereof with reverence."

were advanced to any degree, either in the universities or in the inns of court, all schoolmasters, officers in court, and members of parliament; and a second refusal of the oath was made treason. By a strange restriction, considering that some of the noblest families were Catholics, the statute did not extend to any man of the rank of a baron, it being assumed, as a convenient fiction, that no doubt could be entertained as to the fidelity of persons of such rank. All Elizabeth's parliaments were zealously Protestant: in this the House of Commons were sincere; but in the Lords there must have been considerable dissimulation, as the known Catholics seldom made any opposition. In the present session, however, Lord Montacute showed some spirit. He opposed the bill of assurance, and contended, in favour of the English Catholics, that they were loyal and dutiful subjects, neither disputing, nor preaching, nor causing tumults among the people. But Elizabeth could never repose confidence in a sect which could not but believe in her illegitimacy; and the spirit of disloyalty which no doubt existed in many breasts, notwithstanding the assertion of Montacute, was naturally increased and strengthened by these very penal acts directed against them. It is quite certain that Elizabeth never thought of trying the grand and humane experiment; but it would indeed not "be safe to assert that a more conciliating policy would have altogether disarmed their hostility."* The students of the inns of court, where popery had a strong hold, were particularly objects of suspicion. Even before the passing of this statute some of them were examined in the Star Chamber and committed to the Fleet. An increase of violence produced a seeming conformity, but the Catholics had recourse to what has been justly called the usual artifice of an oppressed people, and met force by fraud. This was the most dangerous of all states, and Elizabeth and Cecil fairly acknowledged that their system of coercion was a failure, when they complained that they could not take the Catholics for good Protestants and loyal subjects, though they constantly attended the Anglican church, and prayed for the queen in the words of the Liturgy. If no force had been adopted,—if the adherents to the old church had been allowed the free exercise of their religion,—the government at least might have known who were Catholics and who were not; but now it was impossible to distinguish between the unwilling converts to force and the willing converts to persuasion, and use, and time. And, as men always hate intensely those who degrade them in their own eyes, or force them to commit acts of subservience and baseness, Elizabeth became more and more an object of detestation to this class. It was during this same session that the law against false prophets already alluded to was passed, and it was accompanied by a statute against conjuration, enchantments, and witchcraft. It should appear as if the people of England had not yet advanced to a condition in which they could do without a certain pabulum of credulity, and that it was necessary that the superstition which had lost its old food,—such as saints and madonnas and miracles,—should find some new nourishment. In the countries where the common people are fed with legends and miracles, there is little or no belief in witches and ghosts; and, for a long time after the Reformation, the people in most countries seem to have believed in witches and ghosts because they were no longer allowed to believe in saints and miracles. The chronicles remark that the preceding year had been very awful on account of the great number of monstrous births, and probably this was believed to be the effect of witchcraft and conjuration. But all kinds of insane notions were very prevalent. One William Jeffrey was whipped from the Marshalsea to Bishopsgate for professing one John Moore to be Christ; and, he being staid at Bethlem Gate, John Moore was brought out of prison, before whom William Jeffrey was whipped till he confessed Christ to be in heaven; and then John Moore was tied to a cart and whipped until at last he also confessed that Christ was in heaven, and that he, John Moore, was not Christ, but a simple man. The penal statutes now passed only increased the number of mad prophets, conjurers, and so-called witches. Having voted the queen a supply of a subsidy, and two fifteenths, the parliament was prorogued. Still further to enable the queen to prosecute her continental scheme, which was popular with Protestant churchmen, and with the majority of the nation as being in favour of men who were co-religionists, or nearly so, the convocation of the clergy voted her a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, payable in three years. Apparently some of this money was immediately sent to the Huguenots, and some to the Earl of Warwick, who, however, received strict orders to keep his troops within the walls of Havre, and not to join the Admiral Coligni in the field, who, without his assistance, had reduced most of the places in Normandy which held for the Guises. The admiral, however, complained to Elizabeth of the strange neutrality of her little army, and his complaints became louder when he saw that the Duke of Guise was preparing to crush the Protestants on the Loire, and that he was laying siege to Orleans with every prospect of taking that city. But soon after Guise was assassinated by Poltrot, a young gentleman of the Huguenot party, and the death of this brave leader and accomplished soldier, which happened on the 24th of February, 1563, induced the French Catholics to offer conditions of peace and reconciliation. The admiral, who knew her well, maintained that there was no trusting the queen-regent Catherine de' Medici; but he was overruled by his associates, and, in the end, another hollow pacification was concluded between the French Protestants and the French Catholics. In this hasty and unwise treaty the Huguenots took little or no care of the interests of the English queen, merely stipulating that if she would give up Havre, her

* Hallam, Const. Hist.

charges and the money she had advanced should be repaid by the French court, and that Calais, at the expiration of the term before fixed, should be restored to her. In this instance Elizabeth's anger got the better of her discretion: she sent Warwick orders to defend Havre to the last against the whole French monarchy; for Protestants and Catholics were now alike anxious to see the English out of France. In taking possession of this place the English had expelled nearly all the French inhabitants, so that they had little to fear in that direction. Warwick had about five thousand men with him, and during the siege Sir Hugh Paulet conducted to him a reinforcement of eight hundred. The constable, Montmorency, so recently in alliance with the English, took the command of the besieging army, in which also served the Protestant Prince of Condé, who, more than any one, had led Elizabeth into the late treaty with the Huguenots. The brave Admiral Coligni, who still doubted the good faith of the queen-regent, kept aloof. So important was the enterprise in the eyes of the government that Catherine de' Medici took her son, the young king, with nearly the whole court, to the besieging camp, and called upon all loyal Frenchmen to repair to the siege. In the month of May, notwithstanding some gallant sorties made by the English, the French established themselves in favourable positions round the town, and began to batter in sundry places. During the whole of the month of June they tried in vain to force an entrance, and they were several times beaten out of their trenches. On the 14th of July the besiegers made an assault with three thousand men, and were repulsed with the loss of four hundred. On the 27th of the same month the French desperately made fresh approaches, and "were made by the English gunners to taste the bitter fruit that the cannon and culverins yielded. But such was the multitude of the Frenchmen that were now assembled together, in hope to recover that town (which, being possessed by the English, cut off all traffic to Rouen, to Paris, and so consequently from the chief parts of the whole realm of France), that, with their general aid, and drawing the water down to the sea, the marshes were made passable and firm ground, which, to men of great experience, was thought a thing impossible. The castle, the walls, and other defences of the town, were battered, breaches made, and the trench, which before the coming of the constable was but brought to the point over against the bulwark of St. Addresses, was now, within four days, advanced near-hand the space of two miles, upon the causeway or breach, which was all of stone, without any earth to cover them, so that they were driven to make the best shift they could with woolsacks, sand-bags, baskets, and fagots. Yet all this had never come to pass, nor could have been wrought, without infinite slaughter and far more loss of French blood that necessarily should have been spilt, if the great mortality of pestilence which entered the town about the beginning of summer, through a malicious infection, had not so greatly increased that it slew and took away daily great numbers of men, beside those that, being sick thereof, escaped with life, but were yet so feeble and weak that they were not able to help themselves, nor to do any service available at all. There died so many daily through the vehemency of the infection that the streets lay even full of dead corpses, not able to be removed or buried by reason of the multitude that perished. Herewith they were grievously annoyed for want of fresh victuals, but chiefly of fresh water, which the enemy by long siege had cut off. And now the shot of the cannon, lying within six and twenty paces of the town, was so terrible as the like had not lightly been heard of, and sundry breaches therewith were already made, namely, two very great and easy for the enemies to enter. All these dangers and miseries notwithstanding, the worthy Earl of Warwick, with his captains and soldiers, in courageous order, stood at those several breaches, ready to defend the same, if the enemies had presumed to have given the assault; . . . which, when the constable perceived, he caused a trumpet to sound the blast of emparley."* By this time Warwick had scarcely fifteen hundred men capable of bearing arms, and he was in want of provisions and ammunition. He therefore accepted the parley and sent out officers to settle the terms of capitulation. Then the trumpet sounded afresh, to proclaim immediate truce; but the French hosts, which consisted in good part of an undisciplined rabble, were fierce against the English, and broke the truce two several times, firing on the besieged. "The valiant Earl of Warwick standing at a breach in his hose and doublet in sight of his enemies, was, by a lewd soldier of the French (contrary to the law of arms), shot through the thigh with an arquebuse."† On the following day, the 28th of July, 1563, the capitulation was signed, the French agreeing to permit the garrison to depart with their arms, baggage, and whatever goods belonged to the Queen of England or to any of her subjects, and to allow the English six whole days to embark themselves and their property. It was a sad embarkation, the sick and feeble having to carry those who were in a still worse state, and the men in health being exposed to the closest contact with the plague patients, for the pestilence was none other than the deadly plague. An honourable mention is made by the old annalists of a generous-hearted officer of high rank, whose deeds ought not to be forgotten. When the mass of the troops were embarked—and glad was he that could get soonest out of that fatal place—it was found that many sick persons, unable to help themselves, and who were not likely to receive kind treatment at the hands of the French, were left behind, "the misery whereof Edward Randal, Esquire, high marshal of the town (who was appointed to tarry and see the uttermost of the composition accomplished) perceiving, moved with natural pity of his country-

* Holinshed. † Id.

men relinquished without comfort, caused the said sick persons to be carried aboard, not sparing his own shoulders, at that time feeble and full of the plague, himself and his men still bearing and helping the poor creatures on ship-board; a rare fact, worthy reward, and no doubt in remembrance with God, the true recorder of merciful deserts."* But these plague patients brought the frightful disorder with them into England, where it committed great ravages, spreading into various parts of the kingdom, and raging so fiercely in London that, in the course of the year, it carried off twenty thousand persons. "And forsomuch as the plague of pestilence was so hot in the city of London there was *no term kept at Michaelmas*: to be short, the poor citizens of London were this year plagued with a three-fold plague,—pestilence, scarcity of money, and dearth of victuals, the misery whereof were too long here to write: no doubt the poor remember it; the rich, by flight into the country, made shift for themselves."† In the month of September there were earthquakes in divers places, but strongest in Lincoln and Northamptonshire; and, "from the 1st day of December till the 12th, was such continual lightning and thunder that the like had not been seen nor heard by any person then living." The Catholic party saw in these things a visible manifestation of the wrath of heaven at the changes which had taken place in religion.

This first of Elizabeth's continental wars was sufficiently discouraging, and she readily consented to give up the cause of the Protestants in France, and to conclude a fresh peace with the queen-regent, who was most earnest in detaching her from the Huguenots, against whom she was preparing a most atrocious plot. A peace signed at Troyes, on the 11th of April, 1564, was shortly after proclaimed, with sound of trumpet, before the queen's majesty in her castle of Windsor, the French ambassadors being present. By this new treaty Elizabeth delivered up the hostages which the French had given for the restitution of Calais; but she received two hundred and twenty thousand crowns for their liberation. The questions of the surrender of Calais and other matters were left in the state they were in before the late hostilities, each party retaining its claims and pretensions, which were to be settled by after negotiation.‡

In this interval Scotland had been the scene of many turmoils and more intrigues.§ The gay, the handsome and accomplished queen gradually gained ground in the affections of the people, notwithstanding the gloomy denunciations of the half-famished preachers; but she was surrounded by a remorseless set of nobles,—men who had rarely lived in peace, even under the government of the hardiest and most skilful of their kings. In 1562 the Duke of Chatelherault's son, the Earl of Arran, accused the Earl of Bothwell and others of a plot to murder the Lord James Stuart and Maitland, in order to get possession of the power which they monopolised between them. It was soon made to appear that Arran was mad; and this unfortunate young nobleman was secured in the castle of Edinburgh. Fresh convulsions were presently excited by the Lord James, who wished to enrich himself at the expense of some of the Catholic lords. To gratify him, the queen, who treated him as her brother, conferred upon him the earldom of Marr and the lands belonging to it,—a measure which greatly incensed the powerful Earl of Huntley, who was already jealous at finding himself excluded from all share in the government, and who had hitherto occupied, without challenge, some of the estates included in the earldom of Marr. While there was hot blood upon this subject, Sir John Gordon, one of the Earl of Huntley's sons, engaged in the public streets of Edinburgh in an affray with Lord Ogilvie, a friend of the Lord James. The queen caused both these disturbers of the peace of her capital to be placed under arrest; but Sir John Gordon soon escaped out of prison, and fled to his father in the Highlands, where he complained that he had been treated with severity, while the Lord Ogilvie, at the instigation of the queen's half-brother, had been mildly visited. The Lord James, who appears to have been only anxious to enter on the estate of Marr under the cover of the royal presence, chose this very moment for conducting his sister on a royal progress to the north. The journey was fatiguing, and the queen everywhere met with a cold reception from the Highland clans, who were accustomed to consider the will of the Earl of Huntley as a thing far above the royal authority. As she advanced apprehensions were even entertained for her personal safety; and all the persons in her retinue, not excepting the foreign ambassadors, did regular duty about her like soldiers, keeping watch and ward against surprise. Mary herself showed no alarm, and only lamented that her sex prevented her from taking up jack and steel cap, a broad-sword and a Glasgow buckler. On her arrival at Inverness the castle was held against her by some of the Gordons. An entrance was obtained by force of arms, and the captain of the little garrison was put to death for a very unequivocal proof of disloyalty. As it was found that Lord Erskine possessed a legal right to the earldom of Marr, Stuart gave up that claim, and took to himself, or induced his sister to give him, the much greater earldom of Murray in its stead. From this time the former prior of St Andrew's will be designated by the title of Earl of Murray,—a name which was soon made a sound of terror in the queen's ears. If the Earl of

* Stow.—Holinshed.

† Stow.—Holinshed says that not only was there *no term* kept, but no *lord mayor's dinner!* the queen signifying "that forasmuch as the plague was so great in the city the new mayor elected should keep no feast at the Guildhall, for doubt that through bringing together such a multitude the infection might increase: for that week there died within the city and out-parishes more than two thousand."

‡ Camden.—Rymer.

§ Randolph, who remained at his old post to report the progress of dissension, wrote to Elizabeth,—"So long as the queen is in heart divided from her subjects through the diversity of religion, there is neither that quietness of mind nor peace in conscience that is most to be desired in true service to their sovereign; nor can I yet see how her fate will long continue, seeing the self-same seeds remain that were the occasion of the former mischief."

Huntley had been enraged before, he now became desperate; for he had received a grant of the wealthy earldom of Murray as far back as the year 1548, and had ever since enjoyed the estates belonging to it. He summoned together his vassals and allies, determined to defend his title with the sword. On the 28th of October, while Mary was still in the north, a fierce battle was fought at Corrichie, near Aberdeen, almost under her eyes. Her brother, the Earl of Murray, who had hastily collected some Southland men, and won over some of the Highland clans, gained a complete victory. The Earl of Huntley, in flying from the field, was thrown from his horse into a morass, and there smothered: his son, Sir John Gordon, was taken prisoner. The body of the old earl was discovered, and carried before parliament, by which sentence of attainder and forfeiture was pronounced upon it: his son was condemned to the block, and butchered by a clumsy executioner at Aberdeen. The whole of this great family was reduced to beggary, but, five years after, Mary allowed their attainder to be reversed. There is no very satisfactory evidence to establish the fact, but it was generally said that, if the Earl of Huntley had proved the victor in the battle of Corrichie, he would have seized the queen, and forced her to marry one of his sons.* Reports of this kind, and the circumstance of there being no heir to the crown, made the Scots as anxious about the marriage of their queen, as were the English about the marriage of theirs. Nor was there any greater want of suitors in Scotland than in England. Mary had none of her rival's aversion to sharing her authority with a husband, but there was an immense difficulty in the way of a proper choice. Her own inclination would have led her to an alliance with some foreign prince; and her French relations successively proposed to her Don Carlos, then heir of the Spanish monarchy; the Duke of Anjou, one of the brothers of her late husband; the Cardinal of Bourbon, who had only lately taken deacon's orders; the Duke of Ferrara, and some others. But all these suitors were odious to the mass of the Scottish nation, as Catholics; and Elizabeth let it be understood that any alliance of that kind, as opening the way for her foreign enemies to her dominions, would occasion an immediate war with England. Mary, though urged on by the princes of the House of Guise, was not disposed to provoke this danger, and she even condescended to consult with Elizabeth as to a choice which might be alike agreeable to both countries. In the summer of 1563 a personal interview at York between the two queens was spoken of; but Elizabeth, from various motives, the least of which was not her jealousy of her rival's superiority in beauty, artfully put off the meeting till the next year; and, in fact, she never met Mary at all. In order to detach Don Carlos from his pursuit, she held out hopes of renewing an old treaty, and of marrying him herself. In her anxiety to conciliate, and to secure her succession to the English throne in case of Elizabeth's dying without issue, Mary despatched Sir James Melville to London, in order to ascertain, if possible, what kind of a husband it was that would give entire satisfaction to her grace. All this condescension and frankness—for the Scottish queen, to all appearance, honestly meant to abide by Elizabeth's decision—was met with fraud and the most artful duplicity. Elizabeth proposed, as a fitting husband, her own favourite, the Lord Robert Dudley, who, on the 29th of September, 1563, attained to his well-known title of Earl of Leicester. Mary, who could not have been ignorant of so notorious a fact as the attachment which Elizabeth had for this showy nobleman, must have seen that he was only named to lengthen and embarrass these delicate negotiations. Nor was the Earl of Leicester, who had little to recommend him beyond his handsome person, altogether a suitable match for that queen. She did not, however, testify any ill-humour, and adhered, at all events, to her former purpose of not marrying any one against the consent of the English queen. Sir James Melville, who was entrusted with this difficult matter, was an able diplomatist, a man of gallantry and great experience in courts. He very soon discovered the weak points of Elizabeth's character; and that strange compound of strength and weakness cannot be fairly described without a reference to his Memoirs, which have an air of perfect authenticity. Duke Casimir, son of the Elector Palatine, had entered the field as a husband for Elizabeth, who took singular delight in these still increasing courtships. The duke was a friend of Melville, to whom he had given his portrait, with a request that he would show it, when opportunity offered, to the virgin queen,—entertaining, it should seem, some confidence in his personal attractions. Melville, however, procured portraits of the other members of the Elector Palatine's family, hoping that Elizabeth might choose a husband among them. Melville's first interview with the English queen took place immediately after his return from his continental travels. In a conversation adroitly managed, after praising the elector, he mentioned that he had, out of remembrance and gratitude, procured portraits of him and of all his family, both sons and daughters. As soon as he mentioned these pictures, she inquired whether he had the picture of Duke Casimir? Melville replied that he had left all the portraits in London. She, being then at Hampton Court, said, with affected earnestness, that they must not part till she had seen it. So Melville, who had pretended to be in a great hurry to reach Scotland, went to London, and returned with the pictures, and delivered the whole family collection to her majesty, who desired to keep them all night. The only object for this fantastic dealing was evidently to pique and vex her favourite. Melville goes on to say—"And she called upon the Lord Robert Dudley to be judge of Duke

* Cecil makes his intentions much more terrible. On the 4th of December he writes, "The son of the Earl of Huntley has confessed that his father intended *to burn* the Queen of Scotland in her residence, and to put the crown on the head of the duke, who is entirely dependent on him."—*Lansd. MS., quoted by Raumer and others.*

Casimir's picture, and appointed me to meet her the next morning in her garden, where she caused to deliver them all unto me, giving me thanks for the sight of them. I then offered unto her majesty all the pictures, so she would permit me to retain the elector's and his lady's, but she would have none of them: and I had also sure information that, first and last, she despised the said Duke Casimir." When, a few weeks later, Melville returned from Scotland, on his embassy from Mary, Elizabeth received him very graciously in her garden at Westminster at eight in the morning; and in the very next interview she asked him if his queen had made up her mind as to a husband? He replied that his mistress was thinking little or nothing thereof, but attending the meeting of some commissioners upon the borders, to which she hoped her majesty would send my Lord of Bedford and my Lord Robert Dudley. Elizabeth was, or pretended to be, hurt at Melville's naming the Earl of Bedford before my Lord Robert, and told him that she would make the Lord Robert a far greater earl than Bedford, and that he should see it done before he returned home,—"for she esteemed him as her brother and best friend, whom she would have herself married had she ever minded to have a husband. But, being determined to end her life in virginity, she wished the queen, her sister, might marry him, as meetest of all other with whom she could find in her heart to declare her second person. For, being matched with him, it would remove out of her mind all fears and suspicions to be offended by any usurpation before her death, being assured that *he* was so loving and trusty that he would never suffer any such thing to be attempted during her time. And that the queen, my mistress, might have the higher esteem of him, I was required to stay till I should see him made Earl of Leicester and Baron of Denbigh; which was done at Westminster with great solemnity, the queen herself helping to put on his ceremonial (mantle), he sitting upon his knees before her with great gravity. But she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck, smilingly tickling him, the French ambassador and I standing by. Then she turned, asking at me how I liked him? I answered, that as he was a worthy servant, so he was happy, who had a princess who could discern and reward good service. 'Yet,' says she, 'you like better of yonder long lad,'—pointing towards my Lord Darnley, who, as nearest prince of the blood, did bear the sword of honour that day before her."

The man whom Elizabeth thus delighted to honour enjoyed a very bad reputation among the people, who, with a sad confidence, anticipated his marriage with the queen.* It was believed that, in the fulness of his hope that Elizabeth would marry him, he had murdered a young and beautiful wife, whose death was certainly attended with very mysterious circumstances. According to a striking account, which, whether wholly correct or not, conveys perfectly the popular opinion of the time,—"as his own wife stood in his light, as he supposed, he did but send her to the house of his servant Foster, of Cumnor, by Oxford, where shortly after she had the chance to fall from a pair of stairs, and so to break her neck; but yet without hurting of her hood that stood upon her head. But Sir Richard Varney, who, by commandment, remained with her that day alone with one man, and had sent away per force all her servants from her to a market two miles off—he, I say, with his man, can tell you how she died."* The stars had been consulted by order of the great Cecil, who either was not too wise a man to give credit to astrology, or meant that his mistress should be the dupe of a very prevailing superstition; and the stars had told that the queen should be married in the thirty-first year of her age to a foreigner, and bear one son, who would be a very great prince, and one daughter, who would be a very great princess. But the queen, who, we are convinced, never thought of marrying at all, continued her strange coquetry with Leicester, and Cecil's stars were fairly put out by more popular prophecies, which Leicester purposely encouraged, about the bear and ragged staff. The queen's ill-placed partiality to this bold bad man had excited alarm in various quarters; and nearly three years before she advanced him to the rank of Earl of Leicester, and gave him Kenilworth Castle, the report of his having murdered his wife had been made known to her majesty.†

* We have mentioned the queen's care to prevent allusions to the bear and ragged staff, the arms of the Dudley family. A contemporary says, with more force than elegance,—"You know the bear's love is all for his own paunch, and this bear whelp turneth all to his own commodity, and for greediness thereof will overturn all if he be not stopped or muzzled in time."—*Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.* These memoirs were written during the favourite's life, and at the moment when people most feared the queen would marry him. They remained in MS. till 1706, when they were published by Dr. Drake.

* *Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.* The author of this very curious piece adds:—"This man, being afterwards taken for a felony in the marches of Wales, and touching the matter of the said murder, was made away privily in the prison: and Sir Richard Varney himself (the exquisite villain of Scott's touching story) died about the same time in London, cried piteously, and blasphemed God, and said to a gentleman of worship, of my acquaintance, not long before his death, that all the devils in hell did tear him to pieces. The wife also of Baldwin Butler, kinsman to my lord, gave out the whole fact a little before her death."

† It was Sir Nicholas Throgmorton that had the boldness to make these revelations against the powerful and malicious favourite. He wrote from Paris, where he was residing as ambassador, to tell Cecil that there were such reports in France touching the marriage of the queen with the Lord Robert, and the murder of his wife, that he knew not where to turn nor what countenance to bear. He tells the minister that he will write unto her majesty his poor advices, in such sort as becometh a true and faithful servant, and he conjures Cecil, *in visceribus Jesu Christi*, to do all he can to hinder this marriage; for, he adds, "if it take place, we shall be *opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis*: God and religion, which be the fundaments, shall be out of estimation; the queen our sovereign discredited, contemned, and neglected; our country ruined, undone, and made prey." Such was the opinion entertained by one of Elizabeth's wisest statesmen, of the husband she pretended to force upon the Queen of Scots. About a month after this letter was written, Mr. Jones, a person attached to the embassy in France, had a private interview at Greenwich with the queen, whom he told, in Throgmorton's name, that her favourite Robert Dudley was openly accused of being the murderer of his late wife. "When," says Jones, writing to Throgmorton, "I came to touch near the quick, I have heard of this before, quoth she, and he need not have sent you withal. I said that the care you had was so great as you could not but advertise her majesty of such things as might touch her, and that you took this to be no matter to be opened but to herself. . . . . She thereupon told me that the matter had been tried in country (*here her majesty lied, unless she meant some coroner's inques*'), and found to be contrary to that which was reported, saying, that *he* (the favourite) was then in the court, and none of his at the attempt at his wife's house; and that it fell out as should neither touch his honesty nor her

Nay, even Cecil, who for a long time stood in dread that Elizabeth would give her hand to Leicester, and who subsequently contrived to renew the matrimonial treaty with the Archduke Charles of Austria, in order to prevent this fatal measure, made a memorandum, which was probably shown to her majesty, of the earl's being "infamed by death of his wife," and being "far in debt," besides other demerits.* And yet Elizabeth did not change her conduct, and Leicester still felt such high hopes as to quarrel with all who favoured the Austrian match.

To return to Mary's ambassador, whose head, clear as it was, seems to have been made giddy by matches and counter-matches, and female jealousies and intrigues, Melville proceeds to state, that Elizabeth expressed a great desire to see Queen Mary; and, as this could not hastily be brought to pass, she appeared with great delight to look upon her majesty's picture. "She took me," he continues, "to her own bedchamber, and opened a little cabinet, wherein were divers little pictures wrapped within paper, and their names written with her own hand upon the papers. Upon the first that she took up was written 'My lord's picture.' I held the candle and pressed to see that picture so named; she appeared loth to let me see it, yet my importunity prevailed for a sight thereof, and I found it to be the Earl of Leicester's picture. I desired that I might have it to carry home to my queen, which she refused, alleging that she had but that one picture of his. I said, your majesty hath here the original—for I perceived him at the farthest part of the chamber speaking with Secretary Cecil. Then she took out the queen's picture and kissed it, and I adventured to kiss her hand, for the great love evinced therein to my mistress. She showed me also a fair ruby, as great as a tennis-ball; I desired that she would send either it or my Lord of Leicester's picture, as a token to my queen. She said that, if the queen would follow her counsel, she would, in process of time, get all that she had; that, in the mean time, she was resolved, in a token, to send her with me a fair diamond. It was at this time, late after supper, she appointed me to be with her the next morning by eight of the clock, at which time she used to walk in her garden." As a traveller, Melville was fertile in subjects of conversation, and his mistress had instructed him "to leave matters of gravity sometimes, and cast in merry purposes, lest otherwise she should be wearied; she being well informed of that queen's natural temper." "Therefore," continues this pleasant gossip, "in declaring my observations of the customs of Dutchland, Poland, and Italy, the buskins of the women was not forgot, and what country weed I thought best becoming gentlewomen. The queen said she had clothes of every sort, which every day thereafter, so long as I was there, she changed. One day she had the English weed, another the French, and another the Italian, and so forth. She asked me which of them became her best? I answered, in my judgment, the Italian dress; which answer I found pleased her well, for she delighted to show her golden-coloured hair, wearing a caul and bonnet as they do in Italy. Her hair was rather reddish than yellow, curled, in appearance, naturally. She desired to know of me what colour of hair was reputed best, and which of them two was fairest? I answered, the fairness of them both was not their worst faults. But she was earnest with me to declare which of them I judged fairest? I said, she was the fairest queen in England, and mine in Scotland. Yet she appeared earnest. I answered, they were both the fairest ladies in their countries; that her majesty was whiter, but my queen was very lovely. She inquired which of them was of highest stature? I said my queen. Then, saith she, she is too high, for I myself am neither too high nor too low. Then she asked what exercises she used? I answered, that when I received my dispatch the queen was lately come from the Highland hunting; that, when her more serious affairs permitted, she was taken up with reading of histories; that sometimes she recreated herself in playing upon the lute and virginals. She asked if she played well? I said, reasonably, for a queen. That same day, after dinner, my Lord of Hunsdon drew me up to a quiet gallery that I might hear some music, but he said he durst not avow it, where I might hear the queen play upon the virginals. After I had hearkened awhile, I took by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber, and, seeing her back was toward the door, I ventured within the chamber, and stood a pretty space, hearing her play excellently well; but she left off immediately, so soon as she turned about and saw me; she appeared to be surprised to see me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand, alleging that she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary, to shun melancholy. She asked me how I came there? I answered, as I was walking with my Lord of Hunsdon, as we passed by the chamber-door, I heard such melody as ravished me, whereby I was drawn in ere I knew how, excusing my fault of homeliness as being brought up in the court of France, where

honour." It should appear that even at this time (in the month of November, 1560) Dudley was accused of other crimes, for which, at a later period, he certainly obtained credit very generally. "When," continues Jones, "I rehearsed the terms of *veneficii et maleficii reus*, she caused me to repeat the same twice or thrice." During part of this remarkable conversation, Elizabeth "turned herself to the one side and to the other, and set her hand upon her face." Jones had bargained beforehand, and she promised him, *fidem, taciturnitatem, et favorem*, but she could not conceal her anger against Throgmorton. —*Hardwiche State Papers.*

In the shifting intrigues of the times, Throgmorton and Leicester became allies against Cecil; but when the diplomatist died at the earl's house some ten years after his sending Mr. Jones to Greenwich, Leicester was popularly accused of being his murderer. According to Fuller, Throgmorton died, "not without suspicion of poison, the more that his death took place in the house of no mean artist in that faculty."

* Burghley State Papers. In this curious minute Cecil says that, if Elizabeth marries Leicester, "it will be thought that the scandalous speeches of the queen with the earl have been true." He also says that Leicester was "like to prove unkind or jealous of the queen's majesty." Catherine de' Medici gave an unpardonable offence by asking publicly whether it were true that the Queen of England meant to marry her horse-keeper? Leicester was then master of the horse.

such freedom was allowed; declaring myself willing to endure what kind of punishment her majesty should be pleased to inflict upon me for so great an offence. Then she sat down low upon a cushion, and I upon my knees by her, but with her own hand she gave me a cushion to lay under my knee, which at first I refused, but she compelled me to take it. She then called for my Lady Strafford out of the next chamber—for the queen was alone. She inquired whether my queen or she played best? In that I found myself obliged to give her the praise. She said my French was very good, and asked if I could speak Italian, which she spoke reasonably well. I told her majesty I had no time to learn the language, not having been above two months in Italy. Then she spake to me in Dutch (*German*), which was not good; and would know what kind of books I most delighted in—whether theology, history, or love-matters? I said I liked well of all the sorts. Here I took occasion to press earnestly my dispatch: she said I was sooner weary of her company than she was of mine. I told her majesty that, though I had no reason of being weary, I knew my mistress's affairs called me home. Yet I was stayed two days longer, that I might see her dance, as I was afterward informed; which, being over, she inquired of me whether she or my queen danced best? I answered, the queen danced not so high or disposedly as she did. Then, again, she wished that she might see the queen at some convenient place of meeting. I offered to convey her secretly to Scotland by post, clothed like a page, that, under this disguise, she might see the queen, as James V. had gone in disguise with his own ambassador to see the Duke of Vendome's sister, who should have been his wife; telling her that her chamber might be kept in her absence, as though she were sick; that none need be privy thereto except Lady Strafford, and one of the grooms of her chamber. She appeared to like that kind of language, only answered it with a sigh, saying, Alas, if I might do it thus!"

The Earl of Leicester conveyed Melville in his barge from Hampton Court to London. On their way he asked the wary Scot what his mistress thought of him for a husband. "Whereunto," says Melville, "I answered very coldly, as I had been by my queen commanded: and then he began to purge himself of so proud a pretence as to marry so great a queen, declaring that he did not esteem himself worthy to wipe her shoes, and that the invention of that proposition of marriage proceeded from Mr. Cecil, his secret enemy: for if I, said he, should have appeared desirous of that marriage, I should have offended both the queens, and lost their favour." It is difficult to receive, as a sincere declaration, anything that fell from the lips of that dexterous courtier,* the Earl of Leicester—most difficult, where all were playing parts, and all consummate actors, to ascertain the real project in hand. It appears, however, almost certain, that the presumptuous favourite had not yet given up all hopes of marrying Elizabeth; and he was certainly the man to prefer her, with the rich and great kingdom of England, to her more youthful and far more beautiful rival, with so poor and turbulent a kingdom as Scotland. It has been suggested by an elegant writer,* who has shown great tact in tracing some of the windings and intricacies of Elizabeth's character, that she encouraged this matrimonial project purely as a romantic trial of Leicester's attachment to herself, and pleased her fancy with the idea of his rejecting for her a younger and a fairer queen; and this notion not only accords with the virgin queen's taste and manners, but also with the project she evidently entertained of perplexing Mary, and delaying her marriage with any one else. She could not make Mary a virgin queen like herself, but she would have kept her a widow.

Melville returned to Scotland, and found himself bound to assure his mistress that she could never expect any real friendship from Elizabeth, whose professions were full of falsehood and dissimulation. Mary's subjects, being very anxious for an heir to the throne, grew weary of these long delays, and a strong party pointed out another match which had many things to recommend it. We have seen Elizabeth expressing her suspicion of a preference over Leicester of "yonder long lad." This youth, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, was first cousin to Mary, and second cousin to Elizabeth, being the eldest son of the Earl of Lennox, by the Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the Queen-dowager Margaret, sister of King Henry VIII., by the Earl of Angus, the second husband of that unruly and dissolute woman. In other words, he was the son of Mary's aunt (by the half-blood), the Lady Margaret Douglas, and the grandson of Elizabeth's aunt, Margaret Tudor. The Earl of Lennox, it will be remembered, besides stealing the French money, and attempting to betray Dumbarton Castle, adhered steadily to the English interests, for which he suffered banishment and the forfeiture of all his estates in Scotland. He retired to England, which had been his home ever since—a comfortable home, for Henry VIII., in recompense, not only gave him the hand of his niece, the Lady Margaret Douglas, but also some good estates in Yorkshire. Henry Lord Darnley had been born and brought up in England, and even his mother, the Lady Margaret, Countess of Lennox, was a native English woman, having been born just after the expulsion, in 1515, of her parents from Scotland. With this lady it should appear that the Queen of Scots had for some time maintained an amicable correspondence; for, when she dispatched Melville to the English court, she instructed him to deal with my Lady Margaret and with sundry friends she had in England of different opinions.† To the crown of Scotland the Lennox family could lay no prospective claim; but

* Rusé courtesan.—Mezeray.

* Aikin.

† Melville.

if, according to a notion not altogether abandoned in that age, a male were to be held as in all circumstances coming before a female representative, Henry Lord Darnley, the son of this Margaret Countess of Lennox, might, in case of failure of the issue of Henry VIII., have advanced a claim to the English throne, which was capable of being placed in competition with the claim of Queen Mary herself; and hence the desire of strengthening the pretensions of the Queen of Scots, by uniting the two claims. But this union excited painful feelings in the breast of Elizabeth, who liked not to think of any one succeeding her, but who seems to have entertained a horror of the notion of the succession falling to Mary, whom she evidently hated more as a woman than as a sovereign. And yet even here she adopted no clear course, but, on the contrary, as if she foresaw the fatal results, she played into the hands of the Lennox family, and permitted things which she might have prevented, and which led directly to the union. When the Earl of Lennox applied for leave to go to Scotland, to solicit the reversal of his attainder, and to press his wife's claim as heir female to the earldom of Angus, she gave her royal licence, and apparently with pleasure. After twenty years of exile, Lennox arrived in Scotland, where Queen Mary received him very courteously, and procured from the Scottish Parliament the reversal of the attainder with restitution of his estates. His lady's claim on the earldom of Angus was given up—for it was held to be a male fief, and, what was worse, it was in the tenacious grasp of the powerful Earl of Morton, the chancellor, who managed it in the name of his nephew Archibald Douglas;* but the queen's liberality softened the pang of this disappointment. The attainder was scarcely reversed, when the exiled lord began to adopt measures for placing his son Henry by Mary's side on the throne. At the end of the year (1564) Cecil wrote to his confidant Sir Thomas Smith:—"The Earl of Lennox's friends wish that the Lord of Darnley might marry with the Scottish queen; and I see some device to bring the queen's majesty, not only to allow thereof, but also to move it to the queen her sister. But I see no disposition thereto in her majesty, but she rather continueth her desire to have my Lord of Leicester preferred that way, for which purpose there was this last month a meeting at Berwick with my Lord of Murray and the Lord of Lethington, but yet covered with some other matters. And now of late it is from thence renewed, to know with what conditions the queen's majesty will prefer him, wherein at this present no full answer is yet given: but, to say the truth of my knowledge in these *fickle* matters, I can affirm nothing that I can assure to continue. I see the queen's majesty very desirous to have my Lord of Leicester placed in this high degree to be the Scottish queen's husband, *but when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded I see her then remiss of her earnestness.*"* Cecil was kept for years in dread of Leicester, and even at this moment he evidently suspected that Elizabeth would not give that rash, and proud, and immoral favourite to Mary, because she wished to keep him for herself. In the same letter, however, he says, "This also I see in the queen's majesty, a sufficient contentation to be moved to marry abroad; and, if it so may please Almighty God to lead by the hand some meet person to come and lay hand on her to her contentation, I could then wish myself more health to endure my years somewhat longer, to enjoy such a world here as I trust will follow: otherwise I assure you, as now things hang in desperation, I have no comfort to live."† In fact, between his well-grounded dislike to Leicester, and his dread of a disputed succession—between female vanities and passions which there was no understanding, and love intrigues which even *he*, astute as he was, could only understand imperfectly,—this great statesman long led a very unhappy life.‡ A few days before this letter was written, Elizabeth had fallen "perilously sick," and made them all "sore afraid;"§ and as these attacks were rather frequent, at one time there were good grounds for fear, seeing that in the unsettled state of the succession a civil war would have been an almost certain consequence of her death.

These marriage schemes are perplexing things: but, to return to Queen Mary, a few weeks after Cecil's writing that Elizabeth was averse to the match, and had again put forward Leicester, she permitted Henry Lord Darnley, "the tall lad," to go to Scotland. Darnley was an English subject, and it would have been no extraordinary stretch of prerogative in those days to have prevented his journey, if Elizabeth had been so minded. Darnley set sail for Scotland in the beginning of the year 1565, and on the 16th of February he waited upon Queen Mary at Wemyss Castle, in Fife, where he was most courteously received. Though so very tall, he was well proportioned, and altogether a handsome young man. He was in his twentieth year; the queen four years older. He possessed all the courtly accomplishments of the times,—was gallant, showy, and liberal of his money, with which he was well supplied from England. He thus readily won the good will of Mary's courtiers and attendants, and made a favourable impression on her own heart; so that personal regards united with political ones to recommend this fatal mar-

* But Morton and Archibald Douglas, who were both engaged in the murder of Darnley, never forgave the Lennoxes this attempt.

* Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times: also in Ellis's Original Letters.

† Ellis, Orig. Lett.

‡ For other proofs see his own letters in the Hardwicke and Burghley State Papers. For years we find him constantly praying heaven to send his mistress a suitable husband!

§ Letter from Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, in Sir H. Ellis's valuable collection. This last letter is dated the 15th of December. Cecil says that the accident came to that which they call diarrhœa, but that worse had been feared. He adds, "She is somewhat weakened, but in health, and will attend to her affairs after Saturday, which is to-morrow. Assure you she is clearly whole, but for the time she made us sore afraid. Thanked be God for both; for of both we take good; warned by her sickness, and comforted by her recovery."

riage. But, according to a contemporary account, it was afterwards ascertained that there was magic used to charm the queen! "Above all, the Countess of Lennox, Darnley's mother and maternal aunt to her majesty, besieged her with letters and secret messages, and enchanted her with a pair of bracelets which she sent to her; and the threats of the Bastard, the queen's half-brother, the practices of this lady, the entreaties of several others, and the force of this charm (let no one find this strange, seeing that the island of Albion has in all times been made infamous by sorcerers), were the cause of her condescending to their will and marrying as she did."* It appears, however, that notwithstanding this charm, and the more real charm of Darnley's person and manners, the queen, at first, gave his suit a modest repulse, and avoided committing herself until she had consulted with her half-brother and others. Darnley was not discouraged, nor did he disdain to seek, by flatteries and other means, the countenance of David Rizzio, the queen's favourite and private secretary. The Earl of Murray did not oppose the match at this time, and it was recommended by Maitland. Indeed, according to one account given by the party most friendly to Mary,† her half-brother had planned the match, and pressed her into it, hoping to retain his great power in the government if she married a young, inexperienced, and thoughtless youth. The estates of the kingdom were assembled at Stirling, in the month of May, and the business being formally proposed to them, they also recommended the marriage—the Lord Ochiltree alone refusing his consent, and professing openly that he could never agree to a king who was a Roman Catholic—for the Earl of Lennox, notwithstanding some temptations to change, had adhered to the old religion, and had brought up his son in the same faith.‡

When intelligence of these proceedings reached the English court Elizabeth was wonderfully incensed, and her privy council drew up a list of imaginary dangers attending such a union. Maitland, who was dispatched by Queen Mary to London to explain matters, met with a bad reception; and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was sent down to Edinburgh to declare her English majesty's discontent at the projected match, which he was to find means, if possible, to break off. This skilful negotiator returned well rewarded, but he had been unable to dissuade Mary from the marriage, which, as he told Cecil and his mistress, was "misliked of all the substance of the realm." An important part of his mission was to intrigue with the Earl of Murray and the other discontented Protestant lords, and to promise them Elizabeth's assistance against their queen. Her majesty of England thought it expedient to deny that she had given him this charge: "but," says Melville, "Sir Nicholas stood neither in awe of queen or council to declare the verity that he had made such promises to them in her name." There was a thought of punishing him for this; but he had wisely and circumspectly obtained an act of council for his warrant, which he offered to produce. "I think," says Cecil, writing to Sir Thomas Smith on Throgmorton's return, "that my Lady Lennox shall be committed to some further custody; and my lords, her husband and son, shall forfeit that they may [have] here with us; and because it is likely their foundation in England is upon Papists, the Protestants here shall receive more comfort, and the Papists more disgrace."* A few days after this was written the Countess of Lennox and her younger son were committed to a rigorous confinement in the Tower, and all the property possessed by that family in England was seized by Elizabeth. Mary, it appears, had assured Sir Nicholas Throgmorton that the match had proceeded too far to be set aside with honour; and she took considerable pains to prove that Henry Darnley possessed those recommendations which Elizabeth had demanded as essentials in the husband she should choose. He was, for example, an Englishman; and Elizabeth had set it down as a primary point that she should marry an Englishman. She even offered to delay the nuptials, if, by so doing, she might hope to obtain the approbation of her dear sister and cousin. But farther she would not go; nor could more in reason be expected from a high-spirited woman and an independent sovereign. This correspondence by letters and ambassadors occupied some time; and the fatal marriage of Mary and Darnley was far from being so precipitate an affair as it is generally represented. To prevent it Elizabeth had now recourse to her old intrigues with her old friends the Lords of the Congregation; and these lords, who had been prepared by Throgmorton, turned a willing ear to her suggestions, beginning to rumour abroad that there would be no safety for the Protestant religion if the Catholic queen were allowed to have a Catholic husband. It suited this party not to heed the facts that Mary was no bigot, and that Darnley was little more than a Papist in appearance.† The first to fall from the young queen's side was her own half-brother, the Earl of Murray, who of a sudden

* *L'Innocence de la tres Illustre, tres chaste et debonnaire Princesse Madame Marie, Reine d'Escosse, etc.* This curious defence of Mary's conduct was published at Paris, in 1572, while she was lingering in captivity in England. For the most part it is a piece of special pleading, but there is in it evidence of a minute acquaintance with the events and characters of the times.

† Id.

‡ Whitaker, however, contends that both Darnley and his father at this time, and for the rest of their lives, at least *professed* Protestantism.—Mary Queen of Scots Vindicated, 2nd Edit. 1790; vol. iii. pp. 135, 136. It should ratehr appear from some expressions in the letters of Randolph, that Darnley was only a *suspected* papist at the most. Probably the true state of the case is to be best collected from one of these letters, in which Randolph says that, "my Lord Darnley would seem to be indifferent; sometimes he goeth with the queen to the mass, and these two last days hath been at the sermons."

* Letter in Ellis and Wright. Darnley had boasted, like a fool, that if there were war with England he and Mary should have more friends there than Elizabeth!

† Although Darnley, as mentioned in the last note, after his marriage, occasionally attended the Presbyterian kirk, in the view, no doubt, of conciliating that formidable body, they were only to be softened by a formal conversion; and John Knox did not hesitate to tell him, from the pulpit, that God, when in anger at the sins of a people, was wont to commit the rule over them to boys and women.

became jealous of young Darnley, imagining that, young and thoughtless as he was, he had betrayed an inclination to abridge both his political power and his vast estates as soon as he should be able. There were plenty to drive on Darnley in this direction. One showed a map of Scotland and the possessions of Murray marked upon it. Darnley said it was too much. His words were repeated to make mischief; but Mary, to make peace, "willed Darnley to excuse himself to Murray."* The earl had quarrelled with John Knox, who had accused him of conniving at the queen's masses and idolatries; but now a sudden reconciliation took place between the crafty politician and the zealous preacher, Murray engaging to extirpate the false worship for ever. The Duke of Chatelherault, who was as prone to change and intrigue as ever, soon joined Murray; and Glencairn, the Earl of Argyle, and others, speedily followed his example, forming a confederacy to oppose the marriage upon the grounds of the dangers it would bring to religion, and the inconveniencies it would draw upon the state. Meanwhile the preachers were not idle; and the devout citizens of Edinburgh, inflamed by their discourses, made a great tumult, and grossly insulted all such as they knew or suspected to be well affected to the marriage. Upon Mary's return from Stirling to her capital, the Assembly of the Kirk, countenanced by the Earl of Murray, demanded by a formal act that the queen should conform to the Protestant faith, and abolish the Roman worship throughout the realm, not only amongst her subjects, but in her own person and family. This proposal was followed by some more reasonable clauses respecting a better provision for the miserably poor Presbyterian clergy; and the document ended by entreating or commanding the young queen to suppress immediately in her realm all vice and immorality. To these demands the queen returned a gentle answer in writing. As to the mass, she said that she was not yet convinced that it was idolatrous: she desired all her loving subjects who had experienced her goodness, not to urge her to act against her conscience, as she had neither in times past obliged, nor intended for the future to oblige, any man to a forced compliance, but had granted to all liberty to serve God after their own persuasion; and she further assured them that none should suffer any injury in their persons or property for the sake of religion. She promised to do her best to relieve the wants of the established clergy. But she had not sufficient confidence in her own royal power to engage that there should be no more vice and immorality in Scotland, and she left that particular clause unanswered. No part of her reply gave any satisfaction to the preachers, who did not want promises of toleration, —they had long been too powerful for that,—but the immediate recantation of Mary, and the perpetual suppression of all masses and Roman usages. Nor were her promises of a better provision of much consequence, for they knew that the church property was in the hands of the nobles, from whom they ought to have demanded help rather than from the queen; but, by a curious anomaly, many of these lords, the gripers of the ecclesiastical wealth, were the sworn allies of the hungry preachers, being much more willing to proceed to extremities about a mass than to resign an acre of land to the professors of the new religion.

A series of dark plots and conspiracies were meanwhile set on foot by both parties, for Mary had still a powerful party that recommended the marriage. Darnley, who showed his true character betimes, *is said* to have made arrangements for assassinating the Earl of Murray; and Murray (this fact is positive), in conjunction with the Earl of Argyle and other lords, laid an ambush* for the purpose of making Darnley, his father, and the queen prisoners, with the intention of delivering up the two former to Elizabeth, and placing Mary in some sure prison in Scotland. Both plots failed; and on the 28th of July, Darnley having previously been created Earl of Ross and Duke of Rothsay, was proclaimed king at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and the next day he was married to the queen, according to the Catholic ritual, in the royal chapel at Holyrood House.† The Earl of Murray, the Duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes, who had already garrisoned their castles and purchased (*with English money*) much ammunition, flew to arms; but, before they could assemble their forces, the queen in person met them at the head of a royal army. Mary, who took the field before the honeymoon was past, was clad in light armour, and carried pistols at her saddle-bows. Her quickness and decision disconcerted the "godly lords," who, without facing her, began a retreat, marching rapidly from place to place, and fighting nowhere; so that this strange campaign got the name of the "Round-about-Raid."‡ In the end, notwithstanding their turning and doubling, they were fain to disband

* Letter from Randolph, quoted by Raumer.

* The queen was on a journey in Perthshire. Murray placed himself in his mother's house of Lochleven, which soon became Mary's prison: Argyle in Castle Campbell, ten miles higher up the country, Lord Rothes, with his followers, took post at the Parrot Well; and others of the conspirators, with armed bands, concealed themselves near the Queen's Ferry. The young queen, who was warned by some friend, saved herself by her decision and activity: she mounted her horse at five o'clock in the morning, attended by three ladies and three hundred horsemen, galloped past Lochleven long before the hour at which her loving brother Murray expected her, and got safely across at Queen's Ferry. Chalmers has proved, by official documents and State Papers, that Elizabeth was privy and gave encouragement to this dishonourable plot. This was called, in England, "supporting the Lords of the Religion." In concert with it was a great meeting of the preachers at Edinburgh, but the queen's unexpected appearance in her capital wholly disconcerted for the moment these practised insurrectionists.—*Chalmers, Life of Mary Queen of Scots.*

† Randolph says, "they were married with all the solemnities of the popish time, saving that he (Darnley) heard not the mass." Banns of marriage had been proclaimed previously at the proper parish church (that of the Canongate). There were two proclamations regarding Darnley's royal dignity: by the first, set forth the day *before* the marriage, it was ordered that he should be styled *king*, and treated as such: by the second, which was issued the day *after* the marriage, it was directed that the queen's husband should be styled *king*, and that all public documents should run in *his* name and hers, as king and queen of Scotland. As Darnley was proclaimed no man said so much as Amen, saving his father, that said aloud, "God save his grace!"—Letter from Randolph to Leicester.

‡ This curious campaign is happily described in a few words in old French—*Tout ainsi armez qu' ilz estoient, ilz alloient par le pais Escossois* CONNILLANS (skipping like rabbits, from *connil*, a coney) *de place en place, jusqu' à tant qu'ils arriverent en Angleterre.*—L'Innocence, &c.

their forces and flee into England. As they had taken up arms at the instigation of Elizabeth, they made sure of her aid and protection; and Murray and Hamilton, the noble Abbot of Kilwinning, posted up to London to explain. But the English queen had seldom a very lively sympathy for the weak and unfortunate; and by this time, what with her succouring the Huguenots in France, and, over and over again, the insurgents in Scotland, she had obtained among crowned heads a character which she was anxious to be rid of. The French and Spanish ambassadors, and the envoys of other powers, had loudly complained that she was setting a fatal example, by countenancing rebellions and insurrections, and betraying the cause of sovereigns in general. Among living monarchs there was not one that entertained higher notions of the regal dignity, or who was less tolerant of popular discontents at home. She was stung to the quick by these remonstrances, and being, besides, fearful of provoking a coalition against her, she absolutely refused to receive the two envoys unless they agreed to declare publicly that she had in nowise incited them to the late insurrection, and that there neither was nor had been any correspondence or understanding between her and them. The Earl of Murray and the Abbot of Kilwinning, who probably knew perfectly well that this was only to throw dust in the eyes of foreign courts, agreed to say whatever she chose. Then the adroit Elizabeth admitted them to an audience, at which she took care that the French and Spanish ambassadors should be present. And when the two Scots had finished their solemn declaration exculpating *her*, she turned short upon them, saying, "You have now spoken the truth; for neither I, nor any in my name, hath instigated your revolt from your sovereign. Begone, like traitors as ye are."* The noble and quasi-royal Murray and the high-born Kilwinning went; but it was only to the southern side of the Scottish borders, where Elizabeth not only suffered them to skulk and to correspond with the factious in Scotland, but also supplied them with money. The force of English money in Scotland was the greater, as, owing to the disturbed state of affairs in France, the payment of the annual allowance which Mary received as a queen-dowager had been interrupted, and she was, according to Randall or Randolph (who had now cast off his alias of Barnyby, and who was still residing as a spy and a fomenter of discord at Edinburgh), "very poor at present, and with no credit at all."† Mary, however, was strong in the affections of a portion of her people, and she proceeded with spirit against the fugitive lords: they were summoned to appear, and, failing to do so, were declared rebels. One Tamworth, a dependent of the Earl of Leicester, was sent down to Scotland with a special mission: Mary, who must have known the encouragement which the English court had given to her half-brother and the rest, "refused utterly that Queen Elizabeth should meddle to compound the controversies between her subjects and her." Tamworth's opinions and assertions are not entitled to much respect, for his only anxiety was to please Elizabeth and Leicester, who were both, upon different grounds, incensed against Mary and her husband. Indeed, the towering English favourite seems to have considered it an inexpiable crime that the Queen of Scots should have dared to take another husband when there was such a man as himself in the world; and, in the fluctuations of the English court, he seems at last, for a moment, to have been convinced that Elizabeth would never take him for *her* husband. "As far as I can perceive," writes Tamworth to Leicester, "she (Mary) as mortally hates her majesty as she doth them (the fugitive lords). The new king's soldiers and the townsmen of Edinburgh have been together by the ears, and some of the townsmen slain. The king was putting on his armour to have parted the fray, but did not, or, if he did, came not abroad." In order not to recognise Darnley as king, Tamworth did not apply for a pass, for the want of which he was very properly arrested by Mary's authorities on his return homeward. Randolph, who staid, ventured to tell Mary that she could be sure of Queen Elizabeth if she would. The queen replied that she had not begun this quarrel, adding,—"it was *her* fault, for I demanded those things in Lord Leicester that were fit, and she refused. This man that I have taken hath a *right*—a *right*—he (Leicester) had none. For your part, Mr. Randall, you hold intelligence with my rebels, especially Murray, against whom I will be revenged, should I lose my crown." For this rage against her half-brother—and we have only partial evidence to prove that it was so vehement, and we know by positive facts that it was not lasting—there should seem to be sufficient ground in the Earl of Murray's conduct. Almost the first use that Mary made of her royal authority was to aggrandise and enrich the Bastard; she had placed in his hands nearly the whole power of the government,—she had consulted his wishes in all matters, and yet he had taken up arms against her, had allied himself with her enemies, and had aimed at depriving her both of her crown and her liberty. The subject, real or pretended, of the quarrel was one nearest to a woman's heart; and if, as there are grounds for believing, Murray had at first proposed, or strongly recommended, the match with Darnley, his conduct in making that marriage the pretext of his rebellion was surely to the fullest degree embittering and exasperating. And yet in spite of these grounds of wrath—the greater part of which were as clear as the sun at noon-day,—the English agent alludes in mysterious terms to some

* Cecil has given an account in his own way of this remarkable audience. According to him, Murray testified before God that he only meant, in all his doings, the honour of the Almighty and the preservation of the Protestant religion: and Elizabeth "spoke very roundly to him before the ambassadors," saying "that whatsoever the world said or reported of her, she would by her actions let it appear that she would not, for the price of a world, maintain any subject in any disobedience against the prince. For, besides the offence of her conscience, which should condemn her, she knew that Almighty God might justly recompense her with the like trouble in her own realm; and so brake off with her speech any further with him."

† Harleian MS., as quoted by Raumer.

secret and disgusting causes for Mary's enmity. And here we may remark that Randolph, who was a scandal-monger of the first order, must have known that there was a taste for such dark rumours in the English court, and that Elizabeth encouraged indecent scandals and reports,—things which were afterwards turned against herself.* "I conjecture," writes Randolph, "that there is some heavier matter at her heart against him (the Earl of Murray) than she will utter to any. I told Mr. Tamworth my opinion of that I think to be her grief. He will give an account by word of mouth." And in another letter he says, "The hatred conceived against Murray is neither for his religion nor yet for that that she now speaketh, that he would tear the crown from her, as she said lately to myself that it was his intent, but that she knoweth that he understandeth some such secret part (not to be named for reverence sake) that standeth not with her honour, which he so much detested, being her brother, that neither can he show himself as he has done, or she think of him but as one whom she mortally hateth. Here is the mischief,—this is the grief; and how this may be salved and repaired it passeth, I trow, men's wit to consider."†

Mary convoked a parliament for the purpose of attainting Murray and his associates, and procuring the consequent forfeiture of their estates; but it was presently seen both that her vengeance was not implacable, and that most of the fugitive lords were quite ready to purchase pardon by abject submission. These lords, indeed, who had co-operated but not coalesced, had soon disagreed in their misfortunes. Their leaders, the Earl of Murray and the Duke of Chatelherault, had rebelled upon very different principles,—Murray, with an eye to the keeping or increasing his authority, and Chatelherault with an eye to the succession, for he was still generally acknowledged as the next heir to the throne after Mary. The duke, that man of many changes, was made of more pliable materials than the earl, and was the first to negotiate with the queen, who before the assembling of parliament had promised him and his party a separate pardon. Murray's friends then applied in his behalf, and some of Mary's partisans in England recommended to her as a wise step, and as one likely to please all Protestants in both kingdoms, an immediate amnesty in favour of him and his party, who were men celebrated throughout the island for their zeal for the reformed doctrines. The queen was ready to sign a free pardon, when her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, who was in many respects her evil genius, and to whose wisdom and experience she always paid great deference, advised her against the measure, and she allowed the proceedings to go on in the parliament. There was another matter, however, which she had more at heart, and that was to procure some degree of toleration for the Catholics, and for herself the exercise of her religion without insults and tumults. During the preceding festival of Easter a Catholic priest had been seized by the people in the act of saying mass, and with his sacerdotal habit and a chalice of the sacramental wine tied to his hand, he had been bound to the market-cross of Edinburgh, and there pelted with filth and mud, which the Knoxites called serving him with his Easter eggs. The greatest zealot against popery of the present day will surely excuse Mary for attempting to put an end to outrages such as this;* but whether it were that the intolerance of her people provoked a reaction or (which was more likely) that she was drawn in by her uncle the cardinal, Mary took another step of a more questionable nature, and joined the great Catholic alliance, which was headed by France and Spain, and had been carried to an iniquitous height of cruelty and treachery by a meeting of Roman bigots at Bayonne, in 1564. It may, however, be said, in palliation, that Mary was doubtless ignorant of the extent of this foul confederacy against religious liberty as well as of the atrocious means intended, and that the power and ill-humour of Elizabeth absolutely drove her into the arms of the ancient allies of Scotland,

* It would not be difficult to fill a large volume with the attacks made on the virtue of the virgin queen and the chastity of her court by contemporary writers. These things were chiefly, but not entirely, composed by English papists who had been driven into exile into France and Spain, and who represented Elizabeth as a monster of impudicity! and the Catholics generally gave as much credit to their accounts as the Protestants gave to the scandals reported by Buchanan and others touching Queen Mary's virtue. For proofs of Randolph's turn for scandal and obscenity, see particularly his letters to Leicester.

† Dwelling upon these dark passages, which were written by an avowed enemy, a man whose business was craft and falsehood, and which after all admit of *sundry* interpretations, and of *no* proof, a foreign writer more commendable for research among old documents than for a deep acquaintance, either with English history or human nature, proceeds broadly to state that Mary Queen of Scots had, at one time, entertained an incestuous passion for her half-brother the Earl of Murray. We scarcely remember so foul an accusation laid upon such frivolous grounds, or rather upon no grounds at all; and yet this is what Mr. Raumer calls impartial writing, an unprejudiced way of narrating facts without bias upon the sure materials of official documents! He is frequently—very frequently—in the wrong in giving a *literal* meaning to what seems *plainly* written, and in taking every word of a diplomatic dispatch or manifesto to be plain and incontrovertible truth; but here he does worse in putting the most horrible construction that was possible upon words that were purposely made ambiguous, and that were written with an animus which ought to have been discernible to the purblind. That there may be no mistake, we give the revolting passage in his own words: "If we go on the principle that it is better to say too little than too much of such things, and if we do not conceal what is the worst, yet clothe it in the mildest or the obscurest terms, we must suppose he (Randolph) alludes to what was customary and considered as lawful in the houses of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, and was laid to the charge of the Valois of his times. At least it is not probable that Mary should have conceived a mortal hatred of her half-brother merely because some love intrigues had come to his knowledge. She treated such things much too lightly. With a passion and loathing of the kind alluded to, too many psychological and tragical circumstances would be connected, and a light be thrown on many historical particulars." From lights lit at such fires may history be ever preserved! Mr. Raumer is not aware that the light *had been* lit before by Mary's deadly enemies, who, in their wrath, stopped at nothing; but the story was too gross to impose even on fanatics.

* According to one of Elizabeth's agents, Mary endeavoured to bring the mass into fashion among her courtiers, but nothing looks less like persecution or intolerance on her part than the facts told in the following passage:—"The queen, both by herself and others, uses great persuasions to many of her nobles to hear mass with her. Huntley, Marr, Bothwell and others, refuse: Bothwell's refusing was most surprising and most displeasing to the queen. He is to marry Huntley's sister, a Prote (Protestant); so his brother-in-law dissuaded him. The queen said to Huntley,—'My lord, go with me to mass. Your father and mother were of this religion, and your enemies are the contrary; I have restored you to your liberties and lands.' He said, 'Madam, I will spend my life and fortune in your service, but as to mass, I desire to be excused.' Though he possesses his estate, his forfeiture is not reversed" . . . "But a few go with the queen to church; the most, on the other hand, to Knox, whose sermons are directed against the mass." Great offence was also taken at Mary's using the organ in her chapel, but matters grew worse when she established an orchestra!

who now, on account of religion, could no longer be acceptable allies to her people. Knowing that Catherine de' Medici, who now controlled the destinies of France, was scarcely more her friend than the English queen, Mary had at first recourse to Philip of Spain, and Philip privately assured her not only that he would assist her in her present difficulties, but that, in concert with the pope, he would favour her pretensions to the English crown. When Philip formed the Bayonne alliance he would, as a matter of course, bring in the Queen of Scots.

A.D. 1566.—Mary forbade Randolph her court, alleging, upon good grounds, that, though ostensibly the ambassador of a friendly power, he had taken part with her rebels and assisted them with money; but this sharp-eyed agent had everywhere Scotchmen in his pay, and he had learned all about the secret negotiations with France and Spain, and had communicated the intelligence to Cecil and Elizabeth, who were both alarmed and enraged on receiving it.

Meanwhile the Scottish parliament proceeded in their measures against the Earl of Murray and the other fugitives from the "Round-about Raid," and no doubt was entertained of their convicting them, when their proceedings were suddenly stopped and an entirely new course given to Mary's wrath by a savage murder, directed by her husband. The love between Mary and Henry Darnley was of the briefest duration; and it is established beyond a doubt that its first interruption was entirely owing to the misconduct and brutality of the husband. This vain and shallow young man had his head turned by his great and sudden elevation, and there were not wanting plotting men who, for their own purposes, encouraged his extravagance and dissipation. Before he had been married two months his insolence and arrogance drove away from the court even his own father, the Earl of Lennox, who is said to have predicted that some fearful catastrophe would follow.* Acting under the persuasion of ill-designing men, the foremost of whom was the Earl of Morton, the chancellor of Scotland, who represented to him that it was absurd that the queen should bear rule over him, since both nature and the law of God required that the wife should be in subjection to her husband, he pretended to rule in his own right, and imperiously claimed the whole authority of government. Mary, who would hardly yield to violence, might have conceded much to affection; but, almost from the first week of his marriage, he neglected the handsome queen and gave himself up to low indulgences. Where all eyes were watchful, and most eyes desirous of such an event, it was impossible to conceal this disagreement. Elizabeth's agents diligently reported the progress of the wretched broil. Towards the end of December, 1565, Randolph wrote,—"These private disorders are probably no more than *amantium iræ*, but his name is placed after her's in public documents, and some that were otherwise drawn up have been recalled."* In the following month of February, Drury, another of Elizabeth's busy envoys, wrote to Cecil:—"The people say that Darnley is too much addicted to drinking. It is certainly reported there was some jar between the queen and him, at a mert's (merchant's) house at Edinburgh, she only dissuading him from drinking, and enticing others; in both which he proceeded, and gave her such words, that she left the place with tears, which they that are known to these proceedings, say is not strange to be seen. These jars arise, among other things, from his seeking the matrimonial crown, which she will not yield unto. Darnley is in great mislike with the queen; she is very weary of him, and, as some judge, will be more so ere long. As true it is, that those who depend wholly upon him are not liked of her, nor they that follow her, of him, as David (Rizzio) and others. Some say she likes the Duke (Chatelherault) better now than formerly; so some think, that if there should be a quarrel between Darnley and her, which she could not appease, that she will use the duke's aid in that affair. There also have arisen some unkind speeches about the signing of letters. He, immediately after his marriage, signed first, which she will not allow of now. His government is very much blamed—for he is thought wilful and haughty, and some say vicious. So hereof, too, many were witnesses the other day at Inchkeith, with Lord Robert and other like grave personages. I will not rehearse unto your honour what of certainty is said of him at his being here."†

The effect of this conduct on a high-spirited woman was inevitable: Mary became weary of the society of the drunkard and brawler, who would threaten her servants and draw his dagger in her presence, and somewhat checked that liberality with which she had heaped money and honours upon him. The imbecile Darnley, who would not see the provocation and insupportable insults he had given, conceived that the queen's favour must have been alienated from him by some person having an influence over her heart; and it appears that certain noble lords who had taken offence at the favourite, or were anxious

* On the 1st of September, 1565, little more than a month after the marriage, we find Cecil writing to a *friend*, "The young king is so insolent as his father is weary of his government, and is departed from the court!"—Ellis. But even before he was elevated to the queen's side, Randolph told Cecil,—"Darnley's behaviour is such that he is despised. . . . What shall become of him I know not; *but it is greatly to be feared that he can have no long life among this people.* The queen herself being of better understanding, seeks to frame and fashion him to the temper of her subjects; but no persuasion can change that (which) custom has made natural to him. He is reckoned proud, disdainful, and suspicious, which kind of men this soil (Scotland), of any other, can worse bear."—Original Letter, quoted by Raumer. Here we find the English agent speaking of the very probable assassination of Darnley by *the subjects* at the time when *the queen*, according to his account, was passionately in love with him; and Randolph, here and in many other passages written at a later period, certainly describes Darnley as one not at all likely to have a long life among such people. On other evidence we find that, from the moment of his arrival in Scotland down to his removal from Glasgow to the house of Kirk-a-Field, there were many desperate men who longed for his death, without any instigation or hint from the queen.

* Scottish correspondence in State Paper Office, as quoted by Raumer.

† Harleian MS. as quoted by Raumer.

to drive matters to extremities, suggested or strengthened the suspicion that this individual was Rizzio, the queen's secretary. David Rizzio had come to Scotland a short time before this wretched marriage in the suite of Morata, the ambassador of Savoy: he was a person of what was called low birth, but he had been exceedingly well educated, and, among many other accomplishments, was an excellent musician. Mary's love for music amounted to a passion—good musicians were rare in Scotland—and she was naturally attracted to the accomplished Italian, who soon evinced other and higher abilities than those of playing and singing. His knowledge of languages was particularly useful for carrying on a foreign correspondence; and when her French secretary left her, she promoted him to that confidential office, which, of necessity, occasioned his being constantly about the queen's person. It was instantly deemed a crime that the queen should employ a foreigner in duties for which there were probably no natives that were fit; and the proud nobles, who despised literary attainments, and accomplishments which they did not possess themselves, considered the Signor David as nothing but a base-born fiddler, and were highly incensed at the favour and confidence reposed in him. Sometimes they would rudely shoulder him, and make grim faces at him in the very presence chamber; but still at other times, some of them at least would not scruple to cajole and flatter him, and make him presents when they had favours to ask of the queen. It is said that Rizzio was intoxicated with his promotion, and showed pride and ostentation. It is probable that there was some truth in the accusation; and it is certain, that those who afterwards accused him, fostered these feelings by their baseness and truckling to him; but yet there is good evidence to show that the poor Italian saw his position in its true light, and was anxious for more security with a little less honour. He lamented to the ingenious Melville, who was now constantly at Mary's court, that the favour and confidence of the queen exposed him to envy and danger. Melville, who seems to have appreciated his talents and his fidelity to his mistress, prudently advised him against making any show of his credit with the sovereign, and speaking with her apart in the presence of her nobility. But Rizzio afterwards told Melville that the queen desired him to wait upon her and converse with her in his usual manner. Upon this, the sensible and affectionate Melville, who frequently took the liberty of advising his sovereign, as to what he considered thoughtlessness and imprudence—and nothing worse—told Mary of the conversation which had taken place between him and the alarmed secretary, and assured her that her too great favour and familiarity were exposing Rizzio to many perils. Mary, who always listened to Melville's advice with kindness and modesty, took no offence on the present occasion, but only said that her treatment of Rizzio was not different from what she had shown to his predecessor in office, and that she was not to be controlled by the nobles in the management of her private and personal correspondence.* For a long time there was not so much as a hint breathed of there being any immorality in the queen's predilection; and, according to tradition, David Rizzio was not the sort of person likely to excite a criminal and dangerous passion, being ill favoured, if not deformed in his person, and considerably advanced in years. It is probable also that the queen might think herself protected from evil tongues by the unusual severity she had exercised against a man of somewhat similar condition. Among those who followed her through France was one Chastelar, who has been briefly, and, we believe, correctly described as being "half-poet, half-courtier, and entire madman."† The queen, who was gay and frolicksome to a degree that better suited the court in which she had been brought up than the sombre realm of Scotland, where the Puritans denounced every pleasure and pastime, used to amuse herself with this adventurer's eccentricities. The confident fool mistook her enjoyment of his odd humours for a love of his person; and one night he concealed himself in her apartment. He was detected in his hiding-place, and turned out of the court with a proper censure; but he was crazed beyond remedy, and, having the audacity to renew his attempt, Mary gave him up to the law, and he was tried and executed. If there was any doubt as to the state of this man's mind, it ought to have been removed by his conduct after receiving sentence. He refused the religious consolation usually given on such occasions, and, instead of saying his prayers, he kept repeating the verses of Ronsard, the French poet; and in laying his head upon the block, in imitation of a troubadour of the old times, he said, as his last dying speech, "Farewell to the most beautiful and most cruel queen that ever lived!" Of course, in those humane times, no one thought that this insane person had been too harshly dealt with; and it appears equally clear that, *at the moment*, no one thought of charging the queen with criminality on his account.

To return to Rizzio:—he was, as we have mentioned, a confidant of Darnley when that young man began his courtship of the queen; and it appears that he forwarded Darnley's suit with whatever power he possessed. When Darnley arrived at the Scottish court Rizzio had only been two months in Mary's service. Mary's affection for Darnley was immediate, and it lasted till the latter forfeited it by his gross misconduct, Rizzio being all the time neither more nor less about the queen than before and after. According to the account of those least prejudiced against Mary, Darnley's savage hatred of the Italian arose not from any love-jealousy, but from the favourite's taking the liberty to remonstrate with him on his treatment of the queen, and from his being suspected by Darnley of advising the queen never to

* Melville's Memoirs.
† Walter Scott, Hist. Scot.

bestow on him the matrimonial crown. These grounds of hatred, which in a man like Darnley were quite sufficient to account for what followed, are made prominent even in the accounts of those who are disposed to take the worst view of the queen's conduct; but *they* add to them, as another incentive to the murder, the passion of jealousy, which, according to their showing, there were suspicious circumstances to justify. Whatever were his motives, when Darnley spoke of revenge to some of the nobles, he found them disposed to encourage the feeling, and unscrupulous as to the means to be adopted for its gratification. They all hated the favourite; some perhaps the more, because they had debased themselves before him; and as several hot Presbyterians engaged in the plot, some of them, no doubt, thought that it would be a very meritorious deed to murder a man who corresponded in the queen's name with the Pope of Rome.* Among the latter was the fierce Lord Ruthven,—a nobleman in good favour with the Lords of the Congregation and the preachers,—who rose from a bed of sickness to have a principal hand in the bloody deed. The Earl of Morton, who had encouraged Darnley's pretensions to the matrimonial crown, and who was still chancellor of the kingdom, though suspecting, on his part, that Mary meant to take the seals from him, and give them to her Italian secretary, engaged all the rest of the Douglases, legitimate or illegitimate, to take up the quarrel of their *kinsman*,—for Darnley, as a descendant of the Earl of Angus, was of Douglas blood,—and it perfectly agreed with their family notions that Darnley should be king in his own right, and supreme over Mary. But there were still various other motives actuating some of the conspirators, who wished to stop the proceedings in parliament,—to recall the Earl of Murray, with the other banished lords, whom they considered as the champions of the kirk, and who were excessively jealous of the Earl of Bothwell, who, after a variety of adventures, including a short exile, had been recalled to court. This turbulent, dangerous man, of an ancient and powerful family, and hereditary lord high admiral of Scotland, was recommended to Mary, notwithstanding his profession of Protestantism, by his constant adherence to her mother the queen-regent, and by his seemingly steady and disinterested devotion to her own interests. These, indeed, were circumstances apt to make her overlook his extravagance and the other defects of his impetuous character; but when Mary's half-brother, the Earl of Murray, accused Bothwell of an attempt to assassinate him, he found no protection from the queen, and was obliged to fly the country. He returned in 1564-5, maintaining his innocence. Murray insisted on his being brought to trial, and proposed attending the justice court with five thousand men in arms. Feeling that an accuser with such witnesses was not to be faced, Bothwell fled over to France a second time, and there remained till Murray's disgrace and flight, when Mary recalled him, and gave him the command of all the Scottish marches: and, according to Mary's own account of the dark transaction, Lord Ruthven, with his dagger still reeking with the Italian's blood, told her that they had done the deed because she maintained the ancient religion, refused to receive the fugitive lords, maintained friendship with foreign princes and nations, and received into her council the earls of Bothwell and Huntley, who were traitors and allies of Rizzio.*

These noble lords, however, were determined to make the act appear as Darnley's, and to obtain what they might represent as royal, if not legal authority. They made Darnley sign a solemn document, in which he took the conspirators under his especial protection. Mary was at this time seven months advanced in pregnancy with her first and only child; and it has been not unreasonably concluded that it was intended to cause the death of more persons than the unfortunate favourite; for, after mature deliberation, it was resolved to commit the murder before her very eyes whilst she was in this critical condition. The bloody bond was signed on the 1st or the 5th of March: on the 9th of the same month, at seven o'clock in the evening, just as the queen was finishing her supper, and quietly conversing with the Countess of Argyle and Arthur Erskine, the governor of Holyrood House, who sat at table with her, while Rizzio was seated at his meal at a side table, according to his usual custom when he was in waiting, and while several attendants, male and female, were in the room or the apartment adjoining, the king suddenly entered, and, placing himself behind the queen, gazed savagely on the secretary. In the next minute Darnley was followed by the Earl Ruthven, pale and ghastly from recent disease and present spite, and in complete armour. Close on Ruthven's steps stalked several other conspirators, all in armour like himself. Darnley spoke not a word, but Ruthven, in a hollow voice, bade Rizzio rise and come forth, for the place he sat in did not become him. Perceiving what was meant, the queen started up, and asked her husband whether he knew anything of this foul attempt; and, on his denying it, she commanded Lord Ruthven, on pain of treason, to quit her presence. The poor Italian, in the mean while, had run behind the queen's table, and now, seizing the queen by the skirts of her garment, implored her protection, and cried aloud for justice. But Ruthven and his satellites overturned the table upon the queen and the secretary, and then Darnley held the queen's arms, telling her that their business was only with the secretary, while the rest of the murderers dragged Rizzio from his hold. Then George Douglas, a bastard of the Angus family, pulling out the king's own dagger, struck Rizzio with it, and with so deadly a blow that he left the weapon

* Rizzio's grand crimes were his country and his religion. The preachers called him "imp of the devil," "minion of anti-christ," &c. According to the Diary of Birrel, a citizen of Edinburgh, Rizzio was also a magician and sorcerer.

* Queen Mary's letter to Elizabeth, as given by Keith and Chalmers.

up to its hilt in the body of the victim. The tears and entreaties of Mary, the shrieks of the Countess of Argyle and the servants, made no more impression on the hearts of these men than on their steel breast-plates: while some stood before the queen with cocked pistols (and one of them named Andrew Ker,* is said to have presented his pistol close to her body, swearing that he would destroy both her and the child within her), the others dragged Rizzio into the ante-chamber, and there dispatched him with fifty-six wounds. While this savage deed was doing, Morton, the chancellor of Scotland, whose special duty it was to protect and enforce the laws, kept the doors of the palace with a number of armed men, in order to prevent any one entering to succour the queen. As long as there was life in the victim, or a hope of life, Mary implored and wept, offering to give up Rizzio to the laws if he had offended them; but when told that he was dead, she is said to have exclaimed, "I will then dry my tears and think of revenge!" She was in great fear of miscarrying, and sent for the midwife at eight o'clock. Darnley, who was as great a fool as he was a scoundrel, now attempted to console her, and to exonerate himself by accusing and cursing his accomplices. But this was not before Ruthven and the rest had withdrawn. At this moment Mary saw no means of escape out of the hands of the butchers, who had placed their armed retainers round the palace, unless through her husband, and she made the imbecile and bewildered Darnley believe that she accepted his justification, and freely pardoned him. On the following day, to the surprise of those who were not in the secret, the E[illegible] Murray and the banished lords presented [illegible]es at Holyrood, pretending that they had come to stand their trial before their peers in parliament—a step which they were not likely to take had they not known of the projected assassination, which was sure to produce a revolution at court. It appears, indeed, certain that the fugitive lords, who had been in hiding near the borders, had received due warning; and there are reasons for believing, what is positively asserted by some, that Elizabeth and Cecil were accessories both before and after the fact, and that the Earl of Murray himself was not only duly informed, but an original promoter of the plot. The web of this intrigue is altogether so intricate, the treachery of such a compounded nature—for everybody was betraying every one else, and working for a separate object—that the mind is utterly bewildered and lost in the maze. It appears, however, that the Earl of Murray and *his* associates expected to find Morton and Ruthven placed at the head of affairs; but that, as this did not happen, through the defection of Darnley, who now stood for his wife, they instantly agreed to shape a different course, and to take part with the queen, concluding that her enmity against them would be swallowed up by her wrath at the more recent and most intolerable injury she had suffered: and they were quite ready to give up their quondam friends, and profit by their downfall. Murray, apparently through the agency of Darnley, who was equally ready to forget or deny the solemn bond which he had signed with Ruthven and his party for the murder of Rizzio—a deed therein declared to be for the glory of God and the advancement of true religion—formally agreed to detach himself and his friends from the interests of the assassins, and to aid the queen in bringing them to justice. Upon this, Morton, Ruthven, and the rest fled to those very hiding places in the English marches which Murray and his associates had just abandoned, and from which Morton and Ruthven had recalled them.

When Mary met her half-brother, forgetting all former wrongs, and regarding him again as her natural defender in the midst of the blood and treachery and iron hearts that surrounded her, she received him with open arms, kissed him, and imputed her ill usage to his absence, weeping in a mixed passion of joy and anguish. The Earl of Murray was, to all appearance, equally affected; and the faithful Melville, who was present, relates that he shed tears. But we have pretty good evidence to show that Murray was dissimulating, as also that he had been engaged in the plot for Rizzio's murder, a fact which has been disputed by historians, anxious to make the best of the godly earl. The Earl of Bedford and Randolph, who wrote a joint letter to the privy council of England, giving a cool, if not an approving, account of the assassination, say, at the end of their narrative:—1st. "The Earl Morton and Lord Ruthven, finding themselves left by the king, for all his fair promises, bonds, and subscriptions, and seeing the others fall from them, *saving the Earl of Murray and such as were of the last enterprise*, thought best to provide for themselves, and so every one of them take their several way where they think that they may be most at ease or surety." 2nd. "*My Lord of Murray*, by a special servant sent unto us (*that is, to Bedford and Randolph, who were at Berwick*), desireth your honours' (ELIZABETH'S PRIVY COUNCIL!) favour and protection to these noble men as his (*Murray's*) dear friends, *and such as for his sake hath given this adventure.*" And in the postscript to this same letter the noble earl and the rising Randolph give, to *their protectors* the lords of the privy council, a list of "the names of such as were doers and of counsel in this last attemptate committed at Edinburgh." In this list appear the Earl of Morton, chancellor; Sir John Balenden, justice clerk or second judicial authority of Scotland; Lord Ruthven; his son, the Master of Ruthven; his brother Alexander Ruthven; Lord Lindsay; the Laird of Lochleven; Mr. Adam Erskine, Abbot of Combuskenneth; Andrew Ker; Andrew Cunningham, son to the Earl of Glencairn; Mr. Archibald Douglas; George

* According to the author of 'L'Innocence,' etc., this Andrew Ker (*Andre Karre*) was cousin-german to Ruthven and the Lord Hume, who was also of the faction.

Douglas, uncle to Darnley; Ormeston, who afterwards had a hand in Darnley's own murder; Thomas Scott, under-sheriff of Strathearn; the Laird of Carmichael, and *sixteen* other distinguished assassins, including Maitland of Lethington, to whose name is put "secret," to show that he was not as yet suspected. "All these," add Bedford and Randolph, "are men of good living, besides a number of other *gentlemen*." They also mention that two lairds and a provost had been taken and imprisoned, and that the Earl of Lennox, Darnley's father, had been ordered to leave the court.*

During these transactions, the Earl of Bothwell and the Earl of Huntley (son of the attainted earl, slain, in 1562, at Corrichie) had done their best to serve the queen. According to one account, they were both in Holyrood at the time of Rizzio's murder, and, in fear of their own lives, escaped out of a window.† They collected troops immediately; and when Mary went with her husband to Dunbar Castle, they waited upon him with all their friends, who among them had collected an army of eight thousand men—a measure which, not less than the winning over of the Earl of Murray, had induced Morton and Ruthven to flee across the borders. On Mary's return to Edinburgh, all her adversaries were dispersed; and the king most solemnly protested before the council, that he had never consented to Signor David's death; that the murder had been committed much against his will, and that he would in no manner protect the murderers. Upon which, the next day, proclamation was made at the cross of Edinburgh against the lords, and declaring the king's innocence. But these lords were safe in England, where Elizabeth, for her own purposes, left them undisturbed; and when Mary, in concert with the French court, demanded that she should give them up as men guilty of the worst of crimes, she coolly replied that she did not think it proper so to do until the Scottish queen's anger against them should be somewhat moderated.‡ Mary prosecuted seven of the murderers of Rizzio, but only two mean men were executed. The great men, as we have shown, were kept out of her reach by one who professed herself a wonderful venerator of justice; and Mary, who was certainly not fond of blood, probably felt that it would be both unfair and absurd to punish their miserable retainers and instruments. It has also been surmised that she was anxious to close the proceedings, in order to screen one who was still her husband. For a short time—it may well be imagined that the time was very short—Mary, Darnley, and Murray seemed to agree tolerably well—the queen dividing her power between her husband and brother. But Darnley was irretrievably lost in habits and in reputation, and, fool though he was, it was difficult for him to believe that, after such wrongs, his wife's reconciliation could be sincere. He sought refuge from his painful thoughts in wine and low company, and, though he absented himself, he was jealous of every person that approached the queen's ear, ever fancying that there was a plot on foot to avenge on him the Holyrood murder. As early as the 4th of April, scarcely a month after that deed, Randolph, who collected every rumour, wrote to Cecil—"It is written to me for certain, by one that upon Monday last spoke with the queen, that she is determined that the house of Lennox shall be as poor in Scotland as ever it was. The earl continues sick and sore troubled in his mind, and lies in the abbey (that is, the palace of Holyrood). His son has been once with him, and he was with the queen since she came to the castle. The queen has now seen all the covenants and bonds that passed between the king and the lords, and now finds that his declaration, before her and the council, of his innocence of the death of Rizzio, was false, and is grievously offended that, by this means, he had seeked to come by the crown-matrimonial. It is reported that an envoy is gone to Rome to obtain a divorce between her and her husband!"* The latter report about Mary's seeking a divorce was certainly incorrect—one of those gossiping stories by which Elizabeth's crafty envoys were occasionally deceived, [illegible] the family discord became every day more appare[illegible]

On the 19th of June, 1566, Mary was deliver[illegible] of a son, afterwards James the Sixth of Scot[illegible], and First of England. On the day of th[illegible] birth Darnley wrote in the royal style [illegible] uncle, the Cardinal Guise, telling him of [illegible] event, at which, he says, "you will [illegible] much as we do ourselves." At the sam[illegible] adds, "I and my wife have requested t[illegible] France to do us the honour of being go[illegible] our son, by which I shall be still more b[illegible] be grateful for all the favours he has don[illegible] us. But Darnley did not rejoice long, and the Queen of England threw another bitter potion into his cup. It had been agreed beforehand that Elizabeth should stand godmother to the infant James, and Mary now dispatched the diligent and faithful Melville to London. Melville did not spare the spur: he took horse at noon, and rode to Berwick that night; and on the fourth day he reached London, where his brother Robert was residing as Mary's ambassador. Sir Robert sent immediately to advertise Secretary Cecil of the birth of the prince, and Cecil posted forthwith down to Greenwich, where he found his mistress in great glee, *dancing after supper*. [Her suppers were not subject to such interruptions as those of her rival.] "But," says Melville, "so soon as the Secretary Cecil whispered in her ear the news of the prince's birth, all her mirth was laid aside for that night. All present marvelled whence proceeded such a change; for the queen did sit down, putting her hand under

* The whole of this important and decisive document is given by Sir Henry Ellis, from the original among the Cotton MSS. in Brit. Mus. in his "Original Letters, etc.," First Series, vol. ii.

† Letter from Randal, or Randolph, to the English privy council.—*Burl. MSS.*

‡ Burghley Papers.—Lansdowne MSS., as quoted by Raumer.

* Letter in State Paper Office, as given by Raumer.

† Burghley State Papers.

her cheek, bursting out to some of her ladies that the Queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she was but a barren stock." On the following morning, when Melville had his audience, all this was changed: Elizabeth met him in her best apparel, saying that the joyful news communicated by Secretary Cecil had recovered her out of a heavy sickness which she had lain under for fifteen days: "and therefore," adds he, "she welcomed me with a merry volt,* and thanked me for the diligence I had used in hasting to give her that welcome intelligence." The day after his audience, where the acting of the queen was too transparent, he received a royal letter, with the present of a fair chain.† Her English majesty accepted with alacrity the office of godmother; and, as it was a long journey for ladies, she appointed two men, the Earl of Bedford and Mr. Carey, son of her kinsman Lord Hunsdon,‡ with a goodly retinue of knights and gentlemen, to act as her proxies. As, however, a female was indispensable, the Countess of Argyle, one of the spectators of Rizzio's murder, was appointed to represent Elizabeth at the baptismal font. There were two godfathers, the King of France being joined by the Duke of Savoy, and these princes were represented by their respective ambassadors. The ceremony was performed at Stirling by the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, according to the Roman Catholic ritual. During the time of divine service the Earl of Bedford, and all the Protestant gentlemen sent down by Elizabeth, stood outside the chapel, not [illegible] to partake in the idolatries of the mass. Mary was "pensive and melancholy;" Darnley did not appear at all, and his absence was much noticed. The fact was, he had stayed away to save [illegible]rile, for Elizabeth had strictly charged the [illegible] Bedford and the Englishmen in his com[illegible] not to treat him as king; and, to avoid [illegible]mortification of being refused the royal title before the whole court, he kept away from the christening.§

But, between the birth and the baptism of James, Darnley had become more than ever estranged from the queen, and Bothwell had risen in favour. In the month of June, when Mary was near her confinement, Bothwell and Huntley had desired that they might lodge in Edinburgh Castle, to be near her majesty at that critical moment; but the Earl of Murray, who, with Maitland of Lethington, was in the castle, refused them both, and that, too, without exciting any displeasure in the queen. It is probable, indeed, that Bothwell's rising favour with Mary was artfully exaggerated in certain of the reports that were made of it. His progress in the royal graces must have been rapid indeed, if we are to believe one party, for, by the end of July, one of the English envoys wrote to Cecil—"Bothwell carries all the merit and countenance in court. He is the most hated man among the noblemen, and thereof may fall out somewhat to his cumber, one day, if the queen takes not up the matter the sooner. It is said (Report of the 3rd of August) that the earl's insolence is such as that David was never more abhorred than he is now. The queen and her husband are after the old manner, or rather worse."* And yet, at this time, Murray, and not Bothwell, was the object of Darnley's animosity. A few days after Cecil was informed that some new discord had happened. "The queen," wrote the Earl of Bedford, "has declared to Murray that the king bears him evil will, and that he said to her that he is determined to kill him, finding fault that she doth bear him so much company: and in like manner she wills Murray to speak it at the king, which he did a few nights since in the queen's presence, and in the hearing of diverse. The king confessed that reports were made to him that Murray was not his friend, which made him speak that thing he repented; and the queen affirmed that the king had spoken such words unto her, and confessed before the whole house that she would not be content that either he or any other should be unfriendly to Murray. Murray inquired the same stoutly, and used his speech very modestly. In the mean time the king departed very aggrieved. He cannot bear that the queen should use familiarity either with men or women, and especially the ladies of Argyle, Murray, and Marr, who keep most company with her."†

Most of the contemporary writers assert that Darnley really had a design against the life of the queen's half-brother, and Murray was not a man likely to forgive him this intention. At the same time, the friends and dependants of Morton and Ruthven entertained a deadly hatred against Darnley for his behaviour after the murder of Rizzio; and they said, among themselves, that he deserved to die the death of a coward and a traitor for sacrificing men whom *he* had induced to stain their hands in blood. In short, Darnley had enemies in all quarters, and friends in none; and it may have been fear which made him embrace at one moment the project of travelling on the continent.

The birth of James tended in more ways than one to increase the ill humours and jealousies of Elizabeth. It revived the spirit of Mary's partisans in England, who were mostly, but not all, Catholics. These men, seeing the English queen still unmarried, and likely for ever to remain so, began to calculate as a certainty on the succession

* Volt, from the Italian *volto*—countenance.

† Melville's Memoirs.

‡ Henry Carey, created Baron Hunsdon in 1559, was cousin-german to Elizabeth, being the son of Mary, sister of Anne Boleyn.

§ The godmother's present was a golden font beautifully wrought; but with it she sent a sarcastic message, alluding to the delaying of the christening, which had been put off (in part evidently through Darnley's fresh quarrels with his wife) till the month of December. "You may say pleasantly," she writes to Bedford, "that it was made as soon as we heard of the prince's birth, and *then* it was big enough for him; but now, he being grown, he is too big for it. Therefore, it may be better used for the next child, provided it be christened before it outgrow the font." In this letter of instructions to the Earl of Bedford she also artfully alluded to the old quarrel on account of the marriage, and in such a manner as was likely to set Mary more and more against her husband.

* Letters in State Paper Office and Report in Harl. MSS., as quoted by Raumer.

† Letter in State Paper Office, as quoted by Raumer.

falling, if not to Mary, to her son; for at this time the line of Suffolk had almost dropped out of notice. It appears to have been this English party that got up an alarm as to the unsettled state of the succession; but as the danger, in case of Elizabeth's death, was so great and so obvious, all parties soon joined in pressing for some settlement, either by Elizabeth's marriage or otherwise. It was scarcely possible for Mary to be indifferent to this question, and in an unlucky hour she again pressed her rival to name her successor, and obtain from the parliament a recognition of her own rights. In fact, during some stormy debates in both houses,* Mary was mentioned as being the first in the order of succession after Elizabeth. But this extraordinary woman stopped further proceedings, by declaring that she intended to marry, and to have, by God's grace, an heir of her own body. These debates occupied a considerable part of the months of October and November, and both Lords and Commons showed a determined spirit to which they had long been strangers—the Commons even proposing that the question of supplies and that of the succession should go hand in hand. Then our old friend Sir Ralph Sadler, with a serious face, told the Commons that he had heard the queen's majesty declare, in solemn manner, that she would take a husband for the good of her people. As the House was in all probability not quite convinced by Sir Ralph, Elizabeth ordered Secretary Cecil, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Ambrose Carr, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Sir Edward Rogers, comptroller of her household, to make the same declaration. The Commons, however, seem to have been still unconvinced; they joined the question of the marriage with the question of settlement, and were proceeding with earnestness when Elizabeth *commanded* them not to proceed further in that matter. This imperative order gave great discontent; but the Commons had not as yet settled what were their privileges; and Paul Wentworth, the member that showed most spirit,† ventured only *to doubt* whether such an interference on the part of the crown were not an infringement of the liberties and privileges of the House. Cecil endeavoured to restore good humour and a confidence which he scarcely felt himself, by assuring them that Elizabeth pledged to the House the word of a queen that she would marry; after which he made some statements which confirm, what ought never to have been doubted by historians, that Elizabeth had been a most troublesome prisoner in the days of her sister Mary. Speaking in the name of her majesty, Cecil told the House, that the naming of a successor must be attended with great danger to her own person; that she had herself experienced during the reign of her sister how much court was usually paid to the next heir, and what dangerous sacrifices men would make of their present duty to their future prospects; and that, therefore, she had delayed the naming of any successor. But still the Commons were restive—some of them even declaring that the queen was bound in duty to secure them against the chances of a civil war and a disputed succession; that, by persisting in her present conduct, she would show herself the step-mother, not the natural parent, of her people, and would seem to desire that England should subsist no longer than she should have the glory and satisfaction of governing it. Never had the Commons been so bold. Elizabeth was alarmed into civility: she called up the Speaker to court, assured him that she was sincere in her intention of marrying, but repeated her prohibition as to the debates still going on. The members, however, showed a determination not to obey this command; upon which she was graciously pleased to revoke it, and to allow the House the liberty of debate. The latter wise measure cooled their heat, and they voted the supplies without hampering them with conditions. Soon after this, the queen dissolved the parliament; but it was not consistent with her temper and her notions of prerogative to permit them to depart without a lesson. It provokes a smile to hear this habitual practitioner accuse others of cunning; but it appears certain that many of the members had really been driving to obtain the nomination of her hated rival, the Scottish queen. She told them, with some sharpness, that their proceedings had contained much dissimulation and artifice; that, under the plausible pretences of marriage and succession, many of them had covered very malevolent intentions towards her; but that she should assuredly reap one advantage from the attempts of these men—she could now distinguish her friends from her foes. "But do you think," added she, "that I am unmindful of your future security, or will be negligent in settling the succession? That is the chief object of my concern; as I know myself to be liable to mortality. Or do you apprehend that I meant to encroach on your liberties? No; it was never my meaning; I only intended to stop you before you approached the precipice. All things have their time; and, though you may be blessed with a sovereign more wise or more learned than I, yet I assure you that no one will ever rule over you who shall be more careful of your safety. And, therefore, henceforward, whether I live to see the like assembly

* Cecil notices "certain lewd bills thrown abroad against the queen's majesty, for not assenting to have the matter of succession proved in Parliament; and bills also to charge Sir W. Cecil with the occasion thereof." See Cecil's curious Journal, extending from November, 1542, to January, 1597, as published by Murden, at the end of his collection of the Burghley State Papers. This journal contains an authentic summary of the great events of Elizabeth's reign; but the entries are, unfortunately, very succinct—mere memoranda.

† Another bold debater was Dalton, whom the queen took severely to account when the Lords and Commons waited upon her. "Dalton," says Cecil, in his Journal, "was blamed for speaking in the Commons' House." It should appear, however, from a minute of Cecil's, published by Haynes, that Dalton's offence was not speaking *for*, but *against*, Mary,—endeavouring "to tax and abuse the estate of the Queen of Scots, with whom her majesty is in amity." In fact, Elizabeth, in her anxiety to keep up the mist, punished, by turns, those who proclaimed the rights of the House of Suffolk as being preferable to those of Mary, and those who proclaimed the rights of Mary to be preferable to those of the House of Suffolk: and even when she was most irritated at the pressing of Mary's claims she would not permit her subjects to impugn them.

or no, or whoever holds the reins of government, let me warn you to beware of provoking your sovereign's patience so far as you have done mine. But I shall now conclude, that, notwithstanding the disgusts I have received, (for I mean not to part with you in anger,) the greater part of you may assure themselves that they go home in their prince's good graces." But it was Elizabeth's policy never to do anything unpopular with one hand without performing some popular act with the other: she remitted payment of part of the supplies voted to her, making that memorable and captivating speech—that money in the purses of her subjects was as good to her as in her own exchequer.*

On the 9th of November, while the debates were at the warmest in the English parliament, Mary addressed a letter to Elizabeth's privy council, calling to mind that her hereditary right, as had lately been mentioned in the parliament, was indisputable. "And, albeit," continues Mary, "we be not of mind to press our good sister further than shall come of her own good pleasure to put the matter in question, yet likewise we will be judged by the laws of England. We do affectuously require you to have respect to justice with indifferency, whenever it shall please the queen to put it in deliberation."† As the English parliament was actually engaged on the matter, and seemed determined to press Elizabeth to a decision, nothing could well be more a matter of course than Mary's mentioning her own claims at such a moment. But the measure evidently chagrined her rival, who was further irritated by a request urged by Melville —"to cause certain persons, now living, to be examined of their knowledge of the manner of the last testament of King Henry."‡ The will of Henry VIII., which barred in the most irregular manner the Scottish line, was indeed the only obstacle to Mary's hereditary claim, and this will was suspected by many to have been a forgery. Elizabeth, who was resolved to do no such thing, instructed the Earl of Bedford to tell Mary that she meant to examine her father's will as soon as she should find it convenient; but, on the other hand, he was to request the Scottish queen fully to confirm the treaty of Edinburgh, which had been deferred, as she said, "upon account of some words therein prejudicial to the queen's right and title before all others, after us;" adding, "our meaning is to require nothing to be confirmed in that treaty but that which directly appertains to us and our children; omitting anything in that treaty that may be prejudicial to her title as next heir of us and our children. All which may be secured to her by a *new treaty* between us and her; and, for security, she may have of us an engagement that we will never do or suffer anything that may be to the prejudice of her title, and shall declare against any who shall invade against the same." This artful letter continues—"You are to persuade her that this manner of proceeding is the way to avoid all jealousies and difficulties between us, and the only way to secure amity. By denying this demand and way, we may conceive some want of good meaning to us, which we are unwilling to do. Without such provisions, though we are inclined to preserve amity, yet occasions may happen to incline either of us to be jealous one of another, which can be remedied but by the proceeding aforesaid."* But a compliance with this "proceeding aforesaid," would have been nothing less than a renunciation on Mary's part of all rights to the English succession (for so much was implied in the treaty of Edinburgh), only softened by a promise from one whose merit in promise-keeping had not been very conspicuous. If Elizabeth had proposed that the two transactions should go hand-in-hand,—that her treaty should accompany Mary's ratification in full of the treaty of Edinburgh,—then her proposal would have been natural and judicious, and also fair; but this *new treaty*, graciously proposed on her part, was made to stand over for some future time, and she even spoke hypothetically of its securing Mary's rights. Now all this was very undiplomatic; and there was not a minister or a negotiator in Europe that would have entered upon such an agreement unless in the presence of an overwhelming force. It would, indeed, have been better for Mary had she gratified her imperious rival in this particular; but her refusal was neither unjust nor unreasonable, but perfectly consistent with an honest diplomacy. Elizabeth, however, was furious. We have not evidence to prove the full extent to which her not very scrupulous conscience permitted her to go, but it is certain that she threw more activity into intrigues and proceedings which had never been interrupted, and sought to preserve tranquillity at home, and to avoid naming an odious successor, by stirring up fresh troubles in Scotland. Her agents at Edinburgh had continual conferences with Murray: the godly lords who had murdered Rizzio were taken under her special and avowed protection: and when the Earl of Bedford attended at the christening of James, he was instructed by his sovereign and Secretary Cecil to take advantage of that happy moment to plead to Queen Mary in their favour. Mary, as we have seen, was not happy or cheerful at that moment;† yet, at the petition of Bedford, she granted the murderers a free pardon; and within a few days the lords Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, with seventy-five other conspirators, chiefly the followers of Morton, returned into Scotland, where, within six months,

* Camden.—D'Ewes.—Cecil says briefly, in his Journal,—"In this parliament time the queen's majesty did remit a part of the offer of a subsidy by the Commons, who offered largely to the end to have had the succession stablished."

† Harl. MS., 4645, as quoted by Raumer.

‡ Id.

* Harl. MS. 4645, as quoted by Raumer.

† According to the French ambassador, she behaved admirably well at the baptism and at the entertainment given to all that *goodly company*, but yet could not conceal her unhappiness. He says,—"She sent for me yesterday, the 22nd of December (*five days after the ceremony*), and I found her laid on the bed, weeping sore. . . . I am much grieved for the many troubles and vexations she meets with."—*Letter of Le Croc, quoted by Keith.*

they disgraced and dethroned their forgiving sovereign. Darnley, who was in Stirling Castle, quitted that place for Glasgow as soon as he heard that the queen had caused the privy seal to be put to the pardon of Morton, a man whom he had good reason to dread. According to John Knox, Darnley left the queen abruptly, "without good night." Bothwell, on the contrary, testified great joy at the recall of the exiles, and even went to meet Morton, with whom he had a long conference at Whittingham, on the Scottish borders;—where, according to Morton's confession, when his own hour came, he was admitted into the secrets of a conspiracy for murdering Darnley.* At the same time the Earl of Murray, who had pleaded for the exiles in England, conducted the Earl of Bedford to his house in Fife, and there treated him "with much honour, great cheer, and courteous entertainment," things which, we are entitled to surmise, were but a cover to more serious transactions. It is difficult to advance where every point is matter of controversy, and where there is a want of unsuspected evidence. To enter into one half of these "historical doubts" would be to fill an immense volume; we shall therefore endeavour to find a shorter way through this maze, judging in the best way we can, and asserting nothing as *positive* where there can be any doubt.

It should appear that Bothwell, whose audacity was equal to anything, conceived the notion of marrying the queen, building confidently on her affection for his person. Yet this scheme must have been recent and sudden, as also the love of the queen, upon which it is said to have been founded. Bothwell, not six months before, had married the sister of the Earl of Huntley, and, though he got rid of this incumbrance, he would scarcely have taken a wife if he had then contemplated a union with the queen. Mary, on the other hand, seems to have given no very striking proof of an ardent and headlong passion, and she, as recently as the month of December, had rejected a measure proposed to her by her council, and which would have left her at least free to marry again. Some little circumstances usually cited against her admit of a very different explanation from the one generally given. We must here descend to minutiæ otherwise unworthy of a place in history. On the 27th of July Mary set sail in a vessel, manned by Bothwell, for Alloa, about thirty miles up the Forth. This was called by her enemies a going away with the pirates and with Bothwell; but that earl, as lord high admiral, was the proper person to attend to such a voyage, and the pirates were Scottish sailors under his command. The queen, who was recovering from the effects of child-bearing, was too weak to travel on horseback, and it appears that she had no wheel-carriage. But even if there had been a carriage and good roads (which were altogether wanting), a voyage by sea was preferable under all circumstances. The queen was going to visit the Earl of Marr, a most honourable and devout man according to the showing even of his enemies, and that nobleman, together with Murray and most of her officers of state, besides Bothwell, accompanied her. Darnley, it is true, chose to go by land, but Darnley, besides being in different case from his convalescent wife, was at open enmity with the Earl of Murray, and was, besides, wayward and capricious, like a spoilt boy, on all occasions. On the 29th of July the queen returned to Edinburgh to meet the French ambassador, who had arrived to congratulate her upon her safe delivery; and, on the 1st of August, she ascended the Forth again to Alloa, when her husband joined her and remained two nights with her. During this time Secretary Maitland, who had absconded after Rizzio's assassination, in the arranging of which he had played a foremost part, was pardoned in spite of Bothwell. On the 4th of August Mary again descended the Forth, and took up her abode at Holyrood, to all appearance much improved in health by her stay at Alloa and her short sea voyages. For two days after her return she and her husband agreed well together, and when dissensions broke out the name of Bothwell was not mentioned; but it was said that Darnley was offended with the queen for keeping so much company with Murray, her half-brother, and then her prime minister; and it was at this moment that Darnley is accused of threatening to make away with Murray. In spite, however, of these broils, Mary and her husband, attended by Huntley, Murray, and other nobles, hunted together in Peebleshire for three or four days, and returned in company to Edinburgh on the 20th of August. On the 22nd of the same month Mary and Darnley went to Stirling, carrying with them Prince James. Leaving their infant in Stirling Castle, they went together to hunt for a few days in Glenartney, in Perthshire. On the 31st of August they returned to Stirling, where they remained together, with their child, nearly a fortnight. On the 12th of September Mary went to Edinburgh to attend public business, and Darnley refused to accompany her. On the 21st of the same month the queen returned to her husband. Two days after she repaired alone to Edinburgh, having in vain endeavoured to make her wayward husband go with her. It was at this crisis that Darnley spoke of going abroad:—his own father, the Earl of Lennox, informed the queen of this strange design. Mary instantly laid Lennox's letter before her privy council, and, on that same night, at 10 o'clock, Darnley arrived at Edinburgh; but he would not enter Holyrood House unless three of the chief nobles who were there should be dismissed. These were, according to one account, the Earls of Murray, Argyle, and Rothes; according to another Murray, Rothes, and Secretary Maitland. In no contemporary account is there mention made of Bothwell, and, in addition to his old grounds of

* This is what Melville calls *a quiet friendship*. "The Earl of Bothwell," he says, "picked up a quiet friendship with the Earl Morton."

jealousy and enmity against Murray, it is mentioned that Darnley was at this moment enraged because he could not obtain such things as he sought,—to wit, the dismissals of Secretary Maitland, the Justice Clerk, and the clerk of registry. On the morrow, when Darnley came to his senses, the queen, in presence of the privy council and the Bishop of Ross, took him by the hand and conjured him to say whether she had ever given him offence, and to state the true cause of his discontent. He declared that the queen had never given him any cause of complaint, and that he had no real intention of quitting the kingdom; and yet, when he returned from the council, he said to the queen, "Adieu, madam, you shall not see my face for a long space." He went to Glasgow to his father and hired a vessel, and kept it in readiness as if he really meant to abscond. Hence also he wrote a letter to the queen, stating grievances which he would not mention before; and yet in these grievances there is no mention of Bothwell, or hint of any jealousy on his account. Darnley complained, first, that the queen did not trust him with so much authority, nor was at such pains to advance him and to make him be honoured by the nation, as formerly; secondly, that nobody attended him, and the nobility avoided his company. To these avowed grievances Mary replied that she had conferred so much honour on him as had rendered herself very uneasy; and that he had abused her favours by patronising a conspiracy against her; but, notwithstanding this, she had continued to show him such respect that, though those who entered her chamber with him and murdered her faithful servant had named him as their chief, yet she had never accused him thereof, but excused him, as if she had not believed the fact. (This passage proves, what has scarcely ever been doubted, that Mary was not deceived by Darnley's protestations of innocence, and that his share in the murder of Rizzio was a crime she could never forget or really forgive, however much she may have been disposed, for the sake of appearances, to live on friendly terms with her husband) Thirdly, that as to his not being attended, the fault was his own, as she had always offered him her own servants, and could not compel the nobles to wait upon him, since it was his own deportment and want of courtesy which drove them from him. This reply was drawn up by the privy council; and a letter addressed to the queen-mother of France, declaring that Darnley had no ground of complaint, but, on the contrary, the best reason to look upon himself as one of the most fortunate princes of Christendom, if he had only known his own happiness and made a proper use of his good fortune, was signed by Huntley, Argyle, Murray, Athole, Caithness, Rothes, Secretary Maitland, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Galloway, Ross, Orkney, and Dunkeld. And Le Croc the French ambassador, wrote at this very moment;—"It is in vain to imagine that Darnley shall be able to raise any disturbance, for there is not one person in this kingdom that regards him any further than is agreeable to the queen; and I never saw her majesty so much beloved, esteemed, and honoured, or so great harmony amongst all her subjects, as at present, by her own conduct."* During part of these transactions Bothwell was not at court, and Darnley's petulance was not directed against *him*, but against Murray and Maitland, two men who were seldom insulted with impunity, or disappointed in carrying any scheme they proposed,—men of consummate craft, who could always turn the fiercer villanies of others to their own purpose. In the afternoon of the 6th of October, Bothwell, in discharge of his duties as warden of the marches, left Edinburgh for the Borders, which were, as usual, in a disturbed state. On the 8th of the same month Mary, according to a purpose declared many weeks before, went to Jedburgh to hold Justice Ayres, or to superintend the proceedings of the circuit courts, a common practice, at the regular seasons, with Scottish sovereigns. On the same day that Mary set out for the Borders, Bothwell was wounded at Hermitage Castle by an outlaw of those parts named Eliott of Park, whom he had attempted to make prisoner with his own hand. The news of this affray reached Mary at Jedburgh, where she was attended by most of her officers of state. It has been stated by an elegant, but not very correct, historian, that she instantly flew on the wings of love to Bothwell;† but it is proved by the most authentic documents that she did not quit her duties and engagements at Jedburgh until eight days had elapsed. This materially changes the aspect of the story. "A journey undertaken," says Walter Scott, "after such an interval, has not the appearance of being performed at the impulse of passion, but seems rather to have flowed from some political motive; and the queen's readiness to take arms in person, both previously to the battle of Corrichie and at the Round-about Raid, may account for her dauntlessly approaching a disturbed district in her dominions without supposing her to be acting upon the impulse of a guilty passion, or even an inordinate favour for her wounded officer."‡ On the 16th of October Mary rode on horseback from Jedburgh to Hermitage Castle, to visit the wounded Bothwell. The distance between the two places was about twenty English miles; but she rode back to Jedburgh on the same day, not stopping to sleep at Hermitage, which was *her* castle and not Bothwell's. Historians in general are not good horsemen: they have considered this journey as something much more remarkable than it really was in a spirited, active woman of four-and-twenty, who was a most excellent horsewoman, and they have fancied that no motive short of an amorous one could possibly make the queen ride forty statute miles in one day! But Mary was likely to ride forty miles in a long autumn day for mere pastime, and in the present case there was a sufficiently

* Keith.—Chalmers. † Robertson, Hist. Scot. ‡ Hist. Scot.

strong motive in her desire to investigate the cause of an outrage committed on one who, by right of office, represented her royal authority, and who, in her eyes, even without love, may have appeared as an active and deserving lieutenant. But, again, if the journey had been so terrible and Mary so lost to shame as they represented, she would scarcely have been at the trouble of riding back to Jedburgh before night set in. In the enfeebled state of her health the long ride did, however, prove somewhat serious, for, on the following day, the 17th of October, the queen was seized with a dangerous fever, which, in conjunction with uneasiness of mind, caused partly by her husband, and her apprehension of some fresh conspiracy, or of some murder like that of Rizzio, brought her almost to the point of death, and kept her during ten whole days in a very doubtful state. Intelligence of the queen's illness was sent immediately to Darnley, who was then no farther off than Glasgow, and who showed great indifference on the receipt of it. The French ambassador and the Bishop of Ross both wrote to Paris, relating the dangerous state of the queen, and complaining of her husband's neglect. Darnley at last took the road to Jedburgh, but he did not arrive there till the 28th of October. The queen, now convalescent, received him but coolly, and the very next day he left her again. It should appear, however, that Darnley stood in dread of Murray and Maitland, who were almost constantly with his wife, and who had taken measures during her illness to exclude him and his father from all share in the government in case the disease should prove mortal.* It was not without reason that Darnley had opposed the recal of Maitland: rash and thoughtless as he was, he knew that the secretary was a man of unsearchable intrigue, was leagued with his own enemies both in Scotland and in England, and was in constant correspondence with the English court, which still affected to treat Darnley, not as King of Scotland, but as a rebellious subject of England. On the 9th of November Mary, having finished the business of the Ayres, left Jedburgh for Kelso, where she held a council on the following day. "She then returned by the Merse, and being desirous to see Berwick afar off, she ascended Halidon Hill, being well escorted by troops of Borderers on horseback. The English garrison of Berwick honoured her with many shots of artillery; and Sir John Forster, one of the wardens of the English Border, came, with other officers, out of Berwick, and conferred with her majesty as to the keeping of good order in those wild districts. While Sir John was talking with the queen, his courser reared, and, in coming down, struck with his fore feet her majesty's leg and hurt her much. Incontinent, the warden leaped off his horse and sate down upon his knees, craving pardon at her grace, for then all England bore her majesty great reverence. Her majesty made him to rise, and said that she was not hurt; yet it compelled her majesty to tarry two days at the castle of Hume, until she was well again."* Melville, who was of the party, adds, "The king followed her about where she rode, getting on good countenance, and therefore he passed to Glasgow, where he fell sick for displeasure, as was alleged, not without some bruit of an ill drink by some of his servants."† But, according to all other accounts, Darnley had gone straight to Glasgow after his short visit to the queen at Jedburgh. On the 19th of November Mary proceeded to Tantallon Castle, and thence, on the following day, to Craigmillar. Here, according to Le Croc, the French ambassador, she was sick and melancholy, and in the hands of the physician. About a week after her arrival at Craigmillar, Darnley, whose conduct can be reduced to no rational rule, came to visit her, and remained a week! The queen was attended by nearly her whole court. Murray was there, and so also were Argyle, Huntley, Bothwell, and Maitland, the last having just dispatched letters to Morton, who was as yet an exile in England. In the beginning of December Maitland and Murray, after conferring with Argyle, Huntley, and Bothwell, resolved that the queen should be divorced from her unsuitable husband. It appears that all these lords were perfectly agreed as to this plan, but that Murray kept in the background, leaving the principal management of the affair to the adroit and eloquent Maitland, who bore a personal and bitter hatred to Darnley. But when the plan was laid before the queen, she rejected it without hesitation, saying that such a measure could not be adopted without throwing discredit on her own character and doubts on the legitimacy of her child; nor could the eloquence of Maitland and the earnestness of Bothwell overcome this repugnance,—a striking proof that, up to this time at least, she was chary of her reputation, and anxious to preserve it even at the cost of great suffering; for, notwithstanding the pains she took to preserve appearances, we cannot but believe that, since that fatal night in Holyrood, the sight of Darnley was more odious and painful to her than the stabs of daggers. Bothwell, whose arguments were of a direct kind, said that, as for any injury to the infant prince, it was a thing not to be thought of. "My father and mother," said he, "were divorced, yet my father's titles, and offices, and estates, descended lawfully to me." The queen was as firm as ever, and she desired them not to meddle any more with such a subject, leaving it to God of his goodness to put remedy thereto. "Madam," said Lethington, "let us go to the matter among us, and your grace shall see nothing but good, and approved by parliament."

A few days after this debate, the queen was at Stirling for the baptism of her child. There, as we have related, she pardoned the dark-souled

* Melville says, "that, during the stay of the court at Jedburgh, there was another dark plot on foot, and that the Earls of Bothwell and Huntley enterprised the slaughter of the Earl of Murray, but the Lord Hume came there with forces and prevented that enterprise." Keith, on the other hand, makes it rather probable that there was a purpose entertained to murder Bothwell!

* Melville. † Id.

Morton and his confederates; and then it was that Bothwell, Maitland, and Morton, fresh from England, met at Whittingham, where it is supposed, and, in fact, almost proved, that *they* concerted the murder of Darnley, who, after the ceremonies at Stirling, in which he did not partake, had again retired, as we have seen, to Glasgow. This doomed man could know nothing of the secret meeting between Bothwell, Maitland, and Morton; but he well knew that the returned exiles were athirst for vengeance against him. He reached Glasgow; but a frightful disease—the small-pox—was there before him, and he caught the infection immediately. When informed of his malady, the queen sent him her own physician.* When her own life was in danger at Jedburgh Darnley had shown no solicitude. She did not go to Glasgow herself, but the historians who censure her on this account seem to forget that she had an infant to attend to, and that the disease was in the highest degree contagious. The queen set out from Stirling with the young prince for Edinburgh, where she arrived on the 14th of January, 1567. The capital rung with different rumours, some of which reached her ears, and gave her great uneasiness. It was said, for example, that Darnley intended to crown his infant son, and to take the government on himself. But by another report, which seems to have been equally prevalent, Darnley was to be put in ward, as he could not bear some of the nobles who attended the court, so that he or they must leave it. When the privy council inquired into these rumours, they reported that they had traced them to a set of obscure men, but particularly to one Walker, a very meddling fellow, and town-clerk of Glasgow, the place where Darnley chiefly lived. Other reports, however, had spread on the continent, and Mary's ambassador at Paris informed her that the Spanish ambassador had desired him to warn her of some secret plot which was ready to be made at Edinburgh, and conjured her to double her guards. Yet, after writing to her ambassador in France, that she knew, from good authority, that the king, his father, and adherents, were talking and thinking of doing her some injury, only that their power was not equal to their will, Mary consented to a fresh reconciliation, which is said to have been brought about by her physician, who had attended Darnley, and seen him out of danger; and then set out for Glasgow, where she arrived on the 25th of January. Her interview with her husband is described as having been friendly, if not affectionate, and, as he was convalescent, he agreed to accompany her back to Edinburgh in the course of a few days. On the 29th of January they left Glasgow together, Mary travelling, as usual, on horseback; Darnley, on account of his weakness, being carried in a kind of litter. They rested for nearly two days at Linlithgow—the pleasantest palace in all Scotland—and they reached the capital on the last day of January. The king's illness was plausibly assigned as an imperative reason for lodging him out of the close and crowded palace of Holyrood, where his wife and his child resided. A lonely house called the Kirk-a-Field, situated near where the College of Edinburgh now stands, but which was then in the suburbs of the town, had been chosen for him by the queen's physician, who is said to have preferred it on account of its open airy situation, and to have fitted it up as an hospital for the king's reception. This house belonged to one Robert Balfour, the provost of the collegiate church St. Mary.* Here the queen visited him daily, and sometimes slept in a chamber under that of the king. "But many," says Melville, "suspected that the Earl of Bothwell had some enterprise against him (Darnley). Few durst advertise him, because he told all again to some of his own servants, who were not *all* honest. Yet my Lord Robert Earl of Orkney told him, that if he took not himself hastily out of that part, it would cost him his life; which he (Darnley) told again to the queen, and then my Lord Robert denied that ever he spake it. This advertisement moved the Earl Bothwell to haste forward his enterprise." Upon the fatal day, Murray, who, be it observed, invariably managed to be out of the way when anything doubtful and dangerous was to be done, absented himself from the court under pretence that his wife had fallen sick in the country. This opportune absence is certain, and if we are to believe more questionable authority—the zealous advocates of the queen—Murray, upon his journey, speaking of Darnley's behaviour, told a person in whom he reposed his chief confidence, that the king would not live to see another day; and that, afterwards, the Lord Herries publicly reproached him with this at his own table.† This same evening the queen, with several of the nobles, spent with her husband, whom she only left at eleven o'clock at night, in order to be present at an entertainment in Holyrood House, which was given on occasion of the marriage of Sebastian Auvergnac, one of her servants. About three hours after her departure, at two o'clock in the morning of the 10th of February, the ancient palace and the city were shaken by a violent explosion; and when people went forth to see, they found the house of Kirk-a-Field utterly destroyed, and the bodies of Darnley and his valet lying in the garden without any marks of violence on their persons. The body of Darnley was carried to a

* Buchanan, Knox, and other writers of that side, assert that Darnley was poisoned by his wife's orders, and that she would not suffer a physician to come to him. This assertion is completely overset, and that, too, by the testimony of one who was always inclined to take the very worst view of Mary's conduct. The Earl of Bedford, who was almost on the spot, wrote to Cecil on the 9th of January—"The king is now at Glasgow with his father, and there lieth full of the small pokes, to whom the queen hath sent her physician."—*Orig. Letter in State Paper Office*, quoted by Keith and Chalmers.

* Whitaker contends that the house of Kirk-a-Field, or Kirk-of-Field, must have been the residence not of the provost alone, but of his ten prebendaries also.—(Queen Mary Vindicated iii. 294, &c. Note.)—See the same Note for a curious discussion as to the exact spot where the house stood.

† Bishop Lesley's Defence of the Queen of Scots.

house close at hand, was laid within a chamber, and kept by one Sandy (or Alexander) Drurem; but, adds Melville, "I could not get the sight of him." When Melville went to the palace he found her majesty kept her chamber. He says, "I came to the chamber-door the next morning after the murder. The Earl Bothwell said that her majesty was sorrowful and quiet; for he came forth, and told me he saw the strangest accident that ever chanced—to wit, the thunder came out of the luft (sky) and had burnt the king's house, and himself found lying dead a little distance from the house under a tree, and willed me to go up and see him, how that there was not a hurt nor a mark in all his body."*

Never was an atrocious murder more clumsily executed. The elements had been quiet that night, and even an ignorant eye could detect the effects of a mine of gunpowder. Suspicion immediately fell upon Bothwell, but not so immediately either upon the queen or upon Morton and Maitland, and the others who were afterwards proved to have been accessaries and in part active participants in the deed with Bothwell. Some light will be thrown on the horrid mystery by our narration of succeeding events, and the reader will weigh the preceding facts, which we have endeavoured to state clearly and without bias. In truth, our own mind is not made up as to the long and hotly debated question of the queen's innocence or guilt in regard to her husband's murder; and we should hesitate ere we spoke in a more decided tone than that adopted by the acute historian who has weighed the evidence like a lawyer. "Indeed," says Scott, "no inquiry or research has ever been able to bring us either to that clear opinion upon the guilt of Mary which is expressed by many authors, or guide us to that triumphant conclusion in favour of her innocence of all accession, direct or tacit, to the death of her husband, which others have maintained with the same obstinacy. Arguing from probabilities, where there are but few ascertained facts to guide us, we have been led to adopt the opinion expressed by Scottish juries, in a verdict of "not proven," when they are disposed to say that there is an insufficiency of proof to ascertain the guilt of an accused person, while there yet exist such shades of suspicion as do not warrant his discharge without some formal expression of the doubts which the inquest entertain of his guilt or innocence."† Notwithstanding the popular accusation of Bothwell, as being the chief murderer, Secretary Maitland, Morton, Huntley, Argyle, in fact, all her ministers, and nearly every person that approached her, not excepting even her brother Murray, continued their close friendship with that desperate man, and joined together in maintaining his innocence. But several of them could not admit his guilt without proclaiming their own. There is, at least, a doubt in favour of the queen—*perhaps* even in favour of Murray—but there is none as to the rest having taken part more or less actively in the murder. These very men, however, acting as the queen's ministers, issued a proclamation on the 12th of February, offering a reward of two thousand pounds for the discovery of the murderers. On the 16th of the same month placards were set up in the public places of Edinburgh, designating the Earl of Bothwell and three of his servants as the murderers. At this moment Mary was plunged in grief and dismay; and the same ministers—the allies of Bothwell—offered a fresh reward for the discovery of the author of the placards. No person, either of high or low degree, had courage to come forward in the face of the government. But, in the dead of night, fierce voices were heard in the streets of Edinburgh, charging Bothwell as a principal, and the queen as an accomplice. Other persons, however, were named in the like manner; and no one pressed any specific charge, till the Earl of Lennox, at the beginning of the month of March, sent from Glasgow, where he was collecting his friends, to request the queen that such persons as were named in the placards should be arrested. He was answered, that if he or any would stand to the accusation of any of the persons so named, it should be done; but not by virtue of the placards or at his request. This information we derive from Henry Killigrew, whom Elizabeth had sent down ostensibly to condole with Mary, and who, on the very day of his writing (the 8th of March), had dined with Murray, Huntley (then chancellor), the Earl of Argyle, Lord Bothwell, and Secretary Maitland,—the whole party being still bosom friends. It was after this dinner that Killigrew had his first audience of Mary. "I found," says he, "the queen's majesty in a dark chamber, so as I could not see her face; but, by her words, she seemed very doleful; and did accept my sovereign's letters and message in very thankful manner."* On the 17th of March the Earl of Lennox made a more formal accusation of Bothwell and others.† On the 21st Bothwell was allowed by Mary and her ministers to get into his own hands the strong castle of Edinburgh. On the 28th of the same month an order was issued by the privy council for Bothwell's trial to take place on the 12th of April. Lennox, who is more than suspected of having had a principal share in

* In this story of horror nearly every point is still a mystery. It has never been ascertained how Darnley was killed. According to one account, he was blown up in the house; but this seems to be disproved by the fact (witnessed by hundreds) that the body bore no marks of violence or outward hurt. According to another account, he was strangled in his bed, and the house was then blown up to conceal the deed; but if so, why was the body removed to some distance, and placed under a tree in a perfectly sound state? And then the previous strangling would be a useless process with a sick man in his bed, and a train of gunpowder under him. Bothwell, it appears, wished people to believe that the house had been struck by lightning; but, unless he was absolutely crazed, he could never fancy that people would believe that the lightning had first carried Darnley out of a window, and deposited him, without a bone broken, under the tree, and had then reduced the house to a heap of ruins, in which everything was buried except Darnley and his attendant!

† Hist. Scot

* Letter from Killigrew to Cecil, as given by Chalmers. The original is in the State Paper Office.

† He charged Bothwell, with his three partisans or dependents, Balfour, Chalmers, and Spence, and three servants of the queen, Sebastian, Bordeaux, and Joseph Rizzio, the brother of David, whom Mary had promoted after the Holyrood assassination.

the murder of Rizzio and in other dishonourable plots, complained of violence and injustice; and he wrote not only to Mary, but to Queen Elizabeth, to obtain a postponement of the trial, stating, with some reason, that the time was too short to allow him to collect his witnesses, and that he could not safely present himself where the murderers of his son were not only at large but in possession of power and favour.* But it was determined, in spite of this remonstrance, that the Court of Justiciary should proceed to trial on the day fixed. Lennox then advanced from Glasgow to Stirling, on his way to Edinburgh; but here his fears overcame him,—he wrote his excuses,—and then fled with all haste into England, where he was kindly received by Elizabeth. On the 9th of April, before the trial came on, Murray, having with great difficulty obtained the queen's permission, set out from Edinburgh for France. He took his journey through England, where he also was well received; and he took care not to return until the course of events left all but the throne open to his ambition: and yet his absence could hardly exonerate him from suspicion of treacherous dealings, for the cunning Maitland was his sworn ally and coadjutor; and he, and others equally devoted to the earl, remained quietly at their posts till the vessel of the state was fairly driven upon the rocks. On the appointed day, when the Justiciary Court opened, Bothwell appeared at the bar, *supported on the one hand by Maitland, on the other by Morton.* No evidence was produced,—no prosecutor appeared,—and Bothwell was necessarily acquitted, though, by this time, there was scarcely a man in the kingdom but felt assured of his guilt. On the 14th of April, two days after this acquittal, a parliament assembled in a regular manner at Edinburgh. It was opened by the queen's commissioner, but on the 16th her majesty appeared in person, Bothwell carrying the sceptre before her. The parliament confirmed to the murderer all the estates and honours he had recently received, and at the same time all their estates and honours to the nobles who had acted with him or were willing to aid him in his ambitious designs. Old forfeitures were reversed, new grants were made, every man looking eagerly for a share in the queen's liberality. An allusion was boldly made to the late charges against Bothwell, and accusations by placards or bills stuck up secretly in the streets were prohibited. No Scottish parliament at this time could overlook the great question of religion. The present drew up a bill for the renouncing of all foreign jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs, and for confirming and ratifying the Protestant doctrines and church government; and the queen readily gave the royal assent to this bill, which bestowed a constitutional sanction upon the reformed church, and proclaimed a total renunciation of the authority of Rome. Bothwell was indefatigable in this parliament, evidently hoping to conciliate the preachers. During the sitting of the parliament reports got abroad of an intended marriage between the queen and Bothwell. "The bruit began to rise," says Melville, "that the queen would marry the Earl Bothwell, who had, six months before, married the Earl of Huntley's sister, and would part with his own wife. Whereat every good subject that loved the queen's honour and the prince's surety had sore hearts, and thought her majesty would be dishonoured and the prince in danger to be cut off by him that had slain his father; but few or none durst speak in the contrary. Yet my Lord Herries, a worthy nobleman, came to Edinburgh well accompanied, and told her majesty what bruits were passing through the country, of the Earl Bothwell murdering of the king, and how that she was to marry him, requesting her majesty, most humbly upon his knees, to remember upon her honour and dignity and upon the surety of the prince, which would all be in danger of tincell (destruction) in case she married the said earl; with many other great persuasions to eschew such utter wrack and inconvenients as that would bring on. Her majesty marvelled of such bruits without purpose, and said that there was no such thing in her mind. He asked pardon, and prayed her to take his honest meaning in a good part, and took his leave immediately, fearing the Earl Bothwell should get word thereof. He had fifty horse with him for the time, and caused his men to buy as many new spears in Edinburgh, and rode home. And I was about to (have) said as meikle (much) unto her majesty; but in the mean time there came a letter to me from one Thomas Bishop, a Scotchman that had been long in England, and was a great persuader of many in England to favour her majesty's title, and used to write oft unto my brother and me informations and advertisements. At this time he used even the like language that my Lord Herries had spoken, but more freely, because he was absent in another country. He adjured me to show the said letter unto her majesty, declaring how it was bruited in England that her majesty was to marry the Earl Bothwell, who was the murderer of her husband, another wife's husband; a man full of reproach and grangoir (disease), with many other reproaches that he alleged; which bruits he would not believe by reason of her noble wit and qualities, and of the honourable mark that she shot at: and, in case she married him, she would tine (lose) the favour of God, her own reputation, the kingdoms of England, Ireland, and Scotland; with many other dissuasions and examples of histories, which would be over long to rehearse. I had been absent, and passed to the court to show this letter unto her majesty, protesting that she would take it in a good part. After that her majesty had read the said writing, she gave it to me again, without any more speech, but called upon the Secretary

* Elizabeth remonstrated with Mary, but the English messenger did not arrive at Holyrood till the very morning of the mock trial. From the 28th of March to the 12th of April are only fifteen days, so that, as a forced journey from Edinburgh to London (and Lennox wrote from Glasgow) occupied six days, and the same time must be allowed for the return, without counting time for consulting with her ministers or allowing for contingencies, the English queen had possibly not been able to get her remonstrance to Holyrood sooner.

Lethington, and said to him that I had shown her a strange writing, willing him also to see it. He asked what it could be? She said, a device of his own, tending only to the wrack of the Earl Bothwell. He took me by the hand, and drew me apart to see the said writing; and, when he had read it, he asked what was in my mind?—and said, 'So soon as the Earl Bothwell gets word, as I fear he shall, he will not fail to slay you.' I said that it was a sair matter to see that good princess run till utter wreck, and nobody to forewarn her. He said that I had done mair honestly nor (than) wisely. 'I pray you,' said he, 'retire you with diligence before the Earl Bothwell come up from his dinner.' Her majesty told him at the first meeting, with a condition that he should not do me any harm; but I was flown, and was sought, but could not be found till my lord's fury was slaked; for I was advertised that there was nothing but slaughter in case I had been gotten. Whereat her majesty was miscontent, and told him that he would cause her be left of all her servants. Then he promised me that he would do me no harm; whereof I being advertised passed again unto her majesty, and shew (showed) her that she made me never such a fault as to think that I had invented the said letter, assuring her that it came from the said Thomas Bishop; and albeit it had not come from him, I was minded of duty to have said my opinion thereanent with all reverence and humility. She said matters were not that far agaitward (far advanced); but she had no will to enter in the terms."

If these remarkable details are honestly and correctly given,—and our own impression is that they are so in the main,—Mary was evidently at this moment coerced by the ruffianly audacity of Bothwell, who was still in close alliance with Maitland and all her ministers, and permitted by them to menace her true friends in her own palace. Immediately after the rising of parliament Bothwell invited the leading members of that body, lay and ecclesiastic, to an entertainment in an Edinburgh tavern,* and declared to them his purpose of marrying the queen. Hereupon he drew out a bond from his pocket, wherein, after a full recognition of his innocence of the late king's murder, he, Bothwell, was warmly recommended as a suitable match to her majesty in case she should condescend to marry with a subject; and the bond further stated that the subscribers thereto pledged themselves to advance the said marriage at the risk of life and goods. Voluntarily, or through fear, eight bishops, nine earls, and seven lords subscribed the paper, which Bothwell then returned to his pocket. Maitland and the ex-chancellor Morton countenanced and supported him; they put their signatures to the bond; and with them signed Argyle, Rothes, and Boyd, who were all sworn allies of the Earl of Murray, and who had joined in his rebellion on the queen's marriage with Darnley. Among the other names appears even that of Lord Herries, for all the part he had taken, according to Melville, only a few days before. Four days after the signing of this bond Bothwell collected about a thousand horse, under pretext of border service, and lay in wait for the queen, who was then returning from Stirling Castle, whither she had been to visit her infant son. At the Foulbrigs, between Linlithgow and Edinburgh, Bothwell rode up to her, and took her majesty by the bridle. His men took the Earl of Huntley, the Secretary Lethington, and Melville, and letting all the rest go free, carried them with the queen as captives to the strong castle of Dunbar. Huntley (though brother to Bothwell's wife) and Maitland were certainly willing prisoners—were plotters in the dark business; but, after all that has been said and written, there is some doubt whether the queen were not taken by surprise and force: and this is the point most decisive of Mary's character, far more so than the subsequent act of marriage with Bothwell. If she went knowingly and willingly, she loaded herself with a crushing weight of guilt and folly; but if she were carried away by violence, the marriage would appear, in the eyes of most women of that time, as the only means of covering her honour. Melville, who was, as we have seen, with the queen when she was taken, is not very clear on this point; he says, however, that Bothwell, after taking the queen's bridle, "boasted to marry the queen, who would or who would not; yea, whether she would herself or not." But he adds—"Captain Blaiketer, (or Blackadder) that was my taker, alleged that it was with the queen's own consent." Yet, here, it should be observed, that Blackadder, as an officer or servant of Bothwell,—as a person actively engaged in the transaction,—would naturally make such an assertion; for, if it was against the queen's consent, the act was nothing less than treason in all concerned. On the following day Melville was let out of Dunbar Castle, and permitted to pass home. But Bothwell kept the queen five days in that fortress, during which none of her subjects made any efforts for her release,—a remarkable fact, susceptible of at least two interpretations:—either they believed that she was there willingly; or they wished to see her utterly defamed and ruined by a marriage with Bothwell. The most active of the nobles had conspired to bring this about: Maitland, who remained with her in the castle, continued to urge her to this step. Mary afterwards complained that, while under this thraldom, not a sword was drawn for her relief; but after their marriage a thousand swords flew from their scabbards to drive Bothwell from the country and herself from her throne. On the 29th of April the daring man brought the queen back to Edinburgh Castle, and placed her in seeming liberty; but she was in fact still in a snare, entirely surrounded by crafty and remorseless men. "Afterwards," says Melville, "the court came to Edin-

* The house was kept by one Ainslie. Hence the famous transaction was called "Ainslie's Supper,"—a name which was afterwards applied to the house or tavern itself.

burgh, and there a number of noblemen were drawn together in a chamber within the palace, where they subscribed, all, that the marriage between the queen and the Earl Bothwell was very meet, he being well friended in Lothians and upon the borders, to cause good rule to be kept; and then the queen could not but marry him, seeing he had ravished her and lain with her against her will. I cannot tell how nor by what law he parted with his own wife, sister to the Earl of Huntley." This hurried parting with his wife was one of the most revolting features of Bothwell's conduct; and yet, in this respect, he was scarcely more infamous than his high-born wife herself, or her brother the Earl of Huntley, chancellor of the kingdom and guardian of the purity of the laws! He commenced a process in the Consistory Court of the Popish Archbishop of St. Andrew's for a divorce on the plea of consanguinity; and his wife, in collusion with him, sued her husband in the Protestant Court of Commissaries of Edinburgh for a divorce on a charge of adultery. She had been previously gratified by Bothwell with a grant for life of the lands and town of Nether-Hailes in Haddingtonshire; and Huntley, her brother, continued in the closest intimacy with Bothwell, and was even present at his marriage with the queen. Both the ecclesiastical courts proceeded with as much speed as Bothwell could have required, and on different grounds passed sentence of divorce. A few days after the queen appeared in the Court of Session, and there declared before the chancellor, the judges, and several of the nobility, that though she had been carried off and detained against her will in Dunbar, and greatly injured by the Earl of Bothwell, yet considering his former great services, and all that might be hereafter expected from his bravery and ability, she was disposed not only to forgive him, but also to exalt him to higher honours. Bothwell, of course, had made the best use of his bond signed by the bishops, and earls, and lords at "Ainslie's Supper;" and it is generally admitted that this document had great weight with Mary, who, it should appear, did not see it until she was at Dunbar. And now the said great lords, spiritual and temporal, who had signed the deed, got from the queen a written assurance that neither they nor their descendants should ever be accused on that account.* Resolving to have his new marriage performed in a strictly Protestant and Presbyterian manner, Bothwell commanded that the banns should be published in the regular parish church at Edinburgh. John Knox was then absent, but his place was supplied by his friend and colleague Craig, who, after some hesitation, published the banns as required, and then protested from the pulpit that he abhorred and detested the intended marriage as unlawful and scandalous, and solemnly charged the nobility to use their influence to prevent the queen from taking a step which would come her with infamy. But the nobles were not indeed from any disposition to make efforts in this way, the influence of the greater part of them being, as is supposed, engaged to promote the match, and no complaint on their part being made against it until it was completed, and the queen irretrievably lost. Bothwell was now created Duke of Orkney; and on the 15th of May, only eight days after the dissolution of his former marriage, he was united to the queen. "The marriage," says Melville, "was made in the palace of Holyrood House, after a preaching by Adam Bodewell (or Bothwell), Bishop of Orkney, in the great hall where the council uses to sit, according to the order of the reformed religion, and not in the chapel of the mass, as was the king's marriage." On the same day, however, the ceremony was also performed in private according to the Catholic forms. At the public celebration there was a great attendance of nobles. "As for me," says Melville, "I tarried not at court but now and then, yet I chanced to be there at the marriage. When I came that time to the court, I found my Lord Duke of Orkney (Bothwell) sitting at his supper. He said I had been a great stranger, desiring me to sit down and sup with him. The Earl of Huntley, the Justice Clerk,* and divers other were sitting at the table with him. I said that I had already supped. Then he called for a cup of wine, and drank to me, that I might pledge him, like a Dutchman (that is, a German). He bade me drink it out, to grow fatter; 'for,' said he, 'the zeal of the commonweal has eaten you up, and made you so lean.' I answered, that every little member should serve to some use; but that the care of the commonweal appertained most to him and the rest of the nobility, who should be as fathers to the same. . . Then he fell in purpose of (the) gentlewomen, speaking such filthy language that I left him, and passed up to the queen, who was very glad of my coming." A few days after this wretched marriage, Le Croc, the French ambassador, represents Mary as being in the extremity of grief and despair. "On Thursday the queen sent for me, when I perceived something strange in the mutual behaviour of her and her husband. She attempted to excuse it, and said, 'If you see me melancholy, it is because I do not choose to be cheerful—because I never will be so, and wish for nothing but death.' Yesterday, when they were both in a room with the Count D'Aumale, she called aloud for a knife, to kill herself: the persons in the ante-chamber heard it. I believe that, if God does not support her, she will fall entirely into despair. On three occasions, when I have seen her, I have given her advice, and consoled her as well as I was able. Her husband will not be able to continue here long, for he is too much hated in the kingdom, and the people will always be convinced that the death of the king was his work."† This does not look like a happy bride who had willingly and eagerly

* [illegible]ey.—Scott.

* The Justice Clerk was the second law dignity in the kingdom. Huntley, brother to Bothwell's divorced wife, it will be remembered, was Chancellor.

† Harl. MS., quoted by Raumer.

thrown herself into the arms of her lover: but here it must be stated that, according to one account, her affections as a mother may have caused her grief, for it is said that Bothwell persecuted her in order to get possession of the person of the young prince James, who, however, was safely lodged in Stirling Castle with the Earl of Marr, a man not likely to deliver up his charge, even at the request of the mother. Envoys were sent to England and to France to communicate the queen's marriage, and to counteract the rumours which were afloat. Elizabeth, who had certainly been warned beforehand by Morton and Maitland,—the very men who were most active in bringing about the match,—now prepared to lend her assistance to them in taking up arms against the queen. Morton, as it has been observed, was well aware that, by ruining Mary, he should gratify his patroness Elizabeth, and raise his own party to the prime management of affairs; and, after the lapse of a few short years, when Mary's brother, Murray, who was the first to step to greatness by her fall, was laid in a bloody grave, we shall see this same Morton, one of the murderers of Rizzio as of Darnley, made regent of Scotland, under the protection of the English queen.

As soon as the queen's honour was inseparably connected with Bothwell, Morton, Maitland, and the rest began to talk against the marriage, to revive the mournful fate of Darnley, and to intimate that Bothwell was guilty of that murder. At first, all this was said cautiously and secretly; but as soon as they had seen the effects of such discourses, and the great force they could rely upon, they openly declared themselves; and three weeks after the marriage they flew to arms, ostensibly only to punish their colleague and brother assassin, Bothwell, to secure the person of the young prince, and to liberate the queen from the control of her husband. The confederacy of the lords was, in fact, explicitly declared to be for the protection of the queen and her son against the guilty Bothwell, but they had already determined to dethrone Mary, and crown the infant James. On the 6th of June, before any declaration was made, they attempted to seize the queen and Bothwell in Borthwick Castle, about eight miles south-east of Edinburgh; but the earl easily escaped, and after him the queen, disguised in male attire, rode without stopping, on a common saddle, to the castle of Dunbar. The confederates counter-marched upon Edinburgh, where the populace joined them. It was still reported that the life of Prince James was in danger, though the Earl of Marr, who had joined the confederacy, had him in perfect safety in Stirling Castle. The confederates assumed the power of government, issuing proclamations, as if the queen had been already dethroned. They called upon all the queen's people to join their standard under pain of being deemed murderers of the late king; and in order to move men's hearts, they circulated printed papers, detailing the atrocities of Bothwell. Still, however, with the exception of the lower orders, few flocked to their standard; and at this moment the corporation of Edinburgh sent a deputation to Mary, to excuse the city for admitting the confederated nobles. The queen, in the mean while, summoned her faithful subjects in the adjoining counties; and, by the end of two days, two thousand fighting men from the Lothians and the Merse gathered round her standard at Dunbar. Here she ought to have remained—for the castle was almost impregnable, the confederates had little or no artillery, and their force was not increasing so rapidly as her own. But the queen, who was always bold and decisive in the face of such dangers as these, and who could not have forgotten how the lords fled before her in the Round-about Raid, marched out of Dunbar towards Edinburgh on the 14th of June. She halted at Gladsmuir, where she caused a proclamation to be read to her little army, exposing the professions of the insurgents, declaring that her late marriage with Bothwell had been contracted and solemnized with the consent and at the persuasion of the chiefs of the insurrection, as their own hand-writings testified, and affirming that, though they affected to fear for the safety of her son (*who was in their own possession*), yet they only aimed at overthrowing her and her posterity, in order that they themselves might enjoy the supreme power. The queen further stated that she had been forced to take arms for her own defence, and that she would reward the valour of her faithful followers with the confiscated lands of the traitors. That night she lay at Seton. On the following morning, Sunday, the 15th of June, exactly one month after her marriage, she advanced to Carberry Hill, and there drew up in order of battle—for the insurgents had advanced from Edinburgh to meet her, and stood in battle-array in two divisions, the one commanded by the Earl of Morton, the other by the Earl of Athole. While the two armies stood thus in presence of each other, the aged Le Croc advanced to the insurgents, and endeavoured to effect a peaceful accommodation. He assured them, on the part of the queen, that she was desirous of preventing bloodshed among her own subjects, and willing to grant an amnesty for all that had passed. The Earl of Morton made answer that they had taken arms not against the queen, but against the murderer of the king; that if she would deliver up Bothwell, or put him from her company, they would return to their obedience, but that, otherwise, they would make a day of it. And then the Earl of Glencairn, who, like many present, was a mixture of the fanatic and the mercenary manœuvrer,* told the French ambassador that they were not come to that field to ask pardon for what they had done, but rather to give pardon to those that had sinned. While this lengthened conference lasted, Bothwell sent a herald offering to prove his innocence by the old ordeal of single

* He was one of the old pensioners of England, and a great friend of John Knox's.

THE SURRENDER OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS AT CARBERRY HILL.
From the old Picture engraved by Vertue, and published by the Royal Society of Antiquaries.

combat. Two of the insurgents successively accepted the challenge, but Bothwell objected to both as being men of inferior rank. According to one account, he now challenged, by name, the Earl of Morton, who is said to have accepted the challenge, and to have chosen the weapons and the mode of fighting, which was to be on foot with two-handed swords. These villains would have been fairly pitted, but 'neither seems to have been willing to set his life on such a cast: and, in the end, there was no fight at all between them. Lord Lindsay, it is said, offered himself in Morton's place, and, laying aside his armour, in the presence of the whole insurgent army, fell upon his knees, and prayed that God might, in his mercy, protect the innocent and punish the guilty murderer of the king. But Mary refused her consent to this duel; and there were no doubt many with her who were unwilling to stake their cause on the uncertain issue of a single combat. It should appear that, during this idle bravadoing, the force of the confederates was increased by arrivals from Edinburgh, which was only about five miles in their rear, and that symptoms of disaffection were observed among the queen's troops. The crisis is described in very different ways. Some say that Bothwell's heart failed him—that, after demanding a promise of fidelity from the queen, he mounted his horse and galloped away for Dunbar Castle, leaving her to fall into the hands of her enemies: and Camden adds, that the nobles, with Morton, gave him secret notice to provide for himself by flight, lest, being taken, he might impeach them of the part they had had in the Darnley murder. According to another account, the queen sent a herald to desire that Kirkaldy of Grange, the best soldier of Scotland, and a man who retained some chivalrous feelings, might wait upon her to settle terms of accommodation. The lords consented, and gave the Laird of Grange full authority to treat with the queen. He proposed, it is said, in their names, that Bothwell should pass off the field until the cause might be tried, and that the queen should pass over to them, and use the counsels of her nobles, who bound themselves thenceforward to honour, serve, and obey her majesty. The queen assented, and Grange thereupon took Bothwell by the hand, and desired him to depart, promising that no one should oppose or follow him; and thus Bothwell passed away with the consent of the insurgent lords. Kirkaldy then took the queen's bridle-rein, and led her down the hill to the confederates. Morton waited upon her to ratify the promises which had been made to her on their behalf, and hs assured her that she should be more honoured and obeyed than any of her progenitors had ever been. But as Mary advanced into the lines all

this homage and respect vanished—the armed ranks closed around her with menacing gestures and the coarsest reproaches. The common soldiers and the rabble from Edinburgh cried out that she ought to be burned as a Papist, a prostitute, and murderess. They carried her on to Edinburgh, where she arrived at seven o'clock in the evening, covered with tears and the dust of the roads, and in that state they led her on horseback through the principal streets, some of the mob carrying a white banner before her, whereon were rudely painted a figure of her husband Darnley lying strangled under a tree, and a figure of Prince James, his son, kneeling beside it, with a label issuing from his mouth with these words upon it:—"Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord!" They lodged her in the provost's house, which was beset the whole night by the yelling populace. When she arose in the morning, the first object that met her eyes was the same dismal banner. As soon as she was able, she sent Maitland, whom she still believed to be attached to her interests, to request that the estates of the realm might be summoned forthwith, as she was willing to submit to their determination—she being present and heard in defence of her own cause. But it did not suit Morton and his confederates to adopt this legal course; and on the following evening they hurried her under a strong guard to the castle of Lochleven, situated on an islet in the loch or lake which bears that name, in Kinross-shire, and commanded by the grim and ferocious Lord Lindsay of the Byers, and the murderous Ruthven (first performer in the assassination of Rizzio). This castle was chosen not only on account of its difficult situation, but because it was the property and stronghold of Sir William Douglas, a uterine brother of the Earl of Murray, and presumptive heir to Morton.* Mary was treated with excessive harshness in this her first place of captivity; and the whole conduct of the confederate lords was opposite to the agreement upon which the queen placed herself in their hands at Carberry Hill. Kirkaldy of Grange was incensed at their conduct, and upbraided them with having broken their word, and made him, an honourable soldier, the means of deceiving the queen with lies; but the lords contented themselves with saying that the favourable conditions had been promised upon the express understanding that Mary should cease all intercourse with Bothwell, and that since her captivity she had written him an affectionate letter—a thing scarcely possible—and had promised still to share his fortunes; and that, therefore, she had forfeited the benefits of the treaty.

But it was not long before Bothwell had fled the kingdom for ever. On the 26th of June there was issued an act of the privy council for apprehending him, he being charged with the murder of Darnley, and with ravishing the queen's person and enforcing her to marry him (this was, in a manner, declaring the queen innocent); and they offered a reward of a thousand crowns to any one that should bring the traitor and ravisher to Edinburgh. If they had really wished to have Bothwell there, they would have pursued a very different course, and left him much less time. Some twenty days after the queen's imprisonment in Lochleven, Bothwell quietly retired by water from Dunbar Castle into Murrayshire, where he stayed some time. He next sought shelter in his dukedom of Orkney, but he was refused admittance into his own castle there by his own keeper or lieutenant. In his desperate fortunes he called around him some northern pirates, and threatened to scour the seas with a blood-red flag. The lords then thought proper to dispatch a small fleet after him from Leith. If they had caught him, there can be little doubt that they would have buried Bothwell and his secrets in the ocean; but he fled to the coast of Norway, where he was, after a few months, taken by the Danish government, who considered him as a pirate, and threw him into the castle of Malmoe, where he is said to have gone mad.* At the point of death, nearly ten years after,

* Murray's mother, the Lady Margaret Erskine, daughter of John, fifth Earl of Mar, afterwards married Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, and by him became the mother of Sir William Douglas, who was a near connexion of James Douglas, Earl of Morton.

* It is generally believed that Bothwell was detained by the Danish government in captivity till he died, in 1576, in the castle of Malmoe, in the province of Schoenen, now a part of Sweden, but which then belonged to the kingdom of Denmark. A few years ago there was discovered, in the royal library at the castle of Drottningholm, in Sweden, a narrative in French of the transactions in which Bothwell was engaged in Scotland up to the time of his flight, which appears to have been written by himself, or rather by an amanuensis at his dictation: the manuscript is corrected in various places, it is supposed by the hand of Bothwell. An English translation of this paper was given in the New Monthly Magazine (vol. xiii. pp. 521—537), and the French original has since been printed by the Bannatyne Club, 4to. Edin. 1829. The statement, however, being merely Bothwell's own account of his conduct, prepared apparently with the view of inducing the Danish government to grant him his liberty, contains nothing of much historical importance. The most interesting parts of his story are passed over very summarily: he denies, of course, that he had any hand in Darnley's murder; he merely mentions his divorce of his first wife in a marginal note; and his ravishment or seizure of the queen he does not notice at all. But among some documents appended to the publication by the Bannatyne Club, one in particular is very curious—the official account of "the examination of Bothwell when he was taken by a Danish man-of-war on his flight from Scotland, and brought to Bergen in Norway" (28th September, 1567). This document is given both in an English translation and in the original Dutch, from the work in which it first appeared—a Danish translation of Gentz's German History of Mary Stuart, which was published at Copenhagen, in 1803, by M. C. Bergenhammer and Professor Knud Lyne Rahbek. Gentz's History, which has also been translated into French by M. Damaze de Raymond (12mo. Paris, 1813), seems to have been first published in the Berlin Taschenbuch, or Annual, for 1799, as a contribution from the author, the well-known political writer and Counsellor of War to his Prussian majesty. The examiners of Bothwell begin by stating "that when Chrestene Olbornig arrived here, in Bergen, with his royal majesty's man-of-war called the Biornenn (the Bear), he brought with him two armed Scottish pinks (ships of a small size), which he found in his royal majesty's seas and waters." As soon as he had landed "he gave notice to the honourable and noble man Erick Rosenkrandtz, of Welsöö, commandant of Bergenhus, how he met with the said pinks armed and manned, yet having no document, letter of marque, passport, or ship's papers, such as respectable sailors usually have, and ought to have and produce, and that, when he found the said Scottish pinks, there was among the Scottish people one dressed in old, torn, and patched boatswain's clothes, who some time thereafter stated himself to be the supreme governor of all Scotland." This turned out to be Bothwell. On being questioned, he at first assumed a high tone; but he could not induce the worthy magistrates to set him at liberty, the more especially when it was clearly proved that the vessel in which he was taken was a notorious pirate. He pretended to have nothing on board that he cared for preserving; but, on a search being made, a box was found filled with papers and letters, some printed, some written, among which were the proclamations of the Scottish government declaring the crimes with which he was charged, and offering a reward for his apprehension. The account tantalizes us, also, by the mention of a letter which the box contained written to Bothwell by the queen, his wife, in her own hand, but the contents of which are only noticed in the most general terms.

he is said to have solemnly declared, upon his oath, that he himself committed the murder of Darnley by the councils of Murray, Morton, and others; but this point, like most of the rest, is involved in doubt and obscurity, and we shall see that Bothwell's dying declaration, or testament, as it was called, was purposely kept out of sight by Elizabeth, into whose hands it fell. As soon as Murray became regent, he dispatched the Lion King-at-arms to Denmark, to announce his elevation, and implore that Bothwell might be surrendered to him; but the Danish government would not listen to this application, nor to others, which were made with equal urgency by Lennox, when he, in his turn, walked through the brief honours and glories of the regency, if not to a bloody death, to disgrace and exile.

The confederate lords had pretended that they only kept the queen in ward till the dangerous Bothwell should be expelled the kingdom; and Elizabeth, or Cecil for her, represented to foreign courts that England would make efforts for Mary's liberation as soon as Bothwell should be out of the kingdom; but, when this expulsion had really been effected, the lords kept her in as close confinement as ever, and, changing their tone altogether, they declared that she should be dethroned on account of misgovernment, and compelled to resign her crown to her infant son, or, in other words, the entire government to her half-brother, Murray, and his party. There was, however, a strong party that opposed this violent scheme, thinking that they had gone far enough already, and that the queen might now be safely trusted with the government. By the end of June, many of the noblest families of Scotland, including the Hamiltons, the Earl of Huntley, the gallant Lord Herries, and others, began to devise measures for her protection, and insisted that she ought to be restored to her liberty and her throne, upon certain equitable conditions. But Mary's enemies were more powerful than these friends, and the townspeople very generally were set against her, and induced by their preachers to cry aloud, not merely for her dethronement, but for her execution. Knox and his followers, who had not waited for the murder of Darnley and the marriage with Bothwell to declare their queen an idolatress, a Jezabel, a woman marked with the reprobation of the Lord, now impatiently demanded her death, proclaiming in the pulpit that such a deed would be justified by Scripture history, the laws of the realm, and the oaths taken by the queen at her coronation. On the 18th of June, the day after Mary's journey to Lochleven, the Earl of Glencairn, with his servants and a set of fanatics, went into the queen's chapel at Holyrood, broke down the altar, and demolished the pictures, images, and ornaments. The preachers highly commended this work of great godliness; but we are not informed what they said to another transaction which took place on the same day: for the insurgent nobles seized all the queen's plate, jewels, and other moveables, without anything like a regal authority. The confederates now assumed the title of the Lords of the Secret Council—an appropriate name. The Earls of Athole, Marr, and Glencairn, the Lords Ruthven, Hume, Sempil, Sanquhar, and Ochiltree, were members of this council; but the real leader was the Earl of Morton. Having let Bothwell escape—and it seems that they were also glad to see Sebastian, the queen's French servant, who was strongly suspected, get safe out of the kingdom—they seized Captain Blackadder and a few very obscure persons. The captain was condemned and executed for Darnley's murder; but at his death he would no ways confess himself guilty. Four others, by orders of the Lords of the Secret Council, were *ironed and tormented*, then tried, and executed; but the lords did not find it convenient to publish either their trials or their confessions. On the 23rd of July Villeroy had arrived on a special mission from France, and desired to speak with the queen; but the lords, who expected no favour from that side, refused to admit him; and they seem to have rendered his sojourn very uncomfortable, for in three days he returned to France. A very different reception was given to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a special envoy from Elizabeth, who found himself among old friends, and who in a very few days recommended his mistress to be favourable to the Lords of the Secret Council, *who could do her best service*. Soon after, Throgmorton informed his court that he could get no access to Queen Mary, whose life was in great danger, and that he found it would be difficult, if not impossible, to induce the lords to send Prince James into England,—a plan which, for obvious reasons, Elizabeth and Cecil had much at heart. He mentions having had some conference with Mr. Knox and Mr. Craig, whom he had requested, as he says, to preach and persuade unity. He adds,—"I found them both very austere in this conference. What I shall do hereafter I know not. They are furnished with many arguments,—some parts of Scripture, some of history, some grounded (as they say) upon the laws of this realm, some upon practices used in this realm, and some upon the conditions and oaths made by their princes at their coronation. The lords still speak reverently and mildly about Mary, yet I find by intelligence that the queen is in very great peril of her life, by reason that the people assembled at this convention do mind vehemently the destruction of her."* This convention was the Assembly of the Kirk, which, having met at Edinburgh, chose George Buchanan for their moderator, and put themselves in close league with the Lords of the Secret Council—known villains and murderers, it is true, but who declared that their sole object was to promote true religion and abolish Papistry, "seeing that God at this present had begun to tread down Satan under foot." And, to increase the prevailing enthusiasm, the Assembly appointed a public fast to be held in Edinburgh for a whole week, during which the

* Harl. MS., quoted by Raumer.

name of Mary was introduced as a convicted criminal, though she was as yet untried, into every prayer and every sermon; and it was proclaimed in the hearing of many applauding assassins, dyed deep in recent and in old blood, and in treacheries and conspiracies too numerous to count, that heaven would never avert its wrath from the land till that murderess the queen was brought to condign punishment.* Elizabeth, meanwhile, made a decent show of remonstrating with the Lords of the Secret Council on the undutifulness of their conduct; but she did nothing to prevent it or succour her relative Mary; and Throgmorton, her negotiator, was the bosom friend of those lords, and a man that, both upon political and religious grounds, would rejoice at the overthrow of the Popish queen. Throgmorton, as we have seen, was denied access to Mary. The communications he received from her, or concerning her, were all conveyed through Maitland or the lords Lindsay and Ruthven; and hence, to say nothing of his *own violent prejudices*, his dispatches to the English court are not entitled to all the credit which has been given to them as historical documents.† The two great and real objects of his mission were to get possession of Prince James and to prevent Mary's going to France. He, indeed, faintly urged the propriety of setting the queen at liberty, as a thing that would be proper and pleasing to the Queen of England; but, even if he had been bold and decisive, that part of the negotiation must have been very difficult. Maitland, he writes, said to him, "Being in places to know more than you can know, I say to you, as one that would of all ills choose the least, in case your mistress presses this company to enlarge the queen, and to suffer you to go unto her, or if you do use any threatening speeches in these matters, the rather to compass them, I assure you you will put the queen in great jeopardy of her life; and, therefore, there is no other way to do her good but to give place and to use mildness."‡

At the same time these cunning workmen threatened the French court that, if it made any effort in favour of the captive queen, they would throw themselves wholly into the arms of the English, and, peradventure, make Mary taste of sharper pangs. And the Hamiltons and the rest of the nobles opposed to the Lords of the Secret Council took no steps for her release, waiting, it should seem, for the return of their head, the Duke of Chatelherault, who, as well as the Earl of Murray, was absent in France. Thus abandoned by all, and beset with dangers and threats of death and worse, the captive queen, on the 24th of July, put her hand to a deed in the presence of Ruthven, Lindsay, and Sir Robert Melville,* by which she resigned the crown in favour of the baby James, then about fourteen months old. At the same time she was forced to sign a commission appointing her half-brother Murray to be regent during the minority of her son. Lindsay and Ruthven, who were chosen for the business on account of their superior brutality, solemnly swore that the deeds had been signed freely and willingly. Now was the time for the Earl of Murray to return to Scotland; but he was careful to take London in his way; and, if we could learn what passed then between him and Elizabeth and Cecil, we should have the clue to many mysteries. Murray left London on the 31st of July, about a week after his wretched sister had been made to sign the deeds in Lochleven Castle. When he reached Berwick he was met by a deputation from the Lords: when he reached Edinburgh, on the 11th of August, he was received with all honour and joy by Morton, Ruthven (son of the murderer of Rizzio), Maitland, John Knox, and all the preachers,—for, in their eyes, he was the most godly of all the godly lords. It was evidently not without calculation that the astute Murray did not arrive till after the coronation of his nephew. That precious ceremony had been performed at Stirling on the 29th of July. John Knox, who was appointed to preach the coronation sermon, objected with his usual energy to the old ceremonial of unction, as a Jewish rite, much abused under the Papacy. But the thing was altogether so irregular in law, that the Lords of the Secret Council would not dispense with a single form. The child was therefore anointed by the Bishop of Orkney; and the superintendents of Lothian and Angus assisted the bishop in placing the crown on or over the infant's head. This ceremony, which smelt very strongly of Papistry to the preachers and burghers, did not pass off without disturbance. One of the Hamiltons, as proxy for the Duke of Chatelherault, protested against the whole proceeding as injurious to the rights of the duke; the other lords of the Hamilton party had refused to attend; and, when the ceremonies were over, John Knox, along with some others, took instruments and craved extracts of the proceedings.† Throgmorton had orders not to attend; and it appears that none of the foreign ambassadors were present. Mixed with the puritanic, there was a display of republican feeling which must have greatly offended Elizabeth, who

* John Knox himself seems to have been the fiercest of all the preachers. On two several occasions Throgmorton writes to his mistress—"Knox preaches against Mary, and exhorts the lords to execute justice upon her." ..... "Knox continues his severe exhortations as well against the queen as against Bothwell, threatening the great plagues of God to this whole country and nation if *she* be spared from condign punishment."

† His chief informer was the crafty Maitland of Lethington, and Throgmorton was too experienced a diplomatist to place much faith in such a man. Such expressions as these escape him, even in detailing the Secretary's news,—"*If* there be any truth in Lethington." ..... "If Lethington be not the greatest of liars." But Throgmorton could pretend to believe whenever the story went against Mary.

‡ Raumer, from Scotch Correspondence in State Paper Office.

* Afterwards created Baron Melville, an elder brother of Sir James Melville, the author of the Memoirs, and also, it is supposed, of Sir Andrew Melville, who appears in attendance on Queen Mary at her death. These three Melvilles, sons of the Laird of Raith in Fife, from whom are descended the earls of Leven and Melville, are not to be confounded with their countrymen and contemporaries Andrew Melvill, Professor of Divinity at St Andrew's, one of the most distinguished of the friends and fellow-labourers of Knox, and his relation James Melvill, minister of Anstruther, whose curious Diary, or Memoir of his own Life, has recently been printed by the Bannatyne Club, (4to. Edit. 1829).

† M'Crie, Life of John Knox.

LOCHLEVEN CASTLE: the hills overlooking the Loch are the Lomonds.

was already complaining of the "hot Puritans" in England, and who was naturally jealous of everything that gave encouragement to these feelings. She denounced to Morton all the recent proceedings as things dangerous and unnatural, saying that it was contrary to Scripture that the head should be subject to the foot; and that, whatever suspicions of guilt there might be against Mary, her subjects had no right to depose her. But this she wrote when Murray was at or near her court. This deep dissimulator puzzled even the practised Throgmorton, who, for a moment, believed that he was tenderly interested for his captive sister. But Murray soon dispelled this dream. In a letter addressed to Elizabeth, on the 20th of August, Throgmorton relates that Murray, with others, had been to Lochleven, where he held a "long conference with Mary, in which he told her all her bad government, and left her that night with no hopes of life, and desired her to seek God's mercy, which was the only refuge she could expect." Next day, he adds, Murray gave her some hope of life and preservation of her honour, telling her that her liberty lay not in his power, and (a needless assertion) that it was not her interest to ask it,—that the things that would hazard her life were any disturbance or rising made in her favour, any attempt to escape from her prison, any encouragement given to her party, any engagement on her part to induce either the French king or English queen to attempt her liberty by force or treaty, or any further signs of affection for Bothwell. In conclusion, Murray exhorted his sister to repent of her sins, and regard the confederate lords as her best friends, who only sought the reformation of her religion and morals. Murray had already professed a decent reluctance to step into his sister's place; and so, on the 22nd of August, two days after his visit to Lochleven, he was proclaimed regent, protesting "that it was now past deliberation; and as for ignominy and calumniation, he had no other defence against it but the goodness of God, his upright conscience, and his intent to deal sincerely in his office."* One of his first measures was to destroy the seals which bore the name and titles of the queen; his next to get possession of Edinburgh Castle: and, on the 24th of the same month, Sir James Balfour, Bothwell's lieutenant and confederate, who had for some time been driving a good bargain for himself, surrendered the fortress, upon condition of having a free pardon for his concern in Darnley's murder, a pension out of the revenues of the Priory of St. Andrew's for his son, and five thousand pounds in cash. This transaction has been properly quoted as a proof that the godly Murray was not very anxious for the punishment of such murderers. On the 30th of September, being aided by Morton, who was rewarded with the forfeited estates of Bothwell's deputy, he got possession of the strong

* Throgmorton's Letters to Elizabeth, quoted by Raumer and Wright.

castle of Dunbar. Soon after he heaped fresh honours and emoluments upon the murderer Morton, thus confirming the suspicions of thousands, that this man had done his business during his absence in France. He restored him to the office of chancellor, which he had forfeited by keeping the door while Ruthven and his satellites murdered Rizzio; and to this high legal office, by a curious combination, he added that of lord high-admiral, which was left vacant by the flight and attainder of Bothwell. Morton, chancellor and high-admiral, was also made sheriff of the shires of Edinburgh and Haddington, and received sundry other emoluments. He accompanied the regent on an expedition to the south, where, under pretence of punishing the moss-troopers on the borders, they took vengeance on several districts which had manifested an affection for the captive queen. Whenever there was a fine to be imposed Morton was there with an open palm. If this curious revolution had been conducted with any attention to constitutional forms, a parliament would have been called at least six months earlier; but at last Murray assembled one at Edinburgh on the 15th of December, in order to legalise the recent changes. The Hamiltons kept away; the seats were crowded with the partisans of Murray; Morton presided as chancellor, and his nephew Angus, a boy of fourteen, carried the royal crown, and voted with his uncle. John Knox preached at the opening of this parliament, and exhorted them to begin with the affairs of religion. It was not likely that this subject should be neglected, for Murray's main strength was in the preachers, whom, however, he left almost as poor as he found them. All the acts which had been passed in 1560 against Popery were revived, and new statutes, in accordance with the spirit of the times, were added to them. It was provided, for example, that none but Protestants should be admitted to any office not hereditary or held for life; and that all future kings should be careful to root out of their kingdoms all heretics and enemies to the true religion. Other acts were passed confirming all that had been done in the deposition of the queen, and the appointment of Murray to the regency; and declaring Mary, without any form of trial, to be guilty of her husband's murder, and of numerous other crimes.

On the 3rd of January, four obscure men, servants and retainers of Bothwell, were executed for assisting in the murder of Darnley: it is said that they all acknowledged their guilt, and acquitted the queen. But, by this time—in part, no doubt, owing to the awkward course pursued in parliament and in the privy council,—in part from the favours heaped upon Morton and others who had gone hand in hand with Bothwell to the very last moment—many who before had deemed Mary guilty, now began to consider her as innocent—as a victim to the craft and villany of others. The Hamiltons still banded together; all who were disappointed in their hopes of profit and advancement from the revolution, joined them more or less openly; and nothing was wanting but the presence of the queen to induce these men to try the fortune of the sword. Mary was most vigilantly watched; but she was resolute, she was adroit, and she possessed in her person and manner a charm which few men could resist. She had also beyond her prison-walls and the deep waters of Lochleven friends and servants who were enthusiastically attached to her, and ready at every moment to peril life in her behalf. Communications were opened with the islet; bands were stationed in ambush round the loch; horses were provided, the fleetest that money could procure. "On the 25th of March," writes Sir William Drury to Cecil, "she enterprised an escape, and was the rather nearer effect through her accustomed long being a-bed all the morning. The manner of it was thus: there cometh unto her the laundress, early, as other times before she was wont, and the queen (according to such a secret practice) putteth on the weed of the laundress, and so, with the fardell of clothes and her muffler upon her face, passeth out and entereth the boat to pass the loch, which, after some space, one of them that rowed said merrily, Let us see what manner of dame this is; and therewith offered to pull down her muffler, which, to defend, she put up her hands, which they espied to be very fair and white, wherewith they entered into suspicion whom she was, beginning to wonder at her enterprise. Whereat she was little dismayed, but charged them, upon danger of their lives, to row her over to the shore; which they nothing regarded, but eftsoons rowed her back again, promising her that it should be secreted, and in especial from the lord of the house under whose guard she lied. It seemeth she knew her refuge, and where to have found it, if she had once landed; for there did, and yet do linger, George Douglas, at a little village called Kinross, hard at the loch side; and with the same George Douglas, one Simple and one Breton, the which two were some time her trusty servants, and as yet appeareth they mind her no less affection."* But notwithstanding this failure, and the consequent increase of vigilance in her keepers, the queen repeated her attempt on the 2nd of May. Within the castle there was a lad of seventeen or eighteen, called William Douglas, or the "Little Douglas," who is supposed to have been a relative, either legitimate or illegitimate, both of the lord of the castle, and of the Regent Murray. He is described as being a poor and simple lad, who escaped suspicion on account of his innocence and simplicity. He stole the keys of the castle from the keeper's chamber, where they were always deposited, set the queen at liberty in the middle of the night, locked the castle gates upon all the inmates, threw the keys into the loch, led the queen with one female attendant to a little skiff, and then rowed her to shore. There the Lord Seton, George Douglas, already mentioned, and a party of the

* Raumer, *Contributions to Mod. Hist.*, has given part of this letter, but the whole of it is in Wright's *Eliz. and her Times.*

Hamiltons, received her with transports of joy, and carried her in triumph to Hamilton. Many of her friends were prepared; others came in on the morrow, and a solemn association for her defence was drawn up and signed by the Earls of Argyle, Huntley, Eglintoun, Crawford, Cassilis, Rothes, Montrose, Sutherland, Errol, by nine barons, by nine bishops, and by many other gentlemen. These chiefs presently brought four or five thousand men into the field, and, placing the queen in their centre, they moved from Hamilton towards Dumbarton. The Regent Murray was lying at Glasgow, holding courts of justice. At first he was thunderstruck, and would not believe in the possibility of his sister's escape. Some of his friends advised him to retire from Glasgow to Stirling, and avoid an encounter; but Murray, who was a good soldier, knew the difference between the undisciplined host that followed the queen and the regular troops which he had about him; and he also counted on the resources of the town of Glasgow, and the religious zeal of its inhabitants. Mary offered a free pardon to all save five—the Earl of Morton, the Lord Lindsay, the Lord Semple, Sir James Balfour, and the provost of Edinburgh; but the lords were not inclined to any composition, but spoke of killing the queen, whom they had found so difficult a prisoner. The two armies met on the 13th of May, at Langside, between Glasgow and Dumbarton, and attacked each other with desperate fury, fighting for a time hand to hand, and locked together. Mary remained on an adjacent hill, the spectatress of the doubtful fight. Now victory appeared to incline to her party; but another evil genius Morton, sweeping round an eminence with a strong detachment, charged her friends in flank, broke them, and decided the day. The defeated fled in all directions; and the queen herself, attended by the Lord Herries and a few other friends, rode almost without stopping to Dundrennan Abbey, in Galloway, near to Kirkcudbright, and sixty miles from the field of battle. Here she was brought to an awful pause. There were only three courses open to her:—she might remain, and throw herself upon the mercy of her subjects—upon men who had shown her little mercy;—she might fly to France;—or, lastly, she might seek a refuge in England. The first she naturally avoided as what would lead to certain destruction: she would have adopted the second, but there was no ship to France; and the voyage, whether she circumnavigated England or Scotland, was dangerous on many accounts, besides those of the elements. She also felt the mortification of returning to France, where she had lived in the station of a queen, as a fugitive and a pauper; and it appears she was not very confident of a good reception at the French court, which was still controlled by Catherine de' Medici. There remained, then, the desperate resource of a flight into England, and upon this she finally resolved. Her wisest counsellors represented this course as the most dangerous of the three; but Mary would not believe her royal sister Elizabeth capable of the conduct they surmised. The Lord Herries then wrote to Lowther, the deputy captain at Carlisle, informing him of his queen's situation, and asking whether she might go safely into England. Elizabeth could not have had time to hear of the battle of Langside, and to send down positive instructions, but she was certainly well informed by this time that Mary had no chance of success,* and might have given orders in contemplation of a sure defeat; or, again, her officers near the Borders who were in communication with Murray, might of themselves have devised a plan for entrapping the fugitive queen without any direct breach of promise on the part of the high authorities. Lowther, the deputy, wrote a doubtful answer, saying that Lord Scrope, the warden of that march, was at court, whither he had written; but if the queen found herself obliged to cross the Borders he would meet and protect her till his mistress's pleasure was known. Without waiting for this letter,† Mary, with sixteen attendants, the chief of whom was the honest and gallant Lord Herries, embarked in a common fishing-boat to cross the Solway Frith; and on the evening of Sunday, the 16th of May, 1568, she arrived at Workington, in Cumberland, without money, without a change of raiment—with nothing but the tender affection of her almost helpless retinue, and her hope in the magnanimity of Elizabeth. She immediately wrote to that "good sister," informing her of her misfortunes, and her arrival in her dominions. Some gentlemen of the neighbourhood, who probably entertained just notions of the sacred rights of hospitality, gave her a kind reception, and honourably conducted her to Cockermouth, where, on the following day, Lowther waited upon her with what appears to have been a little army. On the following day Mary was conducted to Carlisle, and lodged in the castle, not as a royal and unfortunate guest, but as a prisoner. Sir Francis Knollys, who was sent down post to the north with letters and messages of comfort from Elizabeth, greatly praised Lowther's good behaviour and discretion towards her highness, in securing the fugitive queen, and in refusing to admit the Earl of Northumberland into Carlisle Castle with any more company than his page. It is evident that even at this moment Northumberland was out of favour at court, and an object of suspicion. Knollys, in mentioning that the earl met him in Yorkshire, says that he had with him Sir Nicholas Fairfax, Sir William Fairfax, his son,

* According to a letter from Sir William Drury then at Berwick, to Secretary Cecil, a main cause of the defeat of the queen's party was an accident which happened to their ammunition. He says: "And the carriage with the powder, by some accident as they were fighting took fire and blew up." This letter is given by Mr. Wright, —*Queen Elizabeth and her Times.*

* Drury, for example, who was at Berwick, had informed Cecil that the Earl of Murray hoped "to bring something to pass to his own contentation," and that more people were flocking to the regent than to the queen.

† The letter was not received, it should appear, till Mary was in England; but we think that the view in which it was written is most obvious.

Mr. Hungate, and Mr. Vavasor, who were "all unsound in religion," and had been with his lordship at Carlisle. The earl complained of Lowther, the deputy warden's, misusage. "Whereunto," says Knollys, "I answered his lordship very plainly, that if he sought to take the queen into his own custody out of the deputy warden's hands, and that without warrant, as his personal repair to the queen of Scots also was without warrant at the queen our mistress's hands, then did the deputy warden dutifully and wisely, and his lordship had overshot himself, very much to the discontentation of her highness. Whereunto he answered for the excuse of his repair, that he thought himself bound in duty for the honour of the queen's highness, our mistress, to repair into Cumberland, where his land lay, for the defence of the Queen of Scots against the pursuit of her enemies. And for his desire to have the custody of the queen, he saith he did desire it not only because the deputy warden was too base a man to have such a charge, but also because the council of York had given him letters of authority to the sheriff and justices of Cumberland to assist him in that behalf."* Knollys assured his lordship that the council of York had forgotten themselves very much, if they had appointed him, or allowed him to repair to the Queen of Scots before Queen Elizabeth's special pleasure was known, and he almost called Northumberland a liar, in telling him that Sir Thomas Gargrave, president of the council of York, had utterly denied the giving of such authority to his lordship.† This great uneasiness of Elizabeth as to any communication between her royal prisoner and her own subjects professing the ancient religion, is a very significant feature in the history. Lord Scrope, the warden and governor of Carlisle, was dispatched from Cork nearly at the same time as Knollys, and they both waited upon Queen Mary in Carlisle Castle, apparently on the 28th or 29th of May, having previously spoken with Lord Herries, who hoped that Queen Elizabeth would either give his mistress aid and comfort, or permit her to pass through England into France to seek relief elsewhere.‡ "And after this," write Scrope and Knollys to Elizabeth, "repairing into the castle, we found the Queen of Scots in her chamber of presence, ready to receive us; where, after salutations made, and our declaration also of your highness's sorrowfulness for her lamentable misadventure and inconvenient arrival, although your highness was glad and joyful of her good escape from the peril of her person, with many circumstances thereunto belonging; and we found her in her answers to have an eloquent tongue, and a discreet head; and it seemeth by her doings she hath stout courage and liberal heart adjoined thereunto." They then delivered their sovereign's letter, in which Mary was told that Elizabeth could not honourably receive her into her presence until she was cleared of all suspicion of being concerned in Darnley's murder. Mary had expected a different treatment. Elizabeth's commissioners continue: "And after our delivery of your highness's letters, she fell into some passion, with the water in her eyes, and therewith she drew us with her into her bedchamber, where she complained unto us, for that your highness did not answer her expectation for the admitting her into your presence forthwith; that upon good declaration of her innocence your highness would either without delay give her aid yourself to the subduing of her enemies, or else, being now come of good will, and not of necessity, unto your highness (for a good and greatest part of her subjects, said she, do remain fast unto her still), your highness would, at the least, forthwith give her passage through your country into France, to seek aid at other princes' hands; not doubting that both the French king and the king of Spain would give her relief in that behalf to her satisfaction." But this was precisely what Elizabeth determined to prevent, and what she was in good policy bound to prevent. A disinterested mediation might have had a good effect; but that was hardly to be expected from any party; and it was impossible to avoid feeling some alarm at the notion of French or Spanish arms in Scotland. Mary solemnly affirmed to Scrope and Knollys, that both Maitland of Lethington and the Lord Morton had been concerned in the murder of her husband, as could well be proved, although now they would seem to prosecute the murderers. The two envoys repeated that their mistress was "inwardly sorry and very much grieved" that she "could not do her that great honour to admit her solemnly and worthily into her presence by reason of this great slander of murder;" but they assured her of her highness's great affection, and that if she would depend upon her highness's favour without seeking to bring in strangers into Scotland, then undoubtedly her highness would use all the convenient means she could for her relief and comfort. Mary agreed to send up Lord Herries to London to plead her cause with Elizabeth, and she then dismissed Scrope and Knollys, "complaining of delays to her prejudice, and the winning of time to her enemies." The rest of this remarkable letter runs in the name of Knollys, who takes it upon himself to offer sundry suggestions in this difficult case—for he was evidently alarmed at the public sympathy excited in the north in the captive queen's favour, and was also anxious to cover in some way the honour of Elizabeth—perhaps the honour of the English nation, whose character for frankness and hospitality was clearly committed. "And now," says Knollys, who was vice-chamberlain and captain of the queen's guard, "it behoveth your highness, in mine opinion, gravely to consider what answer is to be made herein, specially because that many gentlemen of divers shires here near adjoining within your realm, have heard her daily defences

* Wright. † Idem.

‡ Lord Scrope and Knollys assured Mary's friends that Elizabeth "could in no wise like her seeking aid in France, thereby to bring Frenchmen into Scotland."

and excuses of her innocence, with her great accusations of her enemies very eloquently told before our coming hither. And, therefore, I, the vice-chamberlain, do refer to your highness's better consideration, whether it were not honourable for you, in the sight of your subjects, and of all foreign princes, to put her grace to the choice whether she will depart freely back into her country without your highness's impeachment, or whether she will remain at your highness's devotion within your realm here, with her necessary servants only to attend upon her to see how honourably your highness can do for her. For by this means your highness, I think, shall stop the mouths of backbiters that otherwise would blow out seditious rumours as well in your own realm as elsewhere, of detaining of her ungratefully. And yet I think it is likely that if she had her own choice, she would not go back into her own realm presently, nor until she might look for succours of men out of France to join with her there; or if she would go presently into her own country, the worst were that peradventure with danger enough she might get into France; and that would hardly be done if my Lord of Murray have *a former inkling* of her departure thither. And on the other side she cannot be kept so rigorously as a prisoner with your highness's honour (in mine opinion), but with devices of towels or toys at her chamber window or elsewhere, in the night, a body of her agility and spirit may escape soon, being so near the Border. And surely to have her carried far into the realm is the high-way to a dangerous sedition, as I suppose."*

On the following day, or the day after,—it was the 30th of May,—Knollys and Scrope had another interview with Mary, who inveighed against her brother Murray and his adherents, saying, among other things, "that when she was but nine days old they had a reverent and obedient care of her, but now that she was twenty-four years old they would exclude her from the government." Knollys, who was fully aware of the main course which his royal mistress meant to pursue (for the silver box, with letters from Mary to Darnley, true or forged, which was afterwards brought into the case, had really no weight whatever in Elizabeth's decision), ventured to tell the Scottish queen that, in some cases, princes might be deposed by their subjects lawfully; and he mentioned the case of a prince falling into madness. "And," added he, "what difference is there between lunacy and cruel murdering?—for the one is an evil humour proceeding of melancholy, and the other is an evil humour proceeding of choler: wherefore the question is, whether your grace deserved to be put from the government or not; for if your grace should be guilty of any such odious crime as deserveth deposal, then how should they be blamed that have deposed you?"—"Hereupon," continues the vice-chamberlain, "her grace beginning to clear herself after her accustomed manner, the tears yet fell from her eyes: and then I said, Your highness would be the gladdest in the world to see her grace well purged of this crime, that thereby your highness might aid her fully and amply to the advancement of her grace to her government royal again: for her grace, I said, was your highness's nearest kinswoman on the father's side, and that you were both born in one continent of land, although this separation was between you—that you were not both born in one circuit of obedience. Herewith her grace answered me very courteously; but forthwith she said she must go close up her letters to your highness, and so departed to her bed-chamber. This far I waded with her grace to make her cause disputable; but, when I saw her tears, I forbore to prosecute mine objection, and fell to comforting of her with declaration of your highness's great affection and good-will towards her."* This letter was written with an eye to the strictest secrecy, and Knollys seems to doubt whether even Secretary Cecil should be informed by the queen of its contents. A few days later, on the 11th of June, he addressed Cecil, telling him, in the first place, that the Lord Scrope is privy to all things, and that he (Knollys) would be very glad to be rid of his part in the detention of the Queen of Scotland. Mary, however, had almost captivated the cautious vice-chamberlain with her beauty, and spirit, and graceful familiarity. "And yet," he says, "this lady and princess is a notable woman. She seemeth to regard no ceremonious honour besides the acknowledging of her estate regal. She showeth a disposition to speak much, to be bold, to be pleasant, and to be very familiar. She showeth a great desire to be avenged of her enemies; she showeth a readiness to expose herself to all perils, in hope of victory; she delighteth much to hear of hardiness and valiancy, commending by name all proved hardy men of her country, although they be her enemies, and commendeth no cowardice in her friends. . . . So that, for victory sake, pain and peril seemeth pleasant unto her; and in respect of victory, wealth and all things seemeth to her contemptuous and vile. Now what is to be done with such a lady and a princess,—or whether such a princess and lady be to be nourished in one's bosom,—or whether it be good to halt and dissemble with such a lady, I refer to your judgment." The vice-chamberlain then proceeds to recommend a bold and direct course, in order to prevent any danger to Elizabeth.† From the tone

* The original of this remarkable letter is in the British Museum, Cotton MSS. Mr. Wright gives the whole of it in *Queen Eliz. and her Times*,—but it had been given before by Sir Henry Ellis.

* Ellis.

† Knollys says,—"If her highness think it good to stay the coming in of the French into Scotland—if her highness think any peril towards her—if her highness think any princes and potentates, or that any factious subjects may conspire against her, then I am sure she will think it good policy roundly and plainly to assist her own cause, without colours and cloaks, that hideth no men's eyes but those that are blind; and surely the plainest way is the most honourable in my simple opinion. I take it an honourable quarrel for her highness to expel the French, and the safest way thereto is to aid and countenance the regent in time. And if the spots in this queen's coat be manifest, the plainer and the sooner that her highness doth reveal her discontentation therewith, the more honourable it will be, I suppose; and it is the readiest way to stop the mouths of factious, murmuring subjects. But this is more than needs to be spoken to you."—Sir Henry Ellis has a part of this letter in his Collection, but the whole of it is given by Mr. Wright.

of his letter he was evidently not very particular as to the proofs which might be brought against Mary;—it was only necessary to declare her guilty, and so prevent any mischief to Queen Elizabeth, who, by such a sentence, would be justified in assisting the regent Murray, and keeping his sister a close prisoner. In the mean time the Lady Scrope, who was sister to the Duke of Norfolk, waited upon Mary by orders of Elizabeth, and several indulgences were allowed, that it might be made to appear that the Scottish queen was not a prisoner. This threw the poor vice-chamberlain into great alarm. "And once," he says in a letter dated the 15th of June, "she rode out a hunting, the hare galloping so fast, and her whole retinue being so well horsed, that we, upon experience thereof, doubting, that upon a set course, some of her friends out of Scotland might invade and assault us upon the sudden for to rescue and take her from us, we mean hereafter, if any such riding pastimes be required that way, so much to fear the endangering of her person by some sudden invasion of her enemies, that she must hold us excused in that behalf."*

Lord Herries, in the mean while, had done little good with Elizabeth, who induced him, in a manner, to appoint her judge or arbitrator between Mary and her subjects. At his solicitation, however, the English queen thought fit to send an agent, Mr. Middlemore, (or Meddlemore) into Scotland to stop the civil war there; for Mary's partisans, though sorely pressed and persecuted, were not wholly discouraged by the battle of Langside, and the earls of Huntley and Argyle were up in arms in her favour. This Middlemore, whose secret instructions were no doubt of a very different kind from that which was given out, travelled northward with Lord Herries, to the great "discontentation" of Sir Francis Knollys, who was not let into all the secret, or informed of the real object of his errand. "I am marvellous sorry," writes the vice-chamberlain to Secretary Cecil, "to hear of my Lord Herries' return hither, whose wily head went beyond you when he got Mr. Middlemore to come hither so soon; for it would yet cost the regent (Murray) twenty days' work to finish this business to his advantage; the which being interrupted by Mr. Middlemore, I know not what evil may come thereon. And this Lord Herries seeth the bottom both of your doings and ours, and he will stir coals at his coming hither accordingly."† But as soon as this Mr. Middlemore got across the Borders, he hastened rather than retarded Murray's business, and encouraged the regent in his energetic measures against those who favoured the queen. On the 21st of June the Scottish queen wrote a striking letter to her good sister and cousin, which was forwarded to London by means of a gentleman who had been dispatched by the French court to ascertain the real situation of the fugitive, and the manner in which she was treated in England.* Here the captive complains that Middlemore, who was sent, as was pretended, as a safeguard to her faithful subjects, had allied himself with her enemies, who, in her presence, had destroyed the house of one of her principal barons, and who were now treating her friends and adherents more harshly than ever. "Mine enemies," she continues, "proceed still farther, and boast that they are authorised *by him;* and while they are executing their enterprise, which tends to the conquest of my kingdom, they abuse you, with a hope of proving to you their false calumnies, which the unequal treatment we are receiving would make me fear, if my innocence and reliance on God, who has hitherto protected me, did not give me assurance. For consider, madam, they have now the authority which belongs to me,—the sovereign power by usurpation,—my property to bribe and corrupt,—the finesses which are at their command throughout the country,—and your own ministers, who, day by day (at least some of them), write to them and advise them what to do that they may convince you. Would to God you knew what I know of them! And I, on my part, am kept like a prisoner, discountenanced by your refusal to see me. They, with arms in their hands, maintain what they have falsely invented as the means of maintaining themselves against me, who have no counsels nor any means of doing what is required in such circumstances for defence of mine honour: only I pray God to judge between them and me." The captive next complained of my Lord Scrope, who had received a commission to treat with her revolted subjects, and to admit them as judges in her case. "I cannot do less," she continues, "than complain to you, and beg you to send for me, that you may hear my griefs, and assist me as promptly as necessity requires, or permit me to retire into France or elsewhere. . . And I entreat you, as you see what are the effects, do not make an unequal combat, they being armed, and I destitute: on the contrary, seeing the dishonour they do me, make up your mind to assist me or let me go; for, without waiting for their giving me a third assault, I must supplicate both the King of France and the King of Spain if you will not have regard to my just quarrel; and they, restoring me to my place, then will I make you know their falsehood and my innocence: for if you let them conquer the country first, and then come to accuse me after, what shall I have gained by submitting my cause to you? Is it a proof of their justice that they proceed without answering the questions put to them? Judge of yourself, madam, according as God has given you wit above others, and not by the counsel of those who are moved by particular

* Extract of a letter from Sir Francis Knollys to Cecil, in Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times, &c. The original is in the Brit. Mus., Calig. C. 1. Part of the same extract is given by Chalmers, Life of Mary.

† Wright.

* As to her treatment, Mary says, in this same letter to Elizabeth, "It grieves me to have so little occasion to praise the behaviour of your ministers, for of yourself I cannot and will not complain."

affections. I blame no one; but the very worm of the earth turns when it is trodden upon."*

On the same day on which she wrote this letter, Mary told Knollys that she expected to be let go into France, or to be put safely into Dumbarton Castle—"unless," she added, "she will hold me as a prisoner, for I am sure that her highness will not of her honour put me into my Lord of Murray's hands." Under her circumstances, nothing could be more imprudent than her continual talk about France and Spain; but she again assured Knollys that she would seek aid in those quarters, *because* he had promised her people aid by August. "And she said that she had found that true which she had heard often of before her coming hither, which was, that she should have fair words enow, but no deeds. . . . And, saith she, I have made great wars in Scotland, and I pray God I make no troubles in other realms also."† This, if true, was another imprudence. Knollys was, or pretended to be, much startled; and he again advised a close union with Murray, throwing a little devout unction into his worldly policy and tenderness for Elizabeth. "Touching her prayer," he says, "I join heartily with her, that God of his mercy will defend their realm from such troubles, as through our tenderness by her attempts might arise, and her highness (Elizabeth) from such perils as thereof might ensue. But, alas, how can we be safe from troubles, as long as our tender halting on both legs before God and the world doth hinder our friends that should be our strength, and strengthen our enemies that will be our perils, and doth weaken and unknit some limb or members of the body of our realm from us, and may provoke God's anger against us that many ways hath been so merciful to us?"‡ Other courtiers and statesmen did their best to increase the alarm. Sir Henry Norris wrote from Paris to warn Cecil, on the authority of an anonymous informer, that the queen's majesty "did now hold the wolf that would devour her," and that "it is conspired betwixt the king of Spain, the pope, and the French king, that the queen's majesty should be destroyed, whereby the Queen of Scots might succeed her majesty."§ This alarm, considering where Mary then was, was rather ridiculous, yet scarcely more so than some of the hundred other stories which followed in a *crescendo* of horrors, and which never ceased till Elizabeth had brought her rival to the block. Sir Henry Norris, it appears, had got hold of some poor Italian, that, being privily taken, could disclose much of this treason. "And surely," he adds, "considering the great treason preparing of God, I would wish that the Queen of Scots were rather re-delivered than the queen's majesty to stand in these perilous terms both abroad and at home." In addition to the usual force stationed at Carlisle, one hundred arquebusiers were sent thither from Berwick, and every precaution was taken both to prevent Mary's escape and the coming to her of too many Scots. But it was soon resolved to carry her further into the realm to some place of greater safety, being "well moated round." Mary made a spirited protest, that was of no avail; and on the 16th of July she was carried under a strong escort to Bolton Castle, a house of Lord Scrope's, in the north riding of Yorkshire, not far from Middleham.* By this removal Mary was cut off from all communication with her subjects, excepting such as Elizabeth chose to admit. Sir Francis Knollys and Lord Scrope dealt very sharply with all English subjects that attempted to see or correspond with the captive, particularly if they were Papists. A Yorkshire gentleman of the honourable family of Lascelles, who is set down as "a lewd practiser and arrogant Papist," was rudely and severely treated for attempting to get sight of Mary. Knollys, who, in self-laudation, reports these matters very solemnly to Cecil, describes Bolton Castle as being "very strong, very fair, very stately"—the highest walled house he has seen, "and hath but one entrance, and half the number of the soldiers may better watch and ward the same, than the whole number thereof could do Carlisle Castle." Also at Carlisle Castle the queen's chamber had a window looking out towards Scotland, and if the bars thereof had been filed asunder, she might have been let down, and then she had the ground clear before her to her own country. There was also an old postern door, but this Lord Scrope and Knollys, and three other noble captains who watched by turns day and night, had made sure of. But then there was another window of her chamber which opened into an orchard close under the town-wall, and she might have slipped out, and over the town-wall, which was very dangerous.† They thought Bolton Castle a much safer place, but, at the same time, they suggested that their prisoner should be moved still farther from the Borders, telling Cecil, however, that Mary, though otherwise very quiet and very tractable, declared that she would not remove any farther into the realm without constraint. At the same time, Knollys laments the great expense of her maintenance, and complains rather sharply that so many of the charges should be left to fall on his own

* Burghley State Papers. The letter is dated Carlisle, the 21st of June. Like all Mary's letters, except a very few, it is in French.

† Letter from Knollys to Cecil, dated 21st June, 1568.

‡ Id. § Burghley Papers.

* Before she was removed from Carlisle she wrote once again, or oftener, to Elizabeth, whom she reminded of promises of protection which she had recently sent to her in Scotland. She implored her to suffer her to depart "whithersoever it be out of this country." "I came," said she, "of mine own accord—let me depart again with yours; and if God permit my cause to succeed, I shall be bound to you for it; happening otherwise, yet I cannot blame you." The conclusion of this letter is remarkable: "Good sister, be of another mind. When the heart and all shall be yours, and at your commandment, I thought to satisfy you wholly, if I might have seen you. Alas, do not as the serpent that stoppeth his hearing, for I am no enchanter, but your sister and natural cousin. If Cæsar had not disdained to hear or read the complaint of an advertiser, he had not so died. Why should princes' ears be stopped, seeing they are painted so long, meaning that they should hear all, and be well advised before they answer. I am not of the nature of the basilisk, and less of the cameleon to turn you to my likeness: and though I should be so dangerous and curst as men say, you are sufficiently armed with constance and with justice, which I require of God, who give you grace to use it well, with long and happy life."—*Ellis.*

† Letter from Sir Francis Knollys to Cecil, dated the 16th of July —*Wright's Elizabeth and her Times*

shoulders. On the 28th of July, Mary wrote another letter to Elizabeth, telling her that she relied on her former promises, and expected that she would replace her in her kingdom, when she had heard her justify her own conduct, and expose that of her enemies. She consented that Murray and Morton should be heard on the other side, as Elizabeth required, and that these two lords should come into England for that purpose. She assured the English queen that she had warned her faithful subjects who were still up in arms for her to abstain from hostilities and the seeking of any aid from France; that she herself had withheld her dispatches to France and Spain, in order to avoid contracting any further obligations in those parts, desiring that if she were to be reinstated it might be only by means of the English court.* The whole of this letter is cool and diplomatic, except where she speaks of Murray.† Elizabeth, however, cared little for her warmth on this head, for she and the regent had come to a perfectly good understanding, though she had found it necessary to make some *pro formâ* remonstrances, and had told him that she could not endure that an example so dangerous to sovereigns should be given, "whereby the authority of the sacred royal majesty should be had in contempt amongst subjects, and trodden under foot at the lust of factious people." Murray, on his side, had a confident reliance on Cecil: and he sent up his secretary John Wood to London, to show the minister and the queen copies of sundry secret papers. The regent, however, was not so ready as his imprisoned sister to bring matters to an issue, and though Elizabeth wrote to him to come into England with a commissioner to treat and to answer to the Scottish queen's complaint, he found it very easy to delay so doing till the month of October; and during all that time he was allowed to establish his own authority in Scotland, and even assisted by Elizabeth in so doing. Mary and her negotiator, Lord Herries, remonstrated repeatedly, but without effect. It will strike every reader, that there was no possibility of constituting a court to try Mary, and, until the very last moment, it was pretended that Elizabeth would merely arbitrate in a friendly manner, or that, if any party was to be tried, it should be Murray with his adherents. But Herries clearly foresaw the course which would be pursued, and he guarded against it as well as he could with forms and declarations of his sovereign's entire independence of the English crown. Elizabeth declared that if Mary would "commit her cause to be heard by her highness's order, not to make her highness judge over her, but rather as committing herself to the council of her dear cousin and friend," her highness would treat with the Scottish nobles, and bring things to a happy conclusion. Elizabeth would, for example, restore the Queen of Scots to her royal seat, by honourable accommodation, the Queen of Scots agreeing, that the lords and all her other subjects should continue in their honours, states, and dignities; and this was the promise in case of Murray making out "some reason against her;" but, if Murray and his party should fail in proving anything against the queen, then her majesty Elizabeth would replace Mary absolutely by force of arms, Mary agreeing in this case, and as a reward for Elizabeth's assistance, to renounce all claims to England; to convert her close alliance with France into a league with England; and to use the counsel of her dearest sister and her estates in parliament in abolishing Papistry, encouraging Protestantism, and establishing in her dominions the episcopal and Anglican church—an order of things considered by John Knox and the whole body of the Puritans as only a few degrees less idolatrous than the church of Rome. Thus, in all cases, Mary was promised her liberty and her restoration to her kingdom. But very different language had been held in secret with Murray: to him it had been declared, that if he could establish his sister's guilt, she should never return to Scotland; and it had also been intimated that he could *easily* prove what he desired.

The famous commission met at York on the 4th of October. Elizabeth was represented by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, who was still alive and stirring, though this business was destined to embitter his old age. Mary was represented by Lesley, Bishop of Ross, the lords Herries, Levingston, and Boyd, Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and Sir James Cockburn of Stirling: the regent Murray appeared in person, attended by the Earl of Morton, the Bishop of Orkney, the Lord Lindsay, the Abbot of Dunfermline, Maitland of Lethington, James M'Gill, Henry Balnaves, the Laird of Lochleven, and George Buchanan (the celebrated poet and historian). The first demand started by the Duke of Norfolk was, that the regent Murray should do homage to the English crown, as paramount of Scotland. Murray was staggered; but the ready-witted Secretary Maitland came to his support, and told Norfolk it would be time enough to do homage when England should have restored to Scotland Cumberland, Northumberland, and the town of Berwick, for which the Scots had done homage in the old time. The claim of supremacy was thereupon tacitly abandoned, and, after much tedious formality, the commissioners proceeded to business. On the 8th of October the friends of Mary, as the plaintiff, were allowed to open the charges against Murray and his associates for sundry wrongs and injuries by them done, such as traitorously taking up arms against their lawful sovereign, depriving her of her liberty in Lochleven Castle, and by horrid intimidations compelling her to resign her crown. In the afternoon of the same day Murray and his colleagues artfully said to the Duke of Norfolk that they were "desirous to understand

* Burghley State Papers.

† Mary had begun to call Murray *mon frere bastard*—my bastard brother; and in this particular letter she reminds Elizabeth that Murray is only related to her majesty of England *par bastardise*.

that, if in this action they shall prove all things directly wherewith they may and do emburden the queen, their sovereign's mother, how they be assured to be free and without danger of the said queen's displeasure, and what surety may be had for the young prince, their king, if *she* should be restored to her former estate?" Elizabeth's commissioners, who, against the spirit of the agreement, had allowed Murray to refuse his sister the title of sovereign, and to advance the coronation of the infant James as a constitutional act, now departed still more widely from the promises which had been given to Mary and her agent Lord Herries. They said that, indeed, their mistress's desire "hath always been, from the beginning, that the said queen might be found free, specially from the crime of her husband's murder; nevertheless, if her majesty shall find to be plainly and manifestly proved (whereof she would be very sorry) that the said Queen of Scots was the deviser and procurer of that murder, or otherwise was guilty thereof, surely her majesty would think her unworthy of a kingdom, and would not stain her own conscience in maintenance of such a detestable wickedness by restoring her to a kingdom."* Murray then declared that it was set forth and published in Scotland that Mary should be either amply restored, or otherwise by some degrees restored, and sent home amongst them, by the Queen of England. Elizabeth's commissioners, with a bold face, denied that any such promise had ever been made. But Murray was not fully satisfied, suspecting that, although the Queen of Scots were not wholly restored, yet she might, "peradventure, be relieved by some degrees by the queen's majesty, which might breed unto them no little danger."† On the following day, when he and his commissioners were to give in their reasons against Mary, Maitland raised certain doubts as to the extent of the commission given by Elizabeth to Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadler: 1st. "For that they see no express words in the commission to authorise her grace's commissioners to deal in the matter of the murder;" 2ndly. "That delay might be made in judgment, which would be very dangerous to them." He then, with Murray and the other commissioners of that side, moved that Elizabeth ought to be advertised of these their doubts, "specially for that it standeth them upon, and they think it very reasonable that her grace should put them in sufficient surety to be free from danger of the queen, their sovereign's mother, before they enter to declare against her." A letter was, therefore, dispatched to Elizabeth to request additional instructions.

But Murray and Maitland certainly did not wait for an answer to charge Mary with such things, as, to use their own words, they had "hitherto been content rather to conceal than publish to the world to her infamy and dishonour."‡

* Burghley Papers.

† Burghley State Papers. The transactions of the commission at York are given day by day.

‡ Goodall.

They secretly laid before the English commissioners translations of certain letters in French, said to have been written by Mary to Bothwell, some just before the murder of her husband, others before the seizure of her person; two contracts of marriage; and a collection of love sonnets, described as being the queen's composition, and as sent by her to Bothwell. On the 11th of October, before any answer could have possibly been received from court, the English commissioners made an abstract from these papers, which might tend to Mary's condemnation for "*her* consent and procurement of the murder of her husband, as far forth as they could by their reading gather." They had evidently read the letters and the amorous rhymes with great attention; but they omitted altogether making any inquiry touching the authenticity of these papers, which, from first to last, Mary and her friends maintained were forgeries. They assumed, "from plain and manifest words contained in the said letters, that the inordinate and filthy love between Mary and Bothwell" was proved; —that she had hated and abhorred her husband Darnley;—that she had taken her journey from Edinburgh to Glasgow, to visit him when sick, with the intent of inveigling him to Edinburgh, where he was murdered;—that she wrote from Glasgow to Bothwell how she was flattering her said husband to obtain her purpose;—and that "the Earl of Lennox (Darnley's father), that day that she was devising to bring his son to Edinburgh, did bleed at the nose and mouth, willing the said Bothwell to guess what presaged that way;"—that she wrote also that she was about a work that she hated greatly, lying and dissembling with her husband, and doing the office of a traitress, which, were it not to obey Bothwell, she had liever be dead than do it, for her heart did bleed at it;—that she also wrote how she had won her husband to go with her to Edinburgh, and to do whatsoever she would have him to do;—and that she required Bothwell to advise with himself if he could find out any other secret invention by medicine, for her husband was to take medicine, and the bath also;—that she bade Bothwell burn the letter, for it was over-dangerous to them;—that, to obey her dear love, she spared neither honour, conscience, hazard, nor greatness; —and, finally, that she wrote to Bothwell, that according to her commission she would bring the man with her to Edinburgh, praying him to work wisely, or else the whole burden would lie on her shoulders; and specially to make good watch that the bird escaped not out of the cage.* These sweeping conclusions, as well as the documents upon which they were founded, were carefully concealed from Mary's commissioners, who were requested to seek an enlargement of their commission, or, in other words, to ask their mistress to agree, in the dark, to acknowledge Elizabeth's authority. Lord Herries raised some objections, but Mary agreed to alter the words of her commission, and add a clause that her commissioners

* Burghley Papers.

might treat, conclude, and determine of all matters and causes whatsoever in controversy between her and her subjects.* She still, however, maintained the perfect independence of her crown, while Murray and her enemies now showed themselves ready to acknowledge Elizabeth's supremacy over Scotland, that, as "superior lady and judge over that realm, she might determine in this case." In order to consume time, Murray presented to the commissioners an answer to the charges of his queen, in which he alleged that his friends had never taken up arms but against Bothwell,—that they had afterwards sequestrated their queen because she adhered to Bothwell,—and that they had at last accepted her resignation, which was willingly given merely from her disgust at the vexations attending power, and never extorted from her. To this Mary's commissioners replied, that the queen had no means of knowing the atrocities of Bothwell, who had been acquitted by a Scottish jury, and recommended to her as a husband by the Scottish nobility,—that she had ever been desirous that Bothwell should be arrested and brought to trial,—that the resignation of the crown was extorted from her,—and that Throgmorton, the English ambassador, had advised her to sign that paper, as the only means of saving her life; assuring her, at the same time, that, under circumstances, such an act could never be considered binding on her part. Mary had by far the best in the controversy; but she did not know that she was only fighting with shadows. The city of York in the mean time had become the scene of the most complicated intrigues. The Duke of Chatelherault, who had lately returned from France, made a faint effort in favour of Mary. Other Scottish nobles were anxious for a compromise, and the settlement of a government in which they should all have a part: and Murray at this moment would have agreed to allow his sister a large revenue, provided she would confirm her resignation of the crown, and consent to reside in England with an English husband. We profess our utter inability to understand the complex game,—we do not believe that it ever has been, or ever will be, clearly understood: but the words of the Earl of Sussex, one of Elizabeth's commissioners, contained an undisputed fact, which is, that these parties tossed between them the crown and public affairs of Scotland, caring neither for the mother nor the child, but seeking to serve their own turns, without any reference either to Mary's guilt or innocence.† Maitland, whose ways were always inscrutable, suggested a marriage between Mary and the Duke of Norfolk, her divorce from Bothwell being effected; and he had the address to bring Norfolk, perhaps Mary herself, into this scheme. But what seems the most extraordinary part of this story is, that the regent Murray himself entered into the project, and professed a great earnestness for the marriage with Norfolk, whose favour with Elizabeth, he pretended, would enable him to restore tranquillity to Scotland, and place the Protestant religion in security. It is barely possible to understand how Murray could fall in with such a scheme,* even for the moment; but he may have been spellbound by the superior craft and audacity of Maitland, whose whole soul was an intrigue, and who, since his late arrival in England, may have even proposed to himself the daring scheme of overthrowing Elizabeth and of placing Mary on her throne. It did not require his talent to see that the whole Catholic population of England was oppressed and ripe for revolt,—that many Protestants were averse to her government,—and that the Duke of Norfolk, who was both rich and brave, had an immense party in the north, counting among his friends the great earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, who, upon many grounds, were dissatisfied with the queen and with Cecil. Maitland of late had not been eager to press the question of Mary's guilt, and, even if he had done so, it would cost little to a supple man like him to change his tack, and hold her up as the model of queens and women. And he certainly assured Norfolk that Mary was innocent of her husband's murder. But Maitland was watched with vigilant eyes: his intrigues with the Duke of Norfolk were discovered, and an order came suddenly down from London for the instant removal of the conference from York to Westminster. Elizabeth now openly declared that Mary should never be restored to the crown of Scotland if Murray could make good his accusations; and she assumed as a right that she and her privy council should proceed to sentence: "and because this manner of proceeding could not be so secret but the knowledge thereof must by some means come to the Queen of Scots, it was thought most necessary, before all things, that she should be circumspectly looked unto, for doubt of escaping."† At the same time Elizabeth joined Leicester, Cecil, Bacon, and others to the commission, and commanded the immediate attendance not only of Norfolk and Sussex, who had purposely kept out of the way, but also of the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, and Huntingdon, of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. Mary, it should appear, made no complaint until she learned that Murray had been admitted into the presence of Elizabeth, in violation of a promise given by the English queen; but then she ordered her commissioners to require of Elizabeth, in the presence of her court and the foreign ambassadors, that she, too, might be allowed to go up to London, in order to meet her accusers face to face. Mary's commissioners were coldly received; and the opposite party were

* Burghley Papers.

† See Sussex's letter from York, in Lodge. The Duke of Norfolk, the head of the commission, also said,—"Some seek wholly to serve their own particular turns, the which being done, they care not what becomes either of queen or king."—Goodall.

* At a latter period, when Murray wanted to return to Edinburgh, there was a reason why he should *pretend* to approve of the projected match.

† Proceedings in the council at Hampton Court, 30th of October. —Burghley Papers.

not only encouraged, but excited by Elizabeth and Cecil to urge publicly their charges. At the end of November, Murray, therefore, declared that Mary had been "persuader and commander" of the murder of her husband: and here he ought to have stopped; but he went on to add the incredible charge (which cast a doubt on all the rest) that she had also intended to cause the death of the innocent prince, her own son, "and so to transfer the crown from the right line to a bloody murderer and godless tyrant." Mary's stedfast friends, the Bishop of Ross and Lord Herries, then demanded of Elizabeth, that, as she had admitted Murray and his associates into her presence to accuse their queen, she would also be pleased to admit into the same presence Mary herself, to prove her own innocence; and they represented, at the same time, that the accusers of their sovereign ought to be detained in the country. Elizabeth replied that this was a difficult subject, which required long deliberation; and she would never give any other answer to their requests. Mary's commissioners then did what they ought to have done long before:—with the advice of the Duke of Chatelherault, and of the French and Spanish ambassadors, they declared the conference to be at an end.* But Cecil would not accept their protest and declaration, and the mock conference went on all on one side.

At last came the decisive moment, and on the 14th of December the Earl of Murray produced a silver box or casket full of the *original* love-letters, sonnets, &c.; and he contended that these unproved and unsifted documents, together with a previous decree of the Scottish parliament, were quite sufficient to establish the queen's guilt. Elizabeth had had copies of these documents long before, but she was desirous that there should be an open and unreserved production of the originals. The papers were laid before the privy council, including Norfolk, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Leicester, and all the great earls, and letters written by Mary to Elizabeth were laid beside them, that the hand-writings might be compared. But, instead of asking the council to pronounce on the authenticity of the documents, Elizabeth merely told them that Mary had demanded to be allowed to answer to the charges in the royal presence, and that she now thought it inconsistent with her modesty and reputation as a virgin queen to admit her. And on the following day she sent for the Bishop of Ross and Lord Herries, and told them that she never could receive their mistress into her company, and that Mary ought to answer the charges in some way, or submit to eternal infamy. If we are to believe the Spanish ambassador, Elizabeth and her minister had been thwarted in council by the great earls, some of whom had shown a little spirit, and checked a little the terrible fury with which Secretary Cecil ought to destroy Mary: but we can scarcely believe that, under any circumstances, either Elizabeth or Cecil wished to do more than to cover the captive queen with disgrace, and to oppress her with imputations of enormous guilt which might render her odious and harmless. Mary, though labouring under every difficulty, would not sit down in silence like a convicted criminal, and she rejected, with scorn, a proposal made to her by Knollys, at Elizabeth's orders, that she should ratify her resignation of the crown, and so save her honour—her enemies upon that condition agreeing not to publish their proofs against her.* She immediately wrote to her commissioners, bidding them declare to Elizabeth and her council, that "where Murray and his accomplices had said that she knew, counselled, devised, persuaded, or commanded the murder of her husband, they had falsely, traitorously, and wickedly lied, imputing unto her the crime whereof they themselves were authors, inventors, doers, and some of them the proper executioners."† She solemnly denied that she had stopped inquiry and due punishment. "And," she continued, "they charge us with unnatural kindness towards our dear son, alleging we intended to have caused him follow his father hastily: howbeit the natural love a mother beareth to her only child is sufficient to confound them, and merits no other answer: yet, considering their proceedings by-past, who did him wrong in our womb, intending to have slain him and us both, there is none of good judgment but they may easily

* Goodall.

* Burghley State Papers.—Goodall.

† The commission given by Elizabeth to her vice-chamberlain Knollys, who was at Bolton Castle, acting as gaolor and spy over Mary, is curious, and quite in keeping with the rest of these proceedings. She tells him that, after full consideration, she finds, in conclusion, it is thought of all other devices that this will be the best for her (Elizabeth):—"That the queen there might be induced by some good persuasions, for avoiding of the great extremities whereunto her cause may bring her, to yield so as it might also appear of her own will, that by way of permission, that her son may continue in the state wherein he is; and the regiment also in the Earl of Murray, as already it is ordered by their parliament; and herself to continue here in our realm during such time as we shall find convenient; and her son nevertheless for his safety to be brought into this our realm, to be preserved and educated under the custody of persons of the birth of Scotland for a certain space; and this whole cause of hers, whereof she hath been charged, to be committed to perpetual silence; and the cause of this her yielding and assent to be grounded and notified to proceed of her own good will, by reason of her wearyness of government and of desire to see her son established in such terms to save her honour, as is at more length contained in the instrument devised for the demission of her crown, whilst she was in Lochleven." But Knollys was not to say all this to his prisoner in the name of his mistress—far from it. Elizabeth continues like a true daughter of Henry VIII.:—"We would have you, whom we have just cause to trust, to attempt her herein, and yet to do the same as of yourself by way of communication and devising with her of her troubles, and also of her whole cause, and of the likelihood of some end that must needs follow. And because you shall perceive what reasons are by us thought meetest to be used in this matter, and for this purpose, you shall herewith receive a memorial in writing, containing certain apparent reasons to move her to the same, as we ourselves, with the advice of certain of our privy council, have thought meetest: which memorial, being well perused, and considered by you, we would have you as speedily as you may begin to deal with her therein; always so preparing your speech as coming only of yourself, and not by any direction; but rather seeming that you would be glad to deal herein for her; and as you shall see cause to use any other reasons to induce her to this purpose, so to do; and of her disposition to send us answer with all the speed that you may: and lest she may have some speech hereof with the Lord Scrope, we think it good *that you inform him of the same* also, with great secrecy, that he may agree with you in opinion, if cause be given him by her to talk thereof. And this we would have done, before the Bishop of Ross shall come thither, whom we have caused to be stayed a day or two upon another pretence—meaning to cause this matter to be so indirectly broken with him, as he shall have cause to deal with that queen herein at his coming thither: and, therefore, we would have her mind herein beforehand by you, and also prepared by this purpose; and in anywise not to be known that you are directed from us in this cause."—*Burghley State Papers.*

perceive their hypocrisies, with how they would fortify themselves in our son's name till their tyranny be better established." She then revoked her order for breaking up the conference, saying, "And, to the effect our good sister may understand we are not willing to let their false invented allegations pass over in silence, (adhering to our former protestations) we shall desire the inspection and doubles of all they have produced against us; and that we may see the alleged principal writings, if they have any, produced. And with God's grace we shall first make such answer thereto, that our innocence shall be known to our good sister, and all other princes, so that we but have our good sister's presence, as our adversary has had, and reasonable space and time to get such verification as pertains thereto." Elizabeth took no notice of this remonstrance, and Murray's silver box was never submitted to examination. The Bishop of Ross put into Elizabeth's own hands a plain and striking defence to the charges which had been produced, affirming—1. That nothing was alleged but presumptions. 2. That it could not be proved that the letters in Murray's box had been written with her own hand; "and she was of too much honour to commit such a fact, and of too much wit to have conceived such matter in writing." 3. That neither her hand, nor seal, nor date was to the letters, nor any direction to any. 4. That her hand might easily be counterfeited: "whereof some, assistant to the adversary, as well of other nations, as of Scots, can do it;" and that, "by comparison of writings, no truth can be had. 5. That, for the marriage with Bothwell, the nobility solicited and advised it, and subscribed thereto, especially some of the adversaries, as by a writing under their hands would be testified.* At the same time, Mary reminded Elizabeth that she had promised her that she "would have her a queen still," —that she would never permit her own (the Scottish) subjects to sit in judgment upon their queen, and that she would bide all extremities rather than look back from the hope that was given her. "And," writes Knollys privately to Elizabeth, "unless your majesty will proceed against her, and *forcibly* maintain my Lord of Murray's government, you shall never bring her to a yielding; for she hath courage enough to hold out as long as any foot of hope may be left unto her." The vice-chamberlain had some conscience, and he felt, besides, unhappy at being separated from his wife and converted into a gaoler. Speaking for himself and for Lord Scrope, he says, "We have no desire to busy ourselves in these matters." But Knollys, against his will, was obliged to remain with the captive queen in a situation which exposed him to continual suspicion and danger.†

During the Christmas holidays the commission reposed from its labours; but three or four separate parties prosecuted a variety of intrigues, the most important of which was the one now most actively pressed by Maitland of Lethington, for the marrying of Mary to the Duke of Norfolk. After the holidays the Bishop of Ross, who had received fresh instructions from his mistress, waited upon Elizabeth, to demand copies of the documents that Mary might answer them, and prove her accusers to be liars as well as traitors. Elizabeth coolly replied, that she must take time to deliberate on such demand; but she now gave as her own opinion, what she had before ordered Knollys to suggest to Mary as his own friendly advice,—that it would be best for her to resign her crown, and lead a peaceful life in England. The bishop assured her that his mistress had authorised him to declare that she was resolved rather to die than do any such thing,—that her last word in this life should be that of a queen of Scotland,—that, if justice were done her, she should be restored to her kingdom, and then she would show as much clemency towards those who had thrown her into these troubles as might stand with her honour, and the good of her kingdom.* The Bishop was brought up before the full council, but he gave the same bold answer; and on the 11th of January, 1569, Elizabeth put a strange end to the conference, which of late had been carried on at Hampton Court. She told the Regent Murray, before her court and ministers—in private her conversation was different—that nothing had been proved against the honour and loyalty of him and his adherents, but that they, on the other hand, had showed no sufficient cause why she should conceive any evil opinion against the queen her good sister. This was admitting Mary's innocence of the crimes for which alone it had been pretended she was detained a prisoner; but, as we have said before, the question of Mary's guilt or innocence had little to do with any of these measures. Elizabeth, who had tried to get possession of the Scottish queen by various means, was fully resolved to keep her now that she had got her; and she had Cecil's authority that such a step was proper for the Protestant interests,—that Mary was a lawful prisoner by good treaties, and that she might not depart till she had satisfied the wrong which she had done to the queen's majesty in claiming the crown of England. She turned to Murray, and assured him that he might safely go back to Scotland, and rely upon her good will. The Bishop of Ross then told her, that if his mistress's accusers were permitted to return to Scotland, it would be most unfair to detain her a prisoner in England; and he and his colleagues solemnly protested, in Mary's name, against any act which should be performed whilst she remained in captivity. The regent locked up the originals, and took them with him; Elizabeth kept the copies of the love-letters and sonnets. Nor was this all:

* Burgley State Papers.

† Burghley State Papers.—Knollys's Letter, dated 26th December, 1568, quoted by Chalmers.—The vice-chamberlain often represented that, "unless it was determined to keep the Scottish queen a prisoner, and debar her from riding, *which would be death to her*, they could no longer remain at Bolton, for want of forage and provisions." In one of his letters he proposes paying a dozen light-horsemen, armed with pistols, to ride out with the queen and her ladies.

Murray wanted money, and she gave him 5000*l.*; he wanted a proclamation to satisfy certain national jealousies in Scotland, and he got it; he wanted an unusual pass for the Lords Wardens of the English Marches, and letters of favour to the English nobility near the Borders, and he got them also. In this same proclamation Elizabeth denied having ever entertained certain schemes which, from the evidence of her own letters, we know she had had much at heart; but some such denial was necessary to preserve her friend Murray from the fury of the Scottish people. She denied, for example, that, "however it be said or written by any person," there had been any secret practice between her majesty and the Earl of Murray for putting the son of the Queen of Scots into her Majesty's hands, to be nourished in England as she should think good, or that the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling should be in Englishmen's keeping, and the castle of Dumbarton be besieged and taken, and rendered to her majesty the Queen of England—that ever she had agreed that the Earl of Murray should be declared legitimate to succeed to the crown of Scotland after the decease of the young prince or king without children, upon condition of his acknowledging to hold the realm of Scotland in fee of her majesty as Queen of England.* The reader, who has attended to foregoing facts, will know what degree of credit Elizabeth is entitled to when she goes on to declare, "Her majesty, as she is, and by God's grace intendeth during her life to be, a prince of honour, and a maintainer of truth, doth, on the word of a queen, let all persons to know, that all and every these aforesaid things above specified are altogether false and untrue, and are devised by persons of mere malice and rancour, being disposed to nourish factions and discords, and hating the good, quietness, and concord, betwixt the two realms of England and Scotland. For this her majesty likewise assureth all persons, that, as of these untruths and falsehoods there was never convention nor accord betwixt her majesty and the said earl, nor betwixt him and any her ministers, to her majesty's knowledge, so that there was not at all any convention or pact, either by word or writing, made betwixt her majesty and the said earl for anything, since his last coming into this realm; although it is true that some speeches have been used by such of the friends of the prince (James), as are known to be most naturally affected, wishing the child under the guard of them who now have the charge of him, to be out of the danger of his enemies that have already murdered his father: but hereof was there never any manner of convention or accord."†

In the pass or safe conduct to the Lord Wardens of the Marches for the Earl of Murray the queen says,—"Whereas the said earl, and other noblemen and gentlemen of Scotland, came into this our realm upon our request and by our safe conduct for their entry and departure, we let you know that we have licensed him, and them all, with their trains, to return into Scotland, there to continue in their former estates. Wherefore, they, doubting of some impediment to them or to their train, near to our Borders, as well on this side as somewhat beyond the same, have required of us that you, our wardens, especially of our East and Middle Marches, should procure and give them assistance and conduct, for the avoiding of the attempt of their contraries; whereunto we have agreed, considering otherwise it shall touch us in honour if they should receive any loss, coming, as they have done, upon our requests." She then orders the wardens to see the said earl and all his company safely escorted from Newcastle to the bounds of Scotland, and, if necessary, to see them conducted somewhat farther within their own limits, aiding them against all their enemies,—by which were meant all the friends of the captive queen, who were still very numerous on some parts of the borders, and who, in all probability, would have made Murray's journey a very rough one if it had not been for this assistance of English arms.* The wardens were also commanded to show great respect to the regent, and not to suffer any Scotchman to come into England without his pass or special recommendation; "and," it was added, "because he hath the government of that realm, and because we have hitherto found no matter to move us to disavow the authority wherein we have found him, knowing him to be well disposed to maintain justice and peace betwixt these realms, we would have you neither do nor suffer to be done any manner of thing prejudicial to his government, but generally to further him in all reasonable causes during the time we shall allow thereof."† If we are to believe some extraordinary statements which were afterwards made upon the Duke of Norfolk's trial, Murray did not depend wholly upon the assistance of Elizabeth, but procured from his sister Mary letters to her friends in the North, both English and Scotch, to give up their design of setting upon him, and to permit his peaceable return to Edinburgh; Murray having, according to this showing, entered fully into the Duke of

* A proclamation to be made on the Borders against the slanderous writings published in Scotland, dated January 2nd. 1569. Haynes has published the whole in the Burghley Papers, from a minute corrected and interlined by Cecil.

† Burghley Papers.—Her majesty also denies that there had been "any league and intelligence betwixt the Earl of Murray and the *Earl of Hertford*." The reader will remember Hertford's unlucky marriage with the Lady Catherine Grey, the representative of the Suffolk line. Though bastardized by Elizabeth, the two children of this really lawful marriage were the nearest in succession to the English crown after Mary. In the letter which was intercepted by Elizabeth, and sent to Murray, the captive queen tells her friends in Scotland that "there has been league and intelligence betwixt the Earl of Murray and the Earl of Hertford, who should marry one of Secretary Cecil's daughters. . . . . By the which lippening the said Earl of Murray and Hertford should meet and fortify one another in the succession, whi[illegible] each of them pretends on his own side; that is to say, the E[illegible] Murray on the side of my realm, by reason of the said legit[illegible] and the Earl of Hertford on the side of England, because [illegible] Dame Catherine, on whom he begat two bairns: so th[illegible] bent to my son's death."

* The enemies of Murray were not confined to [illegible] very moment Lord Hunsdon, who was at B[illegible] there was great stir in all parts of Scotl[illegible] arms,—that the Hepburns and Hamilton[illegible] the Earl of Huntley had gathered seve[illegible] Queen Mary, and meant to call a new p[illegible]

† Burghley Papers.

Norfolk's project for marrying Mary. But we think one part of the story disproved by an intercepted letter written by the captive queen to her subjects in Scotland, and calling upon them to assemble and resist the regent to the best of their might, and to do all the evil they could to the said rebels, and to stop their returning home if it were possible.* Another story, stating that the regent was threatened with an attack on his passage through the northern counties of England by the Earl of Northumberland, the Nortons, and other Catholics, seems also to be disproved by a letter written from Berwick on the last day of January by Murray, who says that he has had a safe and quiet journey, and that he had been so well and substantially convoyed by her majesty's wardens, and especially by my Lord Hunsdon, that it was not in the power of any of his adversaries to have done him injury in her majesty's bounds.† Escorted by an English guard, the earl reached the city of Edinburgh on the 2nd of February, 1569, after an absence of nearly five months. But before he got there,—before he began his journey from London,—Elizabeth sent down strict orders to her unhappy vice-chamberlain Knollys, and to Lord Scrope, to move the Queen of Scots with all haste to Tutbury, as a place farther in the realm and more secure. Mary had protested that she would not move farther from the Border except by force; and many unnecessary pains were taken to make it be believed that no force was used. On the 18th of January, four days after their former order, Scrope and Knollys were commanded not to permit any person to be about the Queen of Scots, to dissuade her from this journey. On the very same day Elizabeth herself sent orders to the vice-president of York and to the sheriff of Derby to appoint certain gentlemen to attend on the Lord Scrope and Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, for conducting the Queen of Scots; and they were furnished with a list of the names of gentlemen in Yorkshire and Derbyshire, who were to the queen's liking, two days afterwards. It should appear, however, that Mary would by no means regard this as being a voluntary removal on her part; and, on the 20th of January, Elizabeth sent her letters from herself, in French, to give her notice that she must remove.‡

On the 26th of January, in inclement weather, without money, or the proper means of transport, the Queen of Scots and her attendants, male and female, were obliged to mount some sorry steeds, which had been lent to Knollys by the Bishop of Durham. The Vice-Chamberlain, it should appear, had been reimbursed for the expenses incurred on Mary's journey from Carlisle to Bolton. The queen's friend, Lady Livingstone, was taken ill on the road, and left behind at Rotherham. At Chesterfield the queen herself complained of the violent pain of her side to which she had been subject ever since the Rizzio murder, and also of headache, so that the cavalcade was obliged to remain at a [illegible]'s house near Chesterfield, where they [illegible] accommodations, which seem to have been wanting in all other parts of the journey. It was not until the 3rd of February that the [illegible] queen reached Tutbury Castle, a strong place upon the river Dove, in Staffordshire, the property of the Earl of Shrewsbury, under whose charge she was now placed; but the poor vice-chamberlain Knollys, whose wife had died at court without his being allowed to make a journey to see her, was not relieved from his charge, being joined in commission under the earl.

Elizabeth was soon made to feel that, in resolving to keep Mary in captivity in the heart of England, she had done that which cast a threatening cloud over her own liberty and greatness, and deprived her of her peace of mind: in fact, for many years she was incessantly haunted with the fears of plots, escapes, and bloody retaliation; no castle seemed strong enough, no keepers sure enough, for her hated rival, who, in many respects, had become more dangerous to her than ever. From time to time these jealousies and apprehensions were stirred up by zealous protestants and the friends of Cecil. On the 26th of February Mr. Nicholas White, who afterwards became master of the rolls in Ireland, paid a visit to Tutbury Castle, and reported his observations to his friend or patron the secretary. Mary, he says, heard the

* This intercepted letter was sent to Murray just as he was on the point of leaving the English court.

† Burghley Papers.—The regent was not sparing of protestations; he tells Elizabeth that both heart, body, and all in his power, are, and shall be always, bent to do her majesty service. This illegitimate Stuart subscribes himself her majesty's most humble cousin; and immediately after this, their last agreement, Elizabeth addressed him as "our right trusty and well-beloved cousin." On the same day he [illegible] to Secretary Cecil, telling him, also, how honourably and sub[illegible]ly he had been convoyed through England. He thanks Cecil [illegible] expedition used in forthsetting of the queen's majesty's [illegible]ment the untrue reports published in Scotland; but, he [illegible] was never greater occasion to be watchful of Mary.

[illegible].—"The queen was loth to leave Bolton Castle, [illegible] in speech that the secretary was her enemy, [illegible] this removing, he would cause her to be [illegible]r was so much the more, because there [illegible]tbury, which pretended title in succes[illegible] meaning the Earl of Huntingdon."—[illegible] Cecil.

[illegible] of Huntingdon here alluded to, was [illegible] from the Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. Though apparently a poor creature, he had not escaped Elizabeth's jealousy and suspicions. In April, 1563, six years before Mary became his neighbour at Tutbury, we find him thus bemoaning his fate to the Earl of Leicester:—"I am sorry that my present disease is such as there are left me but these two remedies, either to swallow up those bitter pills lately received, or to make you a partner of my griefs, thereby something to ease a wounded heart. At my wife's last being at court, to do her duty as became her, it pleased her majesty to give her a privy nip, especially concerning myself, whereby I perceive she hath some jealous conceit of me, and, as I can imagine, of late digested. How far I have been always from conceiting any greatness of myself, nay, how ready I have been always to shun applauses, both by my continual low sail and my carriage, I do assure myself is best known to your lordship and the rest of my nearest friends; if not, mine own conscience shall best clear me from any such folly. Alas, what could I hope to effect in the greatest hopes I might imagine to have in the obtaining the least likelihood of that height? Will a whole commonwealth deprive themselves of so many blessings presently enjoyed, for a future hope uncertain, in favour of one inferior to many others, both in degree, and any princely quality? Will they forsake a prince, both for excellent qualities, and rare virtues of nature, and of great hopes of an inestimable blessing by her princely issue? No, no, I cannot be persuaded they would, if I should be so foolishly wicked to desire it, or that my mind were so ambitiously inclined. I hope her majesty will be persuaded of better things in me, and cast this conceit behind her; and that a foolish book, foolishly written, shall not be able to possess her princely inclination with so bad a conceit of her faithful servant, who desires not to live but to see her happy."—*Hardwicke State Papers.*

English service with a book of the Psalms, in English, in her hand; she was also learning the English language, and Mr. Vice-Chamberlain was her good schoolmaster therein. "I asked her," continues White, "how she liked her change of air?" She said, if it might have pleased her good sister to let her remain where she was, she would not have removed for change of air this time of the year; but she was the better contented therewith, because she was come so much the nearer to her good sister, whom she desired to see above all things, if it might please her to grant the same. I told her grace, that although she had not the actual, yet she had always the effectual presence of the queen's majesty, by her great bounty and kindness—who, in the opinion of us abroad in the world, did every way perform towards her the office of a gracious princess, a natural kinswoman, a loving sister, and a faithful friend; and how much she had to thank God that, after the passing of so many perils, she was safely arrived into such a realm, as where all we of the common sort deemed she had good cause, through the goodness of the queen's majesty, to think herself rather prince-like entertained, than hardly restrained of any thing that was fit for her grace's estate." At this moment White knew very well that this loving sister and faithful friend sorely begrudged every sixpence that was spent for the captive; and that, but for the generosity of the Earl of Shrewsbury, Mary would have been in want of the commonest necessaries. He then gives an account to Cecil of a canting preachment about godliness which he made to the prisoner, and which, he says, she very gently accepted. He was too good a courtier to be over eloquent in praise of Mary's beauty and grace; he says, however,—and his words merit particular attention—"If I might give advice, there should be very few subjects in this land have access to, or conference with, this lady; for, beside that she is a goodly personage, *and yet, in truth, not comparable to our sovereign*, she hath withal an alluring grace, a pretty Scottish speech, and a searching wit, clouded with mildness. Fame might move some to relieve her, and glory, joined to gain, might stir others to adventure much for her sake. Then joy is a lively infective sense, and carrieth many persuasions to the heart, which ruleth all the rest. Mine own affection, by seeing the queen's majesty our sovereign, is doubled, and thereby I guess what sight might work in others." Master White slept in the castle, and he was up in the morning betimes to espy what he could; and he says that "espied two halberd-men without the castle I, searching under the queen's bed-chamber window;" but he does not tell Cecil whether they found anything. "My Lord of Shrewsbury," he says, "is very careful of his charge; but the queen overwatches them all, for it is one of the clock at least every night ere she go to bed." *

Meanwhile some of Elizabeth's noblest subjects were secretly devising how they might liberate the prisoner—*perhaps* how they might revolutionise the whole country, and place Mary upon the throne of England; and foreign princes were openly complaining of the English queen's cruel and unseemly treatment of a crowned head—of one who was as much an independent princess as herself. But no foreign power was at the time either in a condition or in a disposition to hazard a war with the powerful queen of England for the weak and ruined queen of a weak, poor, and distracted country. To their remonstrances Elizabeth replied, that they were all labouring under a great mistake—that she was the dear sister of Mary, the best friend she ever had—that she had given her an asylum, when her subjects drove her from her kingdom and sought her life—that she had been delicately watchful of her reputation, and had suppressed, and was still suppressing, documents which would render her infamous to her contemporaries and to all future ages. Nor was it till the following year (1570), when, for a variety of purposes, she began a negotiation with France about her own marriage with the young duke of Anjou—the greatest farce that ever she played off in this way—that Elizabeth condescended to enter into any further explanations of her conduct. Then, indeed, she wrote in her own way [illegible] of England and Scotland for the last ten years to her ambassador, Sir Henry Norris, who was to show it to the French king, her good brother, and the queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, who, by means of Moulinet, a special ambassador, had requested her to treat Mary more gently, and as a queen—nay, to set her at liberty, and aid her in recovering her realm, with the authority due to her.* This long and able document, which bears marks of the masterly hand of Cecil (Elizabeth's own pen was very roundabout), laid down as a fact proved and not to be disputed, every accusation ever brought by Morton and Ruthven, Murray and Maitland, against the good fame of Mary; but it also dwelt, with still greater emphasis, on the inexpiable crime of Mary's assuming in her childhood the arms and style of England; † and after all, as Elizabeth could not possibly pretend to any right by which she might sit as a judge over her erring sister, the question was reduced to one of political expediency, it being represented that she kept Mary in close prison, *because* she could not let her go with safety to herself. ‡

And it must be allowed that when this manifesto was sent into France, Elizabeth had many reasons for believing her own throne in danger, notwithstanding a triumph she had then recently [illegible] in the north of England over her Cath[illegible] the friends of her rival. Leaving [illegible] prison at Tutbury Castle, w[illegible]

* Burghley Papers.

* Sir Dudley Digges, The Compet[illegible]

† "She is the person by whom, and [illegible] known, that our kingdom and crown [illegible] as Almighty God called us by right t[illegible]

‡ Id.

several important events which occurred previous to her committal there. We have had occasion to mention more than once the distracted condition of the French kingdom: the burning heat of two hostile fanaticisms (for the Huguenots were scarcely less fanatic than the Catholics) added to the heat of ambition (for the princes and great men on both sides were, for the most part, indifferent to the question of religion) kept that country in a blaze. In 1564 Elizabeth's friend the Prince of Condé, was disgusted by being refused the post of Lieutenant General of the realm, left vacant by the death of the King of Navarre; and as the Protestants saw that the treaty of peace made in the preceding year in order to expel the English from Havre, was not kept, and that the Court was revoking the liberty of conscience, it was easy for the prince to assemble once more a formidable army. But for some time the Huguenots were kept in awe in the north of France by a large and well disciplined force, which the Court had collected to guard the frontier from any violation that might arise out of the disturbed state of the Netherlands, where the people were in open revolt against the Spanish government. The discontent in the Netherlands, which became in the end another war of religion, was at first common to both Protestants and Catholics. The industrious and commercial citizens, who had grown enormously wealthy under the rule of the Dukes of Burgundy notwithstanding their civil dissentions, their turbulence, and occasional anarchy, saw their prosperity dwindle and waste away as soon as the government of their country was transferred by marriage to the monarchic and despotic Spaniards, who began by invading their municipal franchises, and who soon trenched upon every right of a free people. Charles V., a native of the country, had some sympathy with the people, and was too wise to force them at all points; but when his dominion fell to his bigoted son Philip II., no moderation was preserved. The nobility were insulted, the merchants were robbed by illegal imposts, the privileges of the free cities were violated, and every constitutional right was declared to be of no weight against the will of the monarch—the anointed of the Lord, the chosen of heaven. Charles was wont to reside a good deal in the country, and to surround himself with the native nobility, who followed him in his campaigns and to his courts, whether in Spain, in Germany, or in Italy, and at each the avenues to honour and profit were open to them; but Philip soon turned his back on the Netherlands for ever, and left the nobles to pine for the want of the sunshine of a court. And [illegible]le few or no Dutchmen and Belgians could find [illegible]n or promotion in Spain, Spaniards were [illegible] almost every office in the Netherlands. [illegible] bishoprics, and the army, were all [illegible]sive and haughty Spaniards. [illegible] had hitherto been possessed [illegible]ved to found bishoprics, and [illegible] given to foreigners. Under [illegible]is not strange that even the Catholic clergy of the Netherlands should become disaffected; but, to their honour be it said, this portion of the Roman Church, orthodox as it was, abhorred the Inquisition, which Philip very soon resolved to establish in the country as a completion of his benefits to it. It was repeated as loudly by the Catholics as by the Protestants that the Flemings were struck with horror at the mere name of the Inquisition, and that if the tribunal were established among them industry and trade would flee the country—that what might suit Spain and Italy was not suitable to Flanders nor to other nations of the north of Europe, who were naturally more inclined to liberty than the people of the South: and some of them who regretted the spread of Protestantism, asked whether it were not better to employ mild remedies than fire and sword. But Philip had no taste for mild remedies, and he told one of his ministers who had ventured to reason with him, that he would rather lose all his kingdoms than possess them with heresy.* A detestable tribunal, after the model of that of Spain, was therefore established. The powerful Prince of Orange and the Counts of Egmont and Horn placed themselves at the head of their countrymen, and a confederacy, in which the Catholics acted with the Protestants, was formed in the spring of 1566, with the avowed object of putting down this Institution, and with the more secret design of recovering the constitutional rights of the country. The Duchess of Parma who governed the provinces in the name of Philip, and who when left to herself had many good qualities, yielded to the storm and declared, as Philip's viceroys in Naples had repeatedly been obliged to do, that the Inquisition should be abolished. At this point the Catholics and Protestants separated: the latter required not only an exemption from the secret tribunal, but liberty to profess and teach their own doctrines; the Catholics were quite satisfied with what had been done, and were not at all disposed to do more for the rights of conscience, nor indeed to tolerate any open profession of the reformed faith. The Protestants therefore met in their places of worship with arms in their hands. The preacher preached with his sword naked before him, the congregation, men, women, and children, carried arms or bludgeons. The regent, the Duchess of Parma, sent forth an edict against all preachers and all congregations of this kind, threatening them with rigorous punishment; but few or none of the governors of the provinces would assist her, and the reformers became bolder than ever. In Antwerp and other great trading cities, which were crowded with English and German Protestants, the people set the regent at defiance.† At the same time the country people who were out of the reach of the Spanish garrisons, not only gave an asylum to the persecuted preachers but began to declare that it was time to root pa-

* Bentivoglio, Guerra Di Fiandra.

† The Duchess of Parma attempted by persuasion to establish a Spanish garrison in Antwerp, but the magistrates of that city told her that it would never do to mix soldiers with merchants.

pistry out of the land: and they soon proceeded to knock down the churches, to break the images, to destroy the pictures, and to do all that had been done in other reforming countries. Presently Antwerp became in Catholic eyes a horrible scene of impiety and sacrilege. On the feast of the assumption of the Virgin, as the priests were carrying in solemn procession a sculptured image of Mary through the streets, nothing was heard but curses against both priests and image. It was expected that the Virgin would have been thrown in the dirt, but after great efforts she was carried back safely to her niche in the church. A few days after, however, the people stormed the cathedral church, which was then one of the most sumptuous in Europe and richest in works of art: having gained an entrance they closed all the doors to prevent interruption, and they then proceeded to break every image of every saint within the building. There was a large image of Christ on the cross, the work of a famous sculptor, which was placed high above their heads, but they threw ropes round it, pulled it down, and broke it to atoms. They were still more spiteful against painted saints than saints in sculpture. Every picture was cut to ribbons. At the same time the altars were overturned and smashed. There is no spirit so contagious as that of destruction. From the cathedral they proceeded to the other churches, where they did the like, and from the churches they rushed upon the convents and monasteries, driving out monks and nuns. This active campaign against papistry lasted from noon till after midnight, and the tumult of Antwerp served like a banner displayed to invite the other cities to do the same. Only the Walloon provinces refused the signal and remained devout and tranquil.* For a short time the reformers had the field to themselves, but then the Duchess of Parma fell upon them with a mixed host of Spaniards, French, and Walloons. A battle was fought near Antwerp; but the burghers and peasants were as yet unequal to a contest with regular troops: some were burnt alive in a house to which they had fled for refuge, some cut to pieces, and some drowned in the Scheldt as they were flying from their pursuers. Then, partly by force and partly by stratagem, the regent introduced a strong garrison into Antwerp, which thereupon assumed a very orthodox and tranquil bearing. Her severity, it is said, was tempered by clemency, but her master Philip had determined that no clemency should be shown to men who were doubly damned as heretics and rebels. He recalled the Duchess of Parma, and dispatched the famous Duke of Alva, who was as admirable as a military commander as he was detestable as a bigot, or a passive instrument to despotism, with an army still more formidable from its discipline than from its numbers, to restore obedience and a uniformity of belief in the Low Countries. At the approach of Alva, the Prince of Orange retreated to his principality of Nassau; Egmont and Horn, who stayed in the hope of justifying their conduct, were cast into prison; the rest of the leaders fled to England and France. The success of Alva alarmed the Protestants every where; in England and in Scotland it cast a cloud, which was never to be removed, over the fortunes of Mary, but it was in France that it excited the wildest panic. The Huguenots, who were always a minority, saw that they must be crushed, and maintained that Alva was specially appointed to carry into effect the secret treaty of Bayonne, for the forcible restoring of all Protestants to the obedience of the church. With this conviction the Huguenots resolved to anticipate their enemies. The Prince of Condé renewed an old correspondence with the Prince of Orange in the Low Countries, with the English court, and with others interested in opposing the Bayonne treaty; and he, with Coligni and other chiefs of the party, laid a plot for surprising the king—the contemptible and wretched Charles IX.—and all his court at Monceaux.

King Charles was saved from the hands of his Protestant subjects by the fidelity and bravery of his Swiss mercenaries. These sturdy foot soldiers enclosed him and his court in a hollow square, threw off the Huguenot cavalry at several charges, and escorted the king safely to Paris. Elizabeth had sent Condé money and advice; and it has been asserted that she was privy to this plot, and that her ambassador, Sir Henry Norris, was deeply implicated in its arrangement. Our only doubt as to the assertions arises out of a difficulty we have in seeing what use either Elizabeth or her minister could have had in such a conspiracy—unless, indeed, Norris lent his house, which was snugly situated in the suburbs of Paris, to the conspirators as a convenient place of meeting.* What is more certain is, that when the conspiracy failed and the Huguenots were driven into an open and desperate war, Cecil instructed Norris to comfort them and exhort them to persevere. Charles soon found him-

* Bentivoglio.

* Some time after we find Norris giving a curious account to Cecil of a visit paid to him by the queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici The ambassador, writing from his suburban residence, says,—"She came through a close into my garden, whereof I being advertised, went towards her, where, after she had perused the close,—out of which she found a door into the fields, whereof I have a key, and was sometime wont to pass that way into the open fields, for which commodity I rather hire my house, and took a lease thereof for years, than for any other belonging to it, as also to be out of the corrupt air of the town, which surely is such as none other to be compared to Paris,—which, after she had well viewed, she said she much marvelled I durst in this troublesome time be so void of neighbours. Whereunto I answered, that I thought myself here under the king, her son's, protection, no less than if I were in the town; trusting, also, that their care was no less of me for her majesty's sake, whose place I here hold, than any of them of my calling within the town: whereof she said I might be well assured, thus ending this conversation for that present. After my negotiation ended she again fell into talk of my house, required me I would come into the town, where lodgings meet should be provided for me, and a very commodious , lest some inconvenience grow to me from the mutinous multitude, which should be no small grief to her and the king her son; which, surely, though shall be greater to my hindrance, having made my provision yet, being by her thus warned, I must be forced if she requi to do it."—*Wright, Elizabeth and Her Times.*

We are inclined to believe that the crafty Cather so attentively examined the premises, did not back-doors and the way across the fields, a him within the wails of Paris, to see bette quented him. And giving Norris full er can hardly believe that he chose to lod manner from all the other foreign am anxiety to escape the foul smells of Paris

self shut up in his capital; but he was liberated, or freed from a siege, by the battle of St. Denis, in which the Huguenots were defeated. The Constable Montmorency, however, was slain, and the king found himself obliged to conclude another hollow pacification. In the following spring (1568) 3,000 French Protestants crossed the northern frontier, to join the Prince of Orange, who had taken the field against the Spaniards. In the month of June the Prince of Orange was obliged to retreat before the Duke of Alva; but in August he re-appeared with 20,000 men. Alva, who was as cool in war as he was hot in religion, skilfully avoided a battle with this superior force, and manœuvred in such a manner as to exhaust the strength, spirits, and resources of the Protestants, without exposing himself to any attack. At the end of the campaign, the Prince of Orange was obliged to recross the Rhine, and disband what remained of his army. These Protestant troops had been in a good measure raised by English money, secretly supplied by Elizabeth, who at the same time was at peace with Philip, and in public took care to proclaim her respect for the Spanish monarch, and her dislike of all rebellions; nor did she relax her efforts, or despair of success to the insurgents, either in the Netherlands or in France. The government of the latter country had given, in the preceding year, what might have been considered a provocation to war, but she and Cecil were determined to have no *open* war. When, at the expiration of the term fixed by the treaty of Cateau Cambresis, Sir Henry Norris demanded the restitution of Calais, the French chancellor quoted an article of the treaty, by which Elizabeth was to forfeit all claim to that town if she committed hostilities upon France; and further told Norris that, as she had taken possession of Havre, she had brought herself within the scope of that clause. But as Elizabeth had never expected the restitution, she suffered no disappointment; and without recognising the justice of the reasons assigned, she waited events, omitting, as we have seen, no opportunity of giving support and encouragement to the insurgent Huguenots in France.

In 1567 Elizabeth had entered anew into matrimonial negotiations. Her old suitor the Archduke Charles wrote her a very flattering letter, and, though she had not the most distant intention of marrying him, she dispatched the Earl of Sussex on a solemn embassy to Vienna. There were two particular obstacles to be overcome:—the queen would marry none without sight of his person beforehand, and without his agreeing to adopt her [illegible] religion.* Sussex, who was anxious for the [illegible] attempted to obviate both these diffi- [illegible] He assured her majesty that his high- [illegible] was a tall and proper man; his [illegible] hair and beard of a light auburn; his face well proportioned, amiable, and of a good complexion without show of redness or over paleness; his countenance and speech cheerful, very courteous, and not without some state; his body well shaped, without deformity or blemish; his hands very good and fair; his legs clean, well proportioned, and of sufficient bigness for his stature; his foot as good as may be.* He assures her majesty, upon his duty, that he finds not one deformity, mis-shape, or anything to be noted worthy disliking in the archduke's whole person; but, contrariwise, that his whole shape is good and fit to be liked in all respects, and such as is rarely to be found in a prince of his quality. Then, for his accomplishments,—his highness speaks, besides his natural language of Dutch (that is, German), Spanish and Italian, and, as he, the ambassador, had heard, Latin also. "He hath some understanding in astronomy and cosmography, and taketh pleasure in clocks that set forth the course of the planets. He also rides well, managing his horse and keeping a seat not to be amended. He delighteth much in hunting, riding, hawking, exercise of feats of arms, and hearing of music, whereof he hath very good." After mentioning the counties he holds in *apanage*, and stating that he may ride without entering into any other man's territories, near three hundred miles, Sussex exclaims—"Surely he is a great prince in subjects, territories, and revenues; and liveth in great honour and state, with such a court as he that seeth it will say is fit for a great prince!"†

The matrimonial negotiator, who had been deceived by his mistress and by his own eagerness for the marriage, assured the archduke that Elizabeth did not now mean a lingering entertaining of the matter, but a direct proceeding to bring it to a good end, with a determination to consummate the marriage if conveniently she might; that she was free to marry where God should put it in her heart to like; that she had given no grateful ear to any motion of marriage but to this, although she had received sundry great offers from others. The archduke said, that he had heard so much of Elizabeth's not meaning to marry as might give him cause to suspect the worst; but he was, or pretended to be, satisfied with Sussex's assurance, and, putting off his cap, he said he would honour, love, and serve her majesty all the days of his life, provided only she would bear with him for his conscience; but when Sussex hinted that he (the archduke) was only temporising in matters of religion, and might be expected to change his faith, "in order to settle in this marriage," the Austrian prince honourably and frankly informed him that

[illegible] of Cecil to this effect in the Hardwicke [illegible] collection of Ellis, &c.

[illegible] give Cecil informed his friend Sir Thomas [illegible] ility of England favoured this match very [illegible] is of Leicester hath behaved himself very

* Lodge's Illustrations of Eng. Hist.—It should appear that her majesty was very fond of a *good leg* and *foot*, and *that her courtiers* took Leicester as the model of what would please her. Sir Henry Cobham, who accompanied the Earl of Sussex, writes to the great Cecil from Vienna,—"As I did see him (the emperor) stand, we thought he was of the earl's height, very well shaped, especially his leg and foot." The emperor's son, the archduke, was not yet at court, but Cobham says, "The fame is great in his praises, and I hope soon to be *ocularis testis* to my better contentation. .... The chiefest of the lusty young gentlemen be with him."—*Burghley Papers.*

† Lodge's Illustrations.

he was mistaken—that his ancestors had always held the religion which he held—that he knew nothing of any other religion, and therefore could have no mind to change. And then he asked, how the queen could like him in any other thing, if he should be so light in changing of his conscience.* The archduke afterwards wrote letters to Elizabeth herself, to stipulate for the liberty of hearing mass in England, in a private room of the palace, at which none but himself and his servants should attend—consenting to accompany the queen to the Protestant church regularly, and even to intermit for a time the exercise of his own religion, if any serious disputes should arise thereupon. But Elizabeth now fell back upon the fears and the strong religious feelings of her Protestant subjects, protesting to the Austrian that they would never tolerate a Catholic prince, and pointing out to them how difficult it was for her to find a suitable husband; and there is little doubt that the majority of the people were more content to see her remain single than to see her marry a Catholic. The treaty was carried on for years; but soon after the archduke found a less difficult bride in the daughter of Albert Duke of Bavaria.

The queen ought certainly to have kept a matrimonial secretary, for all these interminable negotiations, added to the weight of his other business, nearly proved too much for Secretary Cecil, who was constantly praying to the Lord to deliver him from them. But this great statesman was also made to take part in all manner of court *tracasseries* and female caprices. On one occasion he writes in horror to Sir Thomas Smith—"Here is an unhappy chance, and monstrous! The serjeant porter, being the biggest gentleman in this court, hath married secretly the Lady Mary Grey, the least of all the court. They are committed to several prisons; the offence is very great!" This Lady Mary Grey was youngest sister of the unfortunate Lady Jane, and the more unfortunate Lady Catherine—one of the hated line of Suffolk, for Elizabeth hated all who stood near in the succession. It is said by a quaint old writer, that the little Lady Mary, "frighted with the infelicity of her two elder sisters, forgot her honour to remember her safety, and married one whom she could love and none need fear—Martin Kays of Kent, Esquire—who was a judge at court (but only of doubtful casts at dice, being serjeant-porter)."† The obscurity of this match did not disarm Elizabeth's resentment, though it tended to lower and weaken the Suffolk line. She kept both husband and wife in prison, and separate, so that there were no children for her to bastardise by this marriage. The Lady Mary wrote penitent letters to the queen and Cecil, telling them that she desired rather death than to be any longer without so great a jewel as her majesty's favour; but they were of no avail, and she remained either in close prison, or in ward in gentlemen's houses, where her maintenance cost the queen nothing, till her death, which happened thirteen years after. This high exercise of the prerogative, and the remembrance of the misfortunes and persecutions of the Lady Catherine, failed to excite any stirring indignation. The annalists have thought the tall serjeant-porter unworthy of much notice, and we are not informed what became of him.

But intrigues for a much more obnoxious marriage—that of the Duke of Norfolk with the Queen of Scots—were now in full activity. In that dishonourable age it was a common practice (as it has been in some later times) for people to enter into plots for the sole purpose of betraying them to the government, and reaping a suitable reward. There were too many engaged in the present scheme to allow of any hope of secrecy. Even before Murray had returned to Scotland, or Queen Mary had been removed to Tutbury Castle, Elizabeth had alternately reproached and tempted the Duke of Norfolk, who assured her, that if there had been a talk of his marrying the Scottish queen the project had not originated with him, and had never met his wishes. "But," said the artful Elizabeth, "though you now mislike of it, yet you may percase be induced to like of it for the benefit of the realm, and for mine own security." The duke replied, "that no reason could move him to like of her, that hath been a competitor to the crown; and if her majesty would move him thereto, he would rather be committed to the Tower, for he meant never to marry with such a person where he could not be sure of his pillow."* This allusion to the fate of Darnley gratified the queen, and she accepted Norfolk's excuses. But it is said that only a day or two after his making this protestation, the duke conferred in secret, in the park at Hampton Court, with the Earl of Murray, and then with the Bishop of Ross and Maitland of Lethington, when he agreed that if Mary could be restored to her liberty and her throne he would marry her; they, on the other hand, assuring him, that such a nobleman as himself, courteous, wealthy, and a *Protestant*, could not fail of restoring tranquillity to Scotland, and maintaining peace and a perfect understanding between the two countries. Norfolk must have been far gone in fatuity when he fancied that Murray was anxious to restore his sister, if he could *only* secure for her a Protestant husband, well regarded at the English court; or, indeed, when he entered upon any intrigue with such consummate masters as Murray and Lethington. It should appear, nowever, that Norfolk did not commit himself very seriously until he was propelled by the insidious favourite Leicester, by the Earls of Arundel [illegible] Pembroke, and by Sir Nicholas Throgmort[illegible] experienced diplomatist and plotter, [illegible] denly coalesced with Leicester [illegible] throwing Cecil into the Towe[illegible] for [illegible] minister's system for one that [illegible] his own interests. Throgm[illegible] were, in effect, the most a[illegible]

* Lodge.—All this matter, with more particulars, is contained in letters written by the ambassador Sussex to Elizabeth herself.

† Fuller, Worthies (Leicestershire).

* Burghley P

match; but Norfolk turned round suddenly, being probably startled at the danger, and recommended Leicester himself, who had formerly been proposed to Mary by Elizabeth, to marry the captive queen. Leicester adroitly declined the honour. Norfolk then put forward his own brother, the Lord Henry Howard, but he also was afraid.

At last the duke agreed to be the husband, and then a letter, subscribed by the Earls of Leicester, Arundel, and Pembroke, and the Lord Lumley, was privately addressed to Mary in her prison, urging her to consent to the marriage, but requiring her at the same time "to relinquish all such claims as had been made by her to the prejudice of the queen's majesty; and that religion might be stablished both in Scotland and England; and that the league of France might be dissolved, and a league made betwixt England and Scotland; and that the government of Scotland might be to the contentation of the Queen of England." * And the Duke of Norfolk is said to have assured as well the Scottish queen as the Lords who subscribed this letter, that unless these articles were agreed to, he would have nothing to do with the matter. Leicester and the others assured him that if Mary would agree to the articles, then *they* would "be means to the queen's majesty to like of the marriage."† Norfolk and his friends said afterwards, that they had assured themselves, from the letter being *written by the Earl of Leicester*, there would be nothing in it "but for the queen's majesty's security."‡

Mary was ready to do a great deal in order to open her prison gates, but she demurred at this proposal, stating that the previous consent of Elizabeth was necessary, and that *all her calamities had, in effect, arisen out of her sister's wrath at her marriage with Darnley.* The Lords, however, naturally thought that it would not be difficult to overcome her objections; and Norfolk in his own name, wrote letters to the fair captive as a lover and liberator. These letters were conveyed to the queen by the Bishop of Ross. *He* was true to his trust, but Norfolk had admitted into the secret Wood, the agent of the Regent Murray (who carried on the farce), and this Wood soon put himself in direct communication either with Elizabeth or Cecil, or probably with both. The consent of the French and Spanish Courts to the match was asked through their ambassadors: every thing seemed to favour the project and flatter the ambition of Norfolk. Many of the principal nobility of England encouraged him, and none remonstrated, save the Earl of Sussex, who saw clearly the real origin of the plot, and the ruin it would bring upon his friend the Duke. Sussex wrote to Cecil, re[illegible]ng the great coldness which he had observed [illegible] him and the Duke of Norfolk; a feeling [illegible] must have had its origin in [illegible] and the ill offices of their ene[illegible]ere eager to profit by their [illegible] them both; and he implores the secretary to come to a full and fair explanation with the duke himself, in whom he will find "honour, truth, wisdom, and plainness."* This letter, as Sussex flattered himself, was the means of reconciling the secretary and the duke. Norfolk, on the faith of promises pledged, was fool enough to expect that the Earl of Murray would now approve the articles of marriage, and charge Maitland to open the subject to her Majesty of England.

The regent pretended to recommend his sister's liberation to a Scottish parliament which he had assembled; but, at the same time, he was taking all the measures in his power to keep her a closer prisoner in England than ever. Here Maitland and he quarreled; for the astute secretary, dissatisfied with Murray's government, and full of his grand state intrigue, which embraced England as well as Scotland, was now more anxious for the restoration of Mary, than he had been two years before for her deprivation. But Maitland, for the moment, was overmatched, and, fearing for his life, and cursing what he called the double dealing and perfidy of Murray, he fled from Edinburgh to seek an asylum in the mountains of the north. In the month of August, Elizabeth and her court being at Farnham, and the Duke of Norfolk being in attendance on her, there suddenly arose a whispering among the ladies of the court, "who," as Camden saith, "have much sagacity in smelling out amatory matters," that the Queen of Scots and the duke were privately contracted to each other. We would not lightly call in doubt the sagacity or good scent of court ladies, but there is pretty good evidence to show that Wood had kept Elizabeth duly informed, and that the Regent Murray at this time had sent an envoy to her to relate what had passed in the Scottish parliament, and to assure her that the Scots would not consent to the restitution of his sister upon any condition. Elizabeth took the imprudent Duke of Norfolk to dine with her: she was courteous as usual; but, when she rose from table—still, however, "without any show of displeasure"—she bade him "be very careful on what pillow he rested his head."† The court then proceeded to Titchfield, where the Earl of Leicester found it convenient to fall very sick—sick, it was said, unto death! Alarmed—and, as it is generally represented, still amorous—Elizabeth flew to the bedside of her unworthy favourite, who, with many sighs and tears, began to disclose every particular of the plot into which he had inveigled Norfolk. Leicester received a fond pardon, Norfolk a severe reprimand. The duke protested that he had never meant ill to her majesty, and readily promised to let the project drop. But Elizabeth could not conceal her anger against him, and Leicester, who was soon up and well, began to treat him rudely. The duke, upon this, left the queen, promising to return within a week; but, after paying a short visit to London,

† Id. ‡ Id.

* Lodge's Illustrations.
† Camden.—Burghley Papers.

he went into Norfolk, and fixed himself at his great house of Kenninghall. At the same time, the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, who had signed the letter which Leicester had written to Mary, withdrew from court. Upon this the queen became greatly alarmed, expecting that some serious insurrection, with the object of liberating the Queen of Scots, was about to burst forth. She caused letters to be written to persons "sound in religion" and powerful in several counties, exhorting them to be upon their guard, to arrest all breeders of sedition, and to take care that the justices of the peace were active in the discharge of their duty.* At the same time the Earl of Huntingdon and the Viscount Hereford were joined in commission with the Earl of Shrewsbury, "to prevent the departure and escape out of the realm" of Queen Mary, which, it was said, "could not be but both perilous and very dishonourable to us and our realm." The Earl of Huntingdon and the viscount were commanded always to be in readiness with such company, especially of horsemen, as they shall think themselves to be well assured of.† Urgent requisitions were sent to Kenninghall for the immediate appearance of the duke at court; and it should appear that the government suspected that he was arming his friends and retainers.‡

While the matrimonial intrigue had been in progress, one Paris, a Frenchman, commonly called French Paris, was apprehended in Scotland on a charge of being actively concerned in the Darnley murder. Here seemed to be an opportunity of fixing the guilt on Mary more directly and convincingly than the letters of the silver box had done; and Elizabeth sent down to Murray to request, or command, that the prisoner should be delivered up to her. [It was quite clear that, *legally*, she had nothing to do with this man.] But Murray replied that French Paris was already executed. This hurried execution has been justly assumed as a circumstance casting much doubt on the nature of the Frenchman's confessions. If Paris had been really disposed to make such important revelations his life ought to have been preserved, in order that he might deliver his evidence, if not before Queen Elizabeth, at least before a Scottish parliament or court of law; and Mary the accused, or her advocates, ought to have had the opportunity of cross-examining the prisoner. There was no urgent motive of fear of a rescue or of any other kind to prevent his lying for a while in prison. Paris was only a page or footman; he was well ironed (he had been *tormented* before); and his life was at all times in their hands. In short, to use the words of a writer who was instantly struck with the parallel case furnished by Shakspeare, "The fact of having put Paris instantly to death, with every other person connected with the murder, resembles the act of the usurper in the play, who stabs the warders of Duncan, lest a public examination should produce other sentiments in the minds of the judges than those which he who really committed the crime desired should be inferred."* Instead of French Paris, the regent sent the English queen two depositions which the prisoner *was said* to have made before his trial. We need not stop to inquire whether they were made *before* torture. In those days *ironing and tormenting* were coupled together,—that is, in all such cases the prisoner was put to the rack as soon as he was caught. This was the practice in more enlightened England,—in every Christian country,—and of itself it is enough to cast a doubt on all confessions when they are unsupported by other evidence. But these very depositions differed. In the first, Maitland of Lethington was charged as the original contriver of the plot for murdering Darnley; the earls of Argyle and Huntley, with Balfour, were set down as accomplices in the murder; and the earls of Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay as the abettors and supporters of Bothwell. Here there was no mention of the queen; but in the second deposition it was inserted that Mary had been privy and assenting. Maitland, it will be remembered, was at this moment a fugitive from the wrath of the regent, who had resolved to destroy him, well knowing that nothing but death could prevent the Machiavelli of Scotland from intriguing and manœuvring, and fearing lest his intrigues might drive him from the regency. The most cunning men have momentary fits of credulity. Maitland was made to believe that the regent was desirous of a reconciliation with him: he went to Stirling, where Murray welcomed him by putting him under arrest, and naming a day for his trial. Then, counting upon the prisoner's fears, he urged him to become the open accuser to Elizabeth of the Duke of Norfolk, and of others, their common friends, in England. But this Maitland, who seems to have been in no fear at all, flatly refused; and on the day appointed for his trial the secretary's friends assembled in such numbers that Murray was fain to put off the process for an indeterminate period.† But the work must be d[illegible] and now Murray himself undertook the [illegible] office of informer, and forwarded al[illegible] of Norfolk's letters to the English [illegible] protesting that he had no[illegible] and that he would never for[illegible] assent to it had it not be[illegible]

* Burghley Papers.—The preamble to this circular is curious:—"Where it is likely that you may hear how the Duke of Norfolk is gone of late from London to Kenninghall (which, by his letters to us, is signified to be upon fear of the queen's majesty's displeasure), where he avoweth that he will remain a faithful subject (and so we heartily wish and trust he will, considering there is no other cause); yet, for that we are not ignorant what inclination there is in evil disposed persons to take occasion upon small matters to move seditious bruits, we have thought good to signify unto you that her majesty hath not meant anywise towards the said Duke of Norfolk any manner of thing to him offensive; but only, upon his coming to the court, to understand the truth of a certain matter that hath been moved to him for a marriage with the Queen of Scots, which her majesty nowise doth allow; and so to have let him understand her resolute determination at this present, when her whole council should have been here assembled by her order."

† Burghley Papers.

‡ Norfolk told Cecil, by letter, that he was ill of a fever and ague; but the hot and cold was of a moral kind. He was told to come, his "ague notwithstanding." But only a week before he came Elizabeth wrote to her "right trusty and entirely beloved cousin and counsellor," that his fears were without cause.—Burghley Papers.

* Walter Scott, History of Scotla[illegible]

life. When this evidence was in Elizabeth's hands, or when it was promised her, she again invited the Duke of Norfolk to court; and this nobleman, trusting that her anger had cooled, at last obeyed the summons, and set out from Kenninghall. At St. Alban's, on the 2nd of October, he was met by Edward Fitzgarrett, a gentleman of the court, who attached him, and conveyed him to the house of Mr. Wentworth, near Windsor.* On the 9th of October the duke was brought up to London and committed to the Tower, being conducted by Sir Francis Knollys. On the 11th of the same month the Bishop of Ross, who in vain pleaded his privilege as the agent and ambassador of a crowned head,—the helpless prisoner Mary,—was sharply examined at Windsor, and then committed to prison. At the same time the Lord Lumley and some others of less note were placed under arrest; "and the queen's majesty willed the Earl of Arundel and my Lord of Pembroke to keep their lodgings, for that they were privy of this marriage intended, and did not reveal it to her majesty. . . . . And my Lord Lumley was also restrained."†

The alarm of the English Protestant court was the greater on account of the successes which had recently attended the Catholic arms on the continent, notwithstanding the encouragement and assistance sent to the French Huguenots by Elizabeth, who, of late, had permitted many of her subjects—some zealous for religion, some anxious to learn the art of war on tented fields—to pass over to France, where they fought along with Condé and Coligni, but of course not under English colours, for their queen was at this moment maintaining a very friendly correspondence with Catherine de' Medici. Among these volunteers was a youth who afterwards rose to fame. "They were all," says De Thou, "a gallant company, nobly mounted and accoutred, having on their colours the motto *Finem det mihi Virtus;* and many of them rose afterwards to eminence: but the most noted of them all was Walter Raleigh." This gallant band, however, was far too weak to turn the tide of fortune. At the battle of Jarnac, in Angoumois, the Huguenots were defeated, and their leader, the Prince of Condé, being taken prisoner, was shot in cold blood after the battle by Montesquiou, captain of the guards to the king's brother, the Duke of Anjou, whom we shall presently find enrolled among Elizabeth's suitors. Being reinforced by some Protestant troops from Germany, the Huguenots gained a victory at La Roche Abeille, in Limousin; but, in the beginning of October, a few [illegible]s before Norfolk's committal to the Tower, they [illegible]ain defeated, and with tremendous slaugh-[illegible]ncontour, in Poictou,—

[illegible]emen of Valois triumphantly trod
[illegible]bled for their rights and their God.‡

[illegible]ry Norris. The minister says that
[illegible] evil meaning, and bears witness
[illegible] nothing but well to the queen's
[illegible]rfolk.
[illegible]M. 1824.

This victory of the French Catholics seemed decisive: the Huguenots disbanded, and many of them sought an asylum in foreign countries, particularly in England, where they gave frightful descriptions of the intolerance and cruelties of the triumphant Catholics, telling the English people that their turn would come next,—that the great league of Catholic princes were resolved to allow of no peace, to keep no faith with such as differed from them in matters of religion. All this had been represented before, when Condé implored Elizabeth for assistance, assuring her that *their* cause was her own, for that all the Catholic powers would recognise Mary as queen of England, and aid her Papist subjects in releasing her rival from her prison and placing her on the throne.

At the same time Elizabeth, by a measure of very questionable morality, had given a deadly provocation to the powerful Philip. She had sent over money and men to the Prince of Orange, but, as this was done secretly, she could deny that it had been done by her authority. But in the course of the preceding autumn (1568) a Spanish squadron of five sail, carrying stores and money for the payment of Philip's army in the Low Countries, took refuge on the English coast to escape a Protestant fleet which had been fitted out by the Prince of Condé. For a while the queen hesitated: she was at peace with Spain—a Spanish ambassador was at her court, and her own ambassador, Mr. Mann, was at Madrid: but the temptation was very strong,—the money was destined for the support of those who were mercilessly bent on destroying a brave people who professed the same religion as her own subjects; and, besides, Elizabeth much wanted money, for she had spent, and was then spending, a great deal to support the Protestant religion abroad. In the end it was resolved to seize the specie, upon pretence that it, in truth, belonged, not to the King of Spain, but to certain Italian bankers and money-lenders, who had exported it upon speculation, and who ought to be satisfied with her majesty's keeping it, if she gave them as good interest for the loan as they could obtain in any other country. By this construction she was bound, at least, to consult beforehand with the owners of the money; but this was a form she did not go through, for she had nothing to fear from the hostility of the Italian bankers, whom she had called into existence, as owners of *this* money, for the occasion. The Spanish ambassador remonstrated and protested; and as it was not easy, by the laws of nations, to answer his arguments, it was thought fit to silence him with rudeness. But the Duke of Alva presently retaliated by seizing the goods and imprisoning the persons of all the English merchants he could find in Flanders. On the 8th of January Elizabeth resolved in council that the Spanish ambassador should be admonished of the strange proceedings of the Duke of Alva, and asked whether he took this act to be done by the king of Spain or not; that he, the ambassador,

should be let to understand that her majesty can do no other for her honour and for satisfaction of her subjects than arrest all the subjects of the king his master, and likewise appoint some gentlemen to keep guard over him, the ambassador, in his house, until she may hear what shall become of her subjects; and that some vessels should be sent to the seas to stop all vessels passing for Spain or for the Low Countries.* But according to La Mothe Fénélon the narrow seas were already swarming with English privateers,—the Frenchman calls them pirates,—and with armed vessels manned by French and Flemish Protestants; and he mentions that Elizabeth had had a long conversation with the principal commander of the sea-rovers. Apparently Elizabeth soon found that the colouring she had put upon her irregular seizure would not do, for, on the 10th of January, this same envoy tells his court that there was a talk of her producing and availing herself of certain bonds and obligations, according to which there was a good round sum due to her father, King Henry, who had lent the money to Philip's father, the Emperor Charles, in the war of Landrecy. In the same dispatch he says, that she has seized a packet addressed to the Spanish ambassador, has closed and sealed up the warehouses and counting-houses of all the subjects of his Spanish majesty, and has sent out ships to close the Straits of Dover and seize whatever they can, protesting all the while that she was most anxious that the good peace should continue, and that this matter should be settled by negotiation. The English cruisers of course offered no molestation to the Protestant privateers of the Low Countries, but assisted them in landing troops on the French coast for the service of the Huguenots.† The French court and the court of Spain were almost equally incensed; but they had both so many troubles on their hands that they resolved to avoid for the present a declaration of war. Privateering flourished and trade decayed, but the English ships had not the whole harvest to themselves: corsairs under the Spanish flag, or under no flag at all, pillaged peaceful and honest merchantmen, and occasionally committed depredations on the English coast. There also sprung up on both sides a brutal ferocity, for each party regarded the other with a fierce religious hate, and, though they were in truth little better than marauders and cut-throats in this world, they thought themselves bound to intermeddle in the affairs of the next. At the end of January, however, the French government, after remonstrating against the supplies sent in English ships to the Huguenots, seized all the English merchandise in Rouen. To Elizabeth's imperious demands for instant satisfaction, they replied that they were the furthest from wishing to do any act of injustice or to have any war with England; that they had merely adopted that measure to prevent her succouring their rebellious subjects, and to have in their own hands an indemnity for French ships and French goods which had been seized by the English cruisers. There was a loud outcry in England at this seizure, and some of the lords of the council advised an immediate declaration of war against France. Elizabeth made great preparations as if for immediate hostilities, taking care that the foreign ambassadors should be made to see the formidable state of her arsenals and the warlike spirit of her subjects.* At the same moment plots against the French government were discovered in Brittany, in Normandy, and in the neighbourhood of Calais. It was suspected that the English court was no stranger to these conspiracies, and for many months great apprehensions were entertained lest the town of Calais should be put into the hands of Elizabeth as the price of greater services to the conspirators. Some of the lords of the council declared to the French ambassador that the queen had nothing to do with these intrigues, and that if anything had been done it was by Secretary Cecil alone.† Meanwhile the privateers were reinforced, and they now received permission to take and plunder the ships of France as well as those of Spain. Sixteen sea captains of fame, among whom is mentioned Frobisher, put to sea and made so many prizes that there were none left on the sea to take. At last, in the month of March, the French court demanded from Elizabeth a formal declaration as to whether she wished for peace or for war, and they only allowed her fifteen days to make up her mind. When La Mothe Fénélon delivered his message Elizabeth again assured him that she was most desirous of maintaining peace,—that if the King of France would liberate the English property at Rouen she would deliver all the French property which had been taken by her privateers, a class of men whose exploits, she said, she had always much detested, having frequently given orders to have them punished.‡ She denied that she had ever sent succour to Rochelle or maintained any intelligence with French subjects; but, in the e[illegible] she told the ambassador that the affair was o[illegible]

* According to the French ambassador La Mothe Fénélon, the money seized amounted to 450,000 ducats, and the five ships were Biscayans. According to the same authority, the ships were not seized when they first arrived at the end of November, her majesty only sending round some of her own ships of war to give them convoy when they should be ready to make sail; and the money was not landed until the 24th of December. The English merchants foresaw the consequences; and there were great complaints among all those who had goods at Antwerp and Seville. The queen was petitioned to restore the money; "but," says the ambassador in his dispatch of the 6th of January, "the said lady will continue to lengthen this business as much as she can, in order to retard the operations of the Duke of Alva and the Catholics in the Low Countries."—Correspondance Diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fénélon. Publiée pour la premiere fois sous la direction de Monsieur Charles Purton Cooper.

† A great quantity of arms and ammunition had recently been landed at La Rochelle for the French insurgents from four English men-of-war!

* The Duke of Alva sent over the Sieur d'[illegible] about the money. The queen sent orders to [illegible] and to detain him there two days, in order [illegible] in that principal arsenal what a vo[illegible] employed on her great ships of [illegible] London he was locked up in a h[illegible] him, and he was allowed to see [illegible] sador.—"Correspondance Diplo[illegible] old diplomatist might well com[illegible] little respect shown by Elizabeth[illegible]

† De la Mothe Fénélon,

weight she must refer it to her whole council. Again the more ardent of the Protestant lords would have recommended an open drawing of the sword; but a double war with France and Spain was unpromising, and, at the end of seven days, the queen declared that it was her full intention to be at peace with France, a course to which she said she was inclined, solely by the good affection she bore the French king, and not by any belief that he had so settled his own affairs at home as to be in a condition to make war upon her. This declaration was taken for what it was worth; and while the French negotiator echoed promises of good-will, he saw with delight that troubles were breaking out in Ireland, and dissensions in the English cabinet connected with Leicester's project for overthrowing Cecil, and with Norfolk's scheme for marrying the Scottish queen.* There was also a rumour of discontents among some great lords in the north of England, and among the English Catholics generally; and both France and Spain began to devise how they might turn these things to their own profit. In a very few days after Elizabeth's pacific declarations it was found that her ambassador at Paris, Sir Henry Norris, was again intriguing with the Huguenots and promising them assistance. Upon this the French government made a fresh seizure of English merchandise at Rouen, Calais, and Dieppe. Elizabeth's privateers retaliated on the French coasts; but she again negotiated and promised to put an end to that kind of warfare upon condition that the French should recall their commissions, for they also had begun to fit out swarms of privateers. But again, within a few weeks, Elizabeth gave audience to envoys from the Huguenots and to envoys from the Prince of Orange, and the other leaders of the Protestants in the Low Countries, who all wanted from her loans of money, arms, and gunpowder. She held a grand review of her troops, horse and foot; and, inflamed at this aspect of war, many gentlemen bought themselves swords and pikes and went over to join the Huguenots. Elizabeth denied that this last was done by her permission, but presently a fleet of ships, armed for war, and escorted by the largest vessels in the queen's service, set sail for Rochelle, which was, and long continued to be, the principal port and stronghold of the French Protestants. This movement confounded the French ambassador, who was given to understand that they were exporting nothing but corn, salt-beef, and tallow, with a great number of boots and shoes, for all which they were to bring back from Rochelle salt and wine. The ambassa- however, smelt gunpowder, and he ascertained ships were crowded with men, among whom French Protestant refugees. But detained by contrary winds; the ated in the interval, and then otestations, and issued a ateers and all such as cense upon the French

Fénélon.

king. Her conduct had irritated the French court to the extreme, and as the power of the Protestants in France seemed to be broken, it was resolved, by parties as crafty and indirect as herself, to give encouragement, if not more, to the Catholics in England, and to excite an interest in all the papistical countries of the continent in favour of the captive Mary. The Duke of Alva entered into this scheme; a Florentine, named Ridolfi, well acquainted with England, acted as agent for the pope; and sanguine hopes were entertained, if not of restoring England to the bosom of the church, of distracting and weakening her by internal dissensions. The means to be adopted were sufficiently base, but Elizabeth's complaints would have sounded better if she had not adopted the same measures with regard to other countries.

The penal statutes against the professors of the old religion had gradually increased in severity, and as the Catholics triumphed on the continent, their religion became more and more an object of suspicion and of persecution in England. Elizabeth cared little for the dogmas of either church. She was altogether free from intolerance as to speculative opinions in religion, unless they went to weaken the royal prerogative. Her intolerance was all of a political kind, and she persecuted, not because men believed in the real presence, but because she believed that no Catholic could possibly be a loyal subject.* The Catholics were strongest in the north of England, where, according to Sir Ralph Sadler, there were scarcely ten gentlemen of note that approved of her majesty's proceedings in matters of religion.† In the month of October, immediately after the Duke of N lk's arrest, the counties of York, Durham, an rth- umberland, betrayed symptoms of open i ec- tion. Doctor Nicolas Morton came from ne with the title of Apostolical Penitentiary. H on- ferred with the oppressed and desperate Cat olic clergy,—he encouraged the Catholic gentry, nd, though the bull was not published till the following year, he may very well have assured them that the pope was preparing to excommunicate Elizabeth, and release, by that act, all her subjects from their oaths of allegiance. This emissary was the more effective as he was a man of energy and ability, and connected with some of the best families in the north. At the same time Queen Mary had found means to establish a correspondence with the Catholic Earl of Northumberland, with the Earl of Westmoreland, whose wife was the Duke of Norfolk's sister, with Egremont Ratcliff, brother of the Earl of Sussex, Leonard Dacre, the Tempests, the Nortons, and the Marquenfields, which two last families were related to the pope's envoy, Doctor Morton. Most of these noble were excited by many motives: they h

* There were, however, occasional exceptions. Matth mond, a *Unitarian*, was burned alive in the castle ditch of But this poor man had also spoken what were called " blasphemy against the queen's majesty and others of her —Stow.

† Sadler's State Papers.

tracted an enthusiastic admiration of the captive queen, and had secretly pledged to her their best services; they were the bosom friends of the duke in the Tower; and they looked upon a revolution which would restore the ancient faith as laudable and sacred, however dearly it might be purchased with the blood of their countrymen and the exposure of their country's liberties to foreign arms. Their ostensible leader was the Earl of Northumberland, a very munificent but a very weak lord. He talked imprudently and did nothing, and when at last, in the middle of November, he put himself in motion, it was only because he was frightened out of bed at the dead of night in his house at Topcliffe in Yorkshire, by a panic-fear that a royal force was approaching to seize him. He then rode in haste to the castle of Branspeth, where he found Norfolk's brother-in-law, the Earl of Westmoreland, surrounded with friends and retainers, all ready to take arms for what they considered a holy cause. On the morrow, the 16th of November, they openly raised their banner. If an ingenious stratagem had succeeded, that banner would have floated over the liberated Mary. The Countess of Northumberland had endeavoured to get access to the captive queen, in the disguise of a nurse, in the intention of exchanging clothes with her that she might escape. But as this device had miscarried, the insurgents proposed marching to Tutbury Castle to liberate the queen by force of arms. They issued a proclamation calling upon all good Catholics to join them, and, marching to Durham, they burnt the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, and celebrated mass in the Cathedral. From Durham they advanced to Clifford Moor, where they held a council of war, finding to their great discomfort that their forces did not increase,—that the people south of them regarded their proceedings with horror,—and that even many Catholic gentlemen, instead of joining them, were repairing to the royal banner, which was moving northwards with the Earl of Sussex. They also learned that Sir George Bowes was assembling an army in their rear. Under these circumstances an advance was deemed too desperate; and, in fact, if they had got to Tutbury they would not have found what they sought, for the Queen of Scots had been removed in great haste to Coventry by the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon.* With seven thousand men Northumberland and Westmoreland retreated to Raby Castle. Their retrograde movement forced Sir George Bowes to throw himself and his forces into Barnard Castle. A part of the insurgent army laid siege to this fortress, which surrendered upon terms in a few days, while the rest besieged and took the seaport town of Hartlepool, where they established themselves, in the confident hope of receiving succour from the Spaniards in the Low Countries. The Spanish ambassador at London had informed them that it was to the Duke of Alva they must look for assistance, and, if they had not done so before, they now certainly dispatched agents to treat with that great champion of Catholicism. Meanwhile the royal army lay inactive at York, a circumstance which made Elizabeth suspect the loyalty of the Earl of Sussex, who had been in former times a close friend to the Duke of Norfolk, and whose own brother, Egremont Ratcliffe, was now out with the insurgents. Sir Ralph Sadler was hurried down to York, with the title of Treasurer or Paymaster of the Forces, but with a commission to exercise his sharp eye and detect what were the real feelings of Sussex. And at the same time one Captain Stirley, or Shirley, was taken into secret pay and sent to the Earl of Westmoreland to introduce himself as a friend, and as one wishing well to the insurrection. Fortunately for the Earl of Sussex, Sir Ralph Sadler gave sufficient reasons for his long abiding at York, assuring her majesty that he was a true and faithful servant, but careful and circumspect in the execution of this charge; and that if he had had force and power equal to his goodwill he would not have suffered the rebels to keep the field so long. "He saith," adds Sir Ralph, "if nothing else depended upon the matter but the loss of his life, he would, ere this, have ventured the same with such small company as he hath here; but when he doth consider how dangerous the sequel might be if he should receive the overthrow, that only forced him to stay for a time, wherein surely he hath great reason, for by mine advice the overthrow of these rebels would not be attempted but with such force as, by God's grace, might execute the same with surety. The force and power assembled here for your majesty is about the number of 2500 footmen and about 500 horsemen, which is not able to encounter the force of the rebels, being, as I am credibly informed, about the number of 6000 footmen and 1000 horsemen, very well appointed, whereof a great number of them being serving-men, servants and tenants to the earls and to the other gentlemen, their associates in this wicked rebellion, be pistoliers armed and furnished with shot, which argueth that this matter hath long beforehand been prepared for by the said rebels. It hath been wisely foreseen, therefore, by my Lord of Sussex to forbear, and stay until such time as he may be able to take the field with some security, and with such force, as, by God's grace, he may do your majesty good service, and bring these troubles to such end as may be to your honour and quiet."*

When Sussex had remained nearly a month at York he was joined by the lord-admiral and the Earl of Warwick with twelve thousand men, raised in the south, and of indisputable Protestantism

* Cecil's Diary.

* Sir Ralph Sadler's State Papers.—Sir Ralph, how[illegible] suspected the Catholics who were with Sussex. He [illegible] direct way, "I find the gentlemen of this coun[illegible] part of them be well affected to the cause wh[illegible] colour of their rebellion, yet in outward[illegible] your majesty truly against them; and [illegible] may be utterly void of suspicion towa[illegible] wisdom to be furnished with such fo[illegible] assured of, which will the rather enfo[illegible] they had any meaning to the contrary[illegible]

loyalty. He then marched northward. The Duke of Alva had ventured nothing for the insurgents; they were ill supplied with money and provisions, and they retreated towards the Scottish borders. Their infantry presently disbanded and fled in all directions, but a body of about five hundred horse dashed into Liddesdale, being escorted by three hundred Scottish horse, the partisans of Mary, who had fondly hoped to see them bring their queen with them. Elizabeth instantly demanded that the fugitives should be delivered up; but, notwithstanding all his goodwill to serve her *and himself*, the regent Murray found it impossible to comply with her request. The Earl of Westmoreland with his enterprising wife, Egremont Ratcliff, Norton, Marquenfield, Tempest, and the rest, had been taken under the protection of the Humes, the Scots, the Kers, and other Border clans, who set the authority of the regent at defiance. Murray, however, bribed Hector Græme, or Graham, of Harlow; and that traitor delivered up the Earl of Northumberland, for which deed the fierce Borderers wished to have Græme's head, that they might eat it among them for supper.* The unfortunate earl was sent by the regent to the castle of Lochleven, the old prison of Queen Mary. When Elizabeth pressed him to deliver up his captive, that she might do justice on him, Murray affected a delicate concern for his own honour and the honour of his country; but he afterwards offered to exchange Northumberland for Mary. It is said that the foreign ambassadors, who had small confidence in the brotherly love of the regent, prevented this exchange by their remonstrances; but it should appear that Elizabeth herself was afraid of trusting Mary out of her hands, or to the chances of a journey either by land or water. By sea the Scottish queen might possibly have been rescued by Spanish or French ships; by land she must have passed among the Borderers, whose resolution to rescue both her and the Earl of Northumberland had been ascertained by a spy, and reported to Elizabeth by Sir Ralph Sadler.† Thus Northumberland remained in captivity in Lochleven. After a while the Earl and Countess of Westmoreland, Egremont Ratcliff, and the other refugees were conveyed to the Spanish Netherlands, where they found safety, but allied with poverty and great suffering. But the vengeance of the law, unmitigated by any royal mercy, fell upon the retainers and friends of the fugitives. On the 4th and 5th of January threescore and six individuals were executed in Durham alone; and thence Sir George Bowes, with his executioner, traversed [illegible]e whole country between Newcastle and Netherby, [illegible]ict sixty miles in length and forty miles in [illegible] "and finding many to be fautors in the [illegible] he did see them executed in every [illegible] every village, as he himself [illegible]nto me." All that country [illegible]rection with gibbets, Eliza- [illegible] closely the conduct of her

† Sadler.—Anderson.

sanguinary father on the suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace. The Bishop of Durham, who had very prudently got out of the way, and who was very loth to return, informed Cecil that the number of offenders was so great that they could not find innocent men enough untouched in this rebellion to form juries to try the rebels.* But the poorer sort were given over to martial law without troubling judges or jurymen; and only those who were men of substance were reserved for the usual kind of trial, and for the sentence of attainder, that gave all their property to the queen. There was that sort of scramble, for a share in the spoil, which had been usual among courtiers on such occasions. One noble lord was very eager to obtain the Earl of Northumberland's best falconer: another was equally eager for his lordship's white jennet, for "he represented the carrying of a noble mane:" one wanted one thing, another another, and all wanted something. The Countess of Northumberland escaped to the borders of Scotland, and thence went over to the continent; her children were left behind "in hard case," for "neither had they any provision nor one penny to relieve them with."† At last Elizabeth issued a proclamation of pardon; but she imposed the obligation not only of the oath of allegiance, but also of the oath of supremacy. After this she issued another paper called "A Declaration of the Queen's proceedings since her reign;" and which, beside the ordinary publication in all the accustomed places of the realm, was to be read by all curates in their parish churches at sundry times, as the bishops should appoint, for the admonition of their parishioners.‡ She alluded to the late unnatural commotion, which, by God's goodness and the faithfulness of her true subjects, had been so shortly and easily suppressed and quieted. She denied that she had adopted, or had ever intended to adopt, a general severity wholly in respect of opinions in religion; and she attributed all that had happened to the craft of a few, partly being her subjects born, and partly residing within the realm, and to the stupidity of the many, or to "the sensual and unruly liberty, which commonly the ignorant covet, though it ever hath been and will be most to their own destruction." She recalled the memory of the ten quiet and happy years she had reigned over them, and she directed their attention to the prosperity which the nation had attained under her rule. She gave all people to understand that, of her own natural disposition, she "had ever been desirous to have the obedience of all her subjects, both high and low, by love, and not by compulsion; by their own yielding, and not by her exacting; allowing that which was well said by a wise prince of the Greeks —that king to be in most surety that so ruled over

* See letter of Bishop of Durham to Cecil, given by Wright.

† Wright.—Some letters in this collection, written at the moment, and by men who had been bosom friends of the fugitive lords, convey a most disgusting notion as to the eagerness with which the spoils were sought after.

‡ "Considering," says the declaration, "that the multitude of our good people are unlearned, and thereby not able by reading to conceive our mind."—Burghley Papers.

his subjects as a father over children." She then observed that, notwithstanding her natural and private *dulceness*,* she had been rigorous in administering justice and suppressing malefactors, and that the criminal judges in no times had been more severe. Without any reference to the advice or authority of parliament, she compared the state of her own country with that of other monarchies, where there was a wasting of all sorts of people by wilful and continual wars, and an impoverishing of the subjects by perpetual and new devises, assizes, gabels, or such other exactions. "We would it were well and justly considered," says she, "that, first, we never yet began war with any prince or country, neither used force and arms but defensive; and not those at any time until such evident necessity (though not seen by the vulgar sort) compelled unto it." But the important part of this declaration was that which related to religion and church government. She stated that she had, indeed, endeavoured to cause her realm and people to live in the fear and service of God, and in the profession of the Christian religion; but she denied that she had ever pretended to define articles of faith, or had ever assumed more authority as supreme head of the church than had been due to her predecessors, especially her noble father King Henry VIII., and her dear brother King Edward VI. She had provided that the church should be governed and taught by archbishops, bishops, and ministers, according to the ancient ecclesiastical policy of the realm. "But," she added, "we know not, nor have any meaning to allow, that any our subjects should be molested, either by examination or inquisition, in any matter of faith, as long as they shall profess the Christian faith, not gainsaying the authority of the Holy Scriptures and the articles contained in the creeds Apostolic and Catholic, nor for matters of ceremonies or any other external matters appertaining to religion, as long as they shall in their outward conversation show themselves quiet and conformable, and not manifestly repugnant to the laws of the realm established for enforcing a frequentation of divine service in the ordinary churches." Thus, untaught by experience, Elizabeth, even when conciliating, still insisted that all her Catholic subjects should go regularly to the Protestant church, and be in other respects to appearance Protestants.

Among the Catholic gentlemen whose loyalty had been suspected by Sussex and Sadler, was Leonard Dacre, the representative of the ancient family of the Dacres of Gillsland. This bold man had resolved to risk his life and fortunes in the cause of the captive queen, whom he regarded with a romantic devotion: he raised a gallant troop to join Northumberland and Westmoreland; but when those two weak earls fled so hastily, he endeavoured to make Elizabeth believe that he had taken up arms, not for, but *against* the insurgents. But Elizabeth and her council were seldom overreached or deceived, and an order was sent down to the Earl of Sussex to arrest Dacre, cautiously and *secretly*, as a traitor.* He fled; but he resolved to try his good sword before he submitted to the hard doom of exile and beggary. Within a month from the flight of Northumberland, Dacre was at the head of three thousand English borderers. But before a body of Scots could join him, he was attacked on the banks of the river Gelt by a far superior force, commanded by Lord Hunsdon. Leonard Dacre, however, was not defeated without a desperate battle, which cost the royal troops many of their best men. He fled across the Borders, where he was received and honourably entertained by some noble friends of Mary, and he soon after passed over to Flanders.

Before this rising of Leonard Dacre the regent Murray had gone to his account: and it has been reasonably conjectured that the hopes of the English insurgents had been excited by this event in Scotland. On his return from Elizabeth's court, and the mock trial of his sister, Murray had encountered many difficulties; but he had triumphed over them all by means of English money and his own wondrous caution and dexterity. He was undeniably a man of immense ability; and, if his life had been spared, he would have established as strong a government in Scotland as Elizabeth had done in England, and by precisely the same arts; for, though he was deficient in some of the higher qualities which distinguished the virgin queen, his mind on the whole bore a close affinity to hers. There was one Hamilton, of Bothwell-Haugh, who had been made prisoner fighting for Queen Mary at Langside. With other men in the like situation, he had been condemned to death; but the regent had pardoned him and all the rest with a few exceptions. But life was all that was granted to Bothwell-Haugh. His house, his lands, were declared to be forfeited, and were given by the

* Mildness—softness.

* Sadler.—The queen wrote to Sussex, and Cecil wrote on the same subject to Sir Ralph Sadler, telling him that "the more diligence and circumspection he used in taking of him the more shall her majesty like it." Sir Ralph at this time had his hands very full of *secret* business. He had charged one Robert Constable with a pretty little commission to betray the English fugitives in Scotland. "And," writes he to Constable, "if you can bring it so to pass as to draw those men with whom you have to do, specially the chief and principal of them, to your house, or to any other place in England where they may be apprehended, her majesty hath commanded me to assure you that you shall be largely rewarded for the same by her highness. And, for the better covering and colour of the enterprise, it is thought good that the matter be so handled as you also may be taken with them, and be outwardly charged as an offender against her majesty; whereby they shall have no cause to think amiss of you. If you can work this matter to effect you shall win favour and reward at her majesty's hands. And if you cannot do so, then you may attempt to make offer of money to some in Scotland; and thereby to see what you can do with the golden hook, which you wrote of in your said letter, and therein, if it may be brought to pass for any reasonable offer, I have good warrant to see it performed." Constable, however, was to take care not to spend too much money, for Elizabeth liked treachery to be done cheap. Sadler begs him, before he made any special or particular offer of any sum certain, to advertise him what is demanded, whereupon he shall know more. "For," adds Sir Ralph, "the less the sum be the better service shall you do, and the gr[illegible] will be your own reward; and yet it is not meant but that th[illegible] which shall promise you to take the enterprise in hand s[illegible] warded, if it be brought well to pass." He also tells [illegible] advise with my Lord Warden of the Middle March[illegible] noble lord," he says, "he has conferred at good [illegible] But in Elizabeth's time no nobleman se[illegible] dertaking base and treacherous commis[illegible] himself was of the rank of a gentleman. [illegible] extent of demoralization produced by s[illegible] tained for nearly half a century by E[illegible] singhams, the Sadlers, the Smiths, and t[illegible]

regent to one of his favourites, who brutally drove out Bothwell-Haugh's wife, half naked, by night, into the fields. The poor woman, who had recently been delivered, became frantic, and in the morning she was found a maniac. Her husband is described as being a vindictive man,—perhaps undeservedly, for such a deed was calculated to arouse vengeance even in a gentle spirit;—he swore that he would make the original author of the horrible injury he had suffered pay for it with his life. He consulted with his clan, with the Hamiltons his kinsmen, with the retainers of the Duke of Chatelherault, who had been ruined by the regent; and these men applauded his design, and assisted him in carrying it into execution. Bothwell-Haugh engaged an empty house in the principal street of Linlithgow, through which the regent was accustomed to pass frequently on his way to and from the palace. There he lurked for some time; but at length, on the 22nd of January, 1570, he saw the regent riding up the street accompanied by Sir Henry Gates and Drury, the marshal of Berwick, who had been sent by Elizabeth to treat for the giving up of the Earl of Northumberland and others. He levelled his carbine at Murray, and shot him through the body, and then, though hotly pursued, he escaped into France.* On the very night of the murder, the Scots and the Kers dashed across the English frontiers with unusual fury, and apparently with the purpose of producing a breach between the two nations, or of giving fresh encouragement to the malcontents of Northumberland and Westmoreland. It appears that these fierce invaders were conscious of what had taken place at Linlithgow; for, being asked by an Englishman how they would answer for that night's work to their regent, one of them said, "Tush, man, your regent is cold as the iron bit in my horse's mouth."† It is said, that, when intelligence of this untimely death of her half-brother was conveyed to the captive queen, she wept bitterly, forgetting, for the moment, all the injuries which he had done her.

On Murray's death, the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earls of Argyle and Huntley assumed the government as the lieutenants of Queen Mary. Kirkaldy of Grange, who had long regretted the overthrow of the queen, and the part he had had in it, put these noblemen in possession of the capital and of Edinburgh Castle. But the opposite faction, or the *king's* men, as they were called from their pretended adherence to the infant James, under the guidance of the Earl of Morton, flew to arms, denied the authority of Mary, and invited Elizabeth to send a strong English army to their [illegible]ort. This was precisely what Elizabeth in[illegible] to do for her own interests. In the month [illegible]der the pretence of chastising those who [illegible]id in her dominions on the night

[illegible] of this Hamilton of Bothwell-Haugh is [illegible]at, forty-nine years after his murdering [illegible] grave in the church-yard of a country [illegible]d.

of Murray's murder, she sent two armies into Scotland. The Lord Scrope entered on the west, the Earl of Sussex with Lord Hunsdon on the east. According to no less an authority than Secretary Cecil, Sussex and Hunsdon, entering into Tiviotdale, gave three hundred villages to the flames, and overthrew fifty castles—mostly, no doubt, mere border peels.* Nor was the raid of the Lord Scrope in the west less destructive. Between the two invading forces, the Kers and the Scotts, with the Johnstones, and their other allies near the Borders, were most cruelly harrowed—houses, barns, fields, woods, were destroyed by fire, or utterly desolated. After a week's campaign of this sort, the two armies returned out of Scotland, and the Earl of Lennox, the father of Darnley and the grandfather of the young king, was sent down from England as a proper person to have the rule by Elizabeth, who of late had taken him into favour. But Lennox, whom the Scots considered as a fool, presently found that he could do nothing without an English army at his back; and on the 26th of April, Sussex and Hunsdon entered Scotland anew, and laid siege to Hume Castle and False Castle, both belonging to the Earl of Hume, who was doubly obnoxious for his friendship to Mary, and for his having given an asylum to Elizabeth's rebels. Both castles were taken, but none of the English refugees of any note were found in them. They were forthwith garrisoned by English troops, as if Elizabeth intended to keep them for herself. On the 11th of May, Sir William Drury, the Marshal of Berwick, penetrated into Scotland with another force, consisting of twelve hundred foot, and four hundred horse. Having received hostages from the king's men, Drury marched to co-operate with the Earl of Lennox, who was engaged in laying waste the vale of the Clyde and destroying the castles of the Duke of Chatelherault and the houses of all that bore the name of Hamilton. Their vengeance was so terrible, that that great family, with nearly the entire clan, was brought to the verge of ruin. Drury returned to Berwick on the 3rd of June, having done a great deal in the way of destruction in a very short time.† By means like these, Lennox opened his way to the regency, and Elizabeth engaged to furnish him and his friend Morton with further assistance, if needful.‡

It was during these flying campaigns in Scotland that the pope, Pius V., found a man bold enough to affix his bull of excommunication to the gates of the Bishop of London's town residence. Elizabeth and her council seem to have been thrown into a wonderful consternation, as if they were not aware that the thunders of the Vatican had become an empty noise. The gentlemen of the inns of court were still suspected of being un-

* Diary.

† Cecil's Diary. The secretary makes a pleasant entry, stating, that "Sir William Drury hath overthrown four great houses of the Duke of Chatelherault, viz., at Lithgow, Kenelly, Hamilton Palace, and Hamilton Castle."

‡ Cabala.—Lodge.—Chalmers.

sound in religion: the first search and inquest seems to have been made among *them*, and another copy of the bull was found in the chamber of a student of Lincoln's-Inn. The poor student was presently stretched on the rack, and then, to escape torture, he confessed that he had received the paper or parchment from John Felton, a gentleman of property who lived near Southwark. Felton was apprehended and stretched upon the same infernal instrument: he acknowledged, before he was laid upon the rack, that it was, indeed, he who had affixed the bull on the gates, but, more than this, no torture could force from him—he would never reveal the name of any accomplice or abettor. He was kept in the Tower from the 25th of May to the 4th of August, when he was arraigned at Guildhall, and found guilty of high treason. Four days after he was drawn into Paul's churchyard, and there hanged on a gallows new set up that morning before the bishop's palace gate, and, being cut down alive, he was bowelled and quartered.* Felton bore his horrible fate like an enthusiast, elevated by the conviction that he had been doing God service; but, at the same time, to show that he bore the queen, personally, no malice, he drew a diamond ring from his finger of the value of 400*l.*, and sent it to her as a present. His wife had been maid of honour to Mary and a friend of Elizabeth. It is generally stated that the copies of the bull had been put into his hands by the chaplain of the Spanish ambassador, who, knowing his danger, had instantly left the kingdom. The Protestant people of London testified no horror at the death of this high-minded and accomplished man; on the contrary, they were very eager that more victims should be sacrificed for the security of religion and the queen's sacred person. A conspiracy made by certain gentlemen [illegible] others in the county of Norfolk was detected a [illegible] time after the exhibition of the bull of excommunication; but it appears that there was no connexion between the two things. John Throgmorton of Norwich, Thomas Brook of Rolesby, and George Redman of Cringleford, all people of condition, and devoted friends to the Duke of Norfolk, formed a plan to invite Leicester, Cecil, and Bacon to dinner, to seize them as hostages for the duke, who was still in the Tower, and to drive out the foreign Protestants, French, Flemish, and Dutch, who had recently settled in England in great numbers. They were arrested, tried, and all three hanged, drawn, and quartered. In the evidence produced against them was a proclamation of their composition, in which they denounced the immorality and wantonness of the court and the undue influence of new men.†

A.D. 1571.—On the 2nd of April a parliament met at Westminster, wherein was granted a subsidy of 5*s.* in the pound by the clergy, besides two fifteenths and a subsidy of 2*s.* 8*d.* in the pound on the laity, "towards reimbursing her majesty for her great charges in repressing the late rebellion in the north, and pursuing the rebels and their faitours into Scotland." But there was other business of a more remarkable nature than this liberal voting of supplies. A bill was brought in with the object of crushing the pretensions and the partisans of the Scottish queen, and isolating the English Catholics more than ever from the pope and their co-religionists on the continent. It was declared to be high treason to claim a right to the succession of the crown, during the queen's life, or to say that the crown belonged to any other person than the queen, or to publish that she was a heretic, a schismatic, a tyrant, an infidel, or usurper, or to deny that the descent of the crown was determinable by the statutes made in parliament. It was further enacted, that any person that should, by writing or printing, mention any heir of the queen, except the same were *the natural issue of her body*,* should, for the first offence, suffer a year's imprisonment; and, for the second, incur the penalty of præmunire. Another bill enacted the pains of high treason against all such as should sue for, obtain, or put in use any bull or other instrument from the Bishop of Rome, or absolve, or be absolved, in virtue of such things; and the pains of præmunire were denounced against their aiders and abettors, and against all that should introduce or receive the things called *Agnus Dei*, and crosses, beads, or pictures, blessed by the Bishop of Rome or by others acknowledging his authority. By another bill, all persons above a certain age were bound, not only to attend the Protestant church regularly, but also to receive the sacrament in the form by law established. Besides the unfortunate insurgents of the north, many individuals of rank, among whom was Lord Morley, had retired to the continent, in order to avoid persecution, or a compliance with forms of worship which they believed to be erroneous and sinful: another bill was, therefore, brought in, commanding every person who had left, or who might hereafter leave the realm, whether with or without the queen's license, to return in six months after warning by proclamation, under the pain of forfeiting his goods and chattels and the profits of his lands. By these enactments the Catholics could neither remain at home without offence to their consciences, nor go abroad without sacrificing their fortunes. There was a talk of a remonstrance, but the House of Commons† and the people were most zealously Protestant, and saw no evil in persecution; and the Catholic lords in the Upper House, though forming a considerable party, had not courage to

* Stow. † Stow.—Holinshed.—Burghley Papers.

* Camden says that an incredible number of indecent jokes and reports rose out of this clause. Some said that the queen was actually with child, and the report spread the wider soon after, when she became liable to swoonings and fainting fits. There is a passage in a letter from the favourite Leicester to Walsingham (Paris), written in the month of November of the following year, which, if nothing more, is very oddly expressed. "[illegible] here," says Leicester, "only her majesty is in [illegible] though you may hear of bruits of the contrary [illegible] as hath been reported. Somewhat her [illegible] with a spice or show of the mother [illegible] she hath had hath not been above [illegible] little in her hath bred strange brui[illegible]

† By the statute 5 Eliz. c. 1. § 16 [illegible] cluded from the House of Commo[illegible]

do much. Elizabeth, however, voluntarily gave up her bill for the forced taking of the sacrament —a thing horrible in Catholic eyes. But it was not every class of Protestants that was to rejoice and be glad. There was one class of them great, and constantly increasing, dangerous from their enthusiasm, odious from their republican and democratic notions, that were feared equally with the Catholics, and hated much more by the queen. These were the Puritans—men who had imbibed the severe notions of Calvin,—a sect which Elizabeth, however much she hated it herself, had forced upon Queen Mary in Scotland. These men maintained that the reformation in England had not been carried far enough; that many of the abominations of Papistry lingered in the service of the established church; that it was necessary to the salvation of the people to make that service much more bare and simple, and to discard the sign of the cross, the matrimonial ring, the observance of festivals, the chant of the psalms, the use of musical instruments, and the robes and gowns of the clergy, which they called the very livery of the beast. But the queen secretly maintained many of the tenets abjured even by more moderate Protestants; and, besides, she was fond of pomp and ceremonials and costly robes, and, instead of wishing to copy a simpler model, she was strongly inclined to make public worship more splendid and gorgeous, and more like the Roman original than it actually was. She reproved a divine for preaching against the real presence, and, being a virgin, she thought it no sin to offer her prayers to the Virgin Mary. For images of saints she had a lurking affection; but what she most clung to was her crucifix, which, with the exception of a short interval, she kept in her chapel, with lighted tapers before it, down to the day of her death, notwithstanding the order she had thought it expedient to give as early as 1559, that all crucifixes should be taken away from churches. Puritan preachers and the preachers of the established church were alike passionate in denouncing the law that imposed celibacy on the clergy, and yet Elizabeth, as we have already stated, had a wonderful antipathy to all married priests. So much was this the case, that she would never consent formally to repeal the statute of her sister's reign against the marriage of the clergy. She raised all possible obstacles to the marrying of parish priests, and while the children of her bishops and church dignitaries were, in legal strictness, bastards, she treated their wives as little better than concubines. Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, says he was "in horror to hear words to come from her mild nature and ly learned conscience as she spake con- 's holy nance and institution of t if s prelate had the feelings d wrath must have been the indecent treatment of —the mother of his chil- f her reign, after having been sumptuously entertained by the archbishop at Lambeth Palace, the queen took leave of Mrs. Parker in the following gross manner: "Madam I may not call you; Mistress I am loth to call you; but, however, I thank you for your good cheer!"* The beneficed clergy mildly submitted in most cases, or avoided attacking the queen's un-orthodox notions; but the Puritans, who had little or nothing to lose, and very little to hope for, were obstreperous in their denunciations of the royal heresy. This sect, moreover, had always taught that the church of Christ ought to be separate from, and independent of the state—a doctrine that went to overthrow the queen's supremacy. But there was another heinous offence which Elizabeth could never forgive: they fraternised with the hot Puritans of Scotland; they regarded John Knox as an inspired apostle—Knox, who had written against "the monstrous regiment of women." We must not attribute it wholly to the intolerance of the established church, that most of the preachers inclining to Puritanism were turned out of their livings by scores at a time, and afterwards persecuted when they began to form separate conventicles in London and other great cities. The first striking instance of actual punishment inflicted upon any of them was in June, 1567, when a company of more than a hundred were seized during their religious exercises, and fourteen or fifteen of them were sent to prison. They behaved with much rudeness and self-sufficiency on their examination; but these defects and a spiritual sourness inherent to the body became of course worse and worse under the goads of persecution. Yet, at this very moment, unknown to Elizabeth, three or four of the bishops were favourable to the non-conforming ministers, in whose scruples touching many ceremonies and practices in the church they part he and in her very council the Earls of Be t, Huntingdon, and Warwick, the Lord Keeper Bacon, Walsingham, Sadler, and Knollys, inclined from conviction to the Puritans, while Leicester, who saw that their numbers were rapidly increasing,—that in the great industrious towns the strength of the people, or *tiers état*, *they* were becoming *strongest*,—intrigued with them underhand, in the view of furthering his own ambitious projects. As for the great Cecil, he was neutral; for, though he thought that the Puritans had found the surest way to heaven, he considered the queen's favour to himself as a thing not to be put in jeopardy on any account. On one occasion, when the fellows and scholars of St. John's College, without any opposition from the master, threw off their hoods and surplices as remnants of Papistry, Cecil, who was chancellor of the University, made them put them on again, and insisted on their conformity to all the regulations established by the queen or act of parliament. But from surplices and hoods, square caps, and rochets, the Puritans

* Strype, Life of Parker.—Madam was then the style . . . ried lady, mistress of a single lady.

soon proceeded to much higher matter—to question the lawfulness of the institution of episcopacy—to declaim against the bishops as unscriptural authorities and tools of a state despotism. In the preceding year Thomas Cartwright, the Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge, and a man of virtue, learning, and a ready eloquence, had electrified numerous audiences, by inculcating the unlawfulness of any form of church government except the Presbyterian, which he maintained to have been that instituted by the first apostles; and the same powerful Puritan soon began to make a wider and a more lasting impression by his polemical writings.* In the House of Commons, which was so very anti-Catholic, there was a large and powerful section who agreed with Cartwright, and who were bold enough to show their discontent at the queen's church. In this present parliament they introduced seven bills for furthering the work of reformation and for extirpating what they considered as crying abuses. Elizabeth was furious; and, in her own way, she commanded Strickland, the mover of the bills, to absent himself from the House, and await the orders of her privy council. But Strickland's friends, who were beginning to feel their strength, moved that he should be called to the bar of the house, and there made to state the reason of his absence. And as this reason was no secret to them, they proceeded to declare that the privileges of parliament had been violated in his person; that, if such a measure was submitted to, it would form a dangerous precedent; that the queen, of herself, could neither make nor break the laws. This House, said they, which has the faculty of determining the right to the crown itself, is certainly competent to treat of religious ceremonies and church discipline. The ministers were astounded at this bold language, and, after a consultation apart, the Speaker proposed that the debate should be suspended. The House rose, but, on the very next morning, Strickland re-appeared in his place, and was received with cheers! Elizabeth's caution had prevailed over her anger; but she felt as if her royal prerogative had been touched, and her antipathy to the Puritan party increased. In a political sense this was a great revival; and the base servility of parliament would hardly have been cured but for the religious enthusiasm. The case of Strickland was the first of many victories obtained over the despotic principle—the first great achievement of a class of men who, in their evil and in their good, worked out the cause of constitutional liberty to a degree which very few of them, even at a later period, foresaw. These early Puritans, whose very errors are in some respects entitled to our gratitude, were, however, as far as possible, from entertaining any notion of religious liberty and a frank toleration of all sects. They, in fact, insisted that all sects ought to conform to their particular theory or system, and that it was the duty of parliament to establish, by a penal code, a uniformity in faith and ceremonies. At the end of the session not all Elizabeth's prudence could restrain her wrath. At her command, the Lord Keeper Bacon informed the Commons that their conduct had been strange, unbecoming, and undutiful; that, as they had forgotten themselves, they should be otherwise remembered; and that the queen's highness did utterly disallow and condemn their folly, in meddling with things not appertaining to them, nor within the capacity of their understanding. But this only confirmed the Puritans' suspicion that Elizabeth, in conjunction with some of her bishops, really thought of creating herself into a sort of Protestant pope, that was to decide as by a divine inspiration and legation as to all matters relating to the next world. Parker, the primate, was decidedly inclined to take this course. Some time after, he sent for Mr. Wentworth, the best debater in the House of Commons, to question him touching certain articles of religion which had been passed in the House, and touching certain omissions in the Thirty-nine Articles, which they had thought proper to make against the will of the court and the prelacy. "He asked me," says Wentworth, "why we did put out of the book the articles for the homilies, consecration of bishops, and such like? Surely, Sir, said I, because we were so occupied in other matters, that we had no time to examine them how they agree with the word of God. What! said he, surely you mistake the matter; you will refer yourselves wholly to us therein. No; by the faith I bear to God, said I, we will pass nothing before we understand what it is; for that were but to make you popes. Make you popes who list, said I, for we will make you none. And sure the speech seemed to me a pope-like speech, and I fear lest our bishops do attribute this of the pope's canons unto themselves—*Papa non potest errare* (the pope cannot err)."*

Notwithstanding the omissions made by parliament, the bishops continued to exact a subscription to the whole Thirty-nine Articles, and to deprive such ministers as refused to subscribe them, though the objection might be only touching discipline. Parker also persevered in his persecutions, which only wanted an occasional burning to render them a tolerable imitation of the doings in the days of Queen Mary. The Puritan ministers were hunted out of their churches and seized in their conventicles; their books were suppressed by the arbitrary will of the queen, which would [illegible] nothing being published that was [illegible] they were treated harshly in all [illegible] were constantly called before [illegible] Chamber; they were treated [illegible]

* Cartwright, who soon went to extreme lengths—maintaining even that princes ought "to submit their sceptres, to throw down their crowns before the church (*meaning his own model, or the Presbyterian church*), yea, as the prophet speaketh, to lick the dust of the feet of the church,"—was privately encouraged and patronised by the Earl of Leicester. Whenever it suited the favourite to raise an outcry against any marriage of the queen with a Catholic husband, he could inflate all the Puritan lungs in the kingdom.

* D'Ewes.—Strype.—Neale [illegible]

ridicule, and the members of their congregations were dragged before the high commission for listening to their sermons and forms of prayer; and whenever any one refused to conform to the doctrines of the establishment, he was committed to prison. There were not wanting instances of persons being condemned to imprisonment for life, and numerous were the cases in which whole families of the industrious classes were reduced to beggary by these persecutions. This court of high commission has been compared to the Inquisition; and, in fact, there was a great family likeness between them. It consisted of bishops and delegates appointed by the queen, Parker, the primate, being chief commissioner. They were authorised to inquire into all heretical opinions; to enforce attendance in the established church, and to prevent the frequentation of conventicles; to suppress unorthodox and seditious books, together with all libels against the queen and her government; to take cognizance of all adulteries, fornications, and other offences liable to the ecclesiastical law, and to punish the offenders by spiritual censures, fine, and imprisonment. Parker always maintained that bold measures would terrify the nonconformists into his orthodoxy; "for," said he, in a letter to Cecil, "I know them to be cowards."* He never made a greater mistake! A very slight knowledge of history might have taught him that people excited by religious enthusiasm are always brave. What was to come he might hardly have foreseen, even if he had made a juster estimate of their spirit; for the struggle, now begun, never ceased till the Puritans laid both mitre and crown in the dust at their feet.

A report had got abroad that the Queen of Scots was sought in marriage for the Duke of Anjou, one of the brothers of the French king, and though Elizabeth held Mary in a close prison, she was alarmed at this news. In order to prevent any such scheme, she entered into negotiations with Charles IX., or rather with his mother Catherine de' Medici, once more pretending to offer herself as a bride. But there were other causes which rendered the friendship of the French court very desirable. The Huguenots seemed crushed and powerless after their defeat at Moncontour; there appeared no hope of their renewing the civil war in the heart of the kingdom; and if France, at peace within herself, should throw her sword on the side of Spain, and zealously take up the Catholic cause, the result might be dangerous, particularly at this moment, when there was great discontent in England, and when the Protestants at [illegible]me seemed almost on the point of drawing the [illegible]gainst one another. The sagacious Wal[illegible]as sent over as ambassador to France, [illegible]plicated instructions as must have [illegible] One of his principal duties [illegible]aracter of Mary; another to [illegible]imonial negotiation as much

* Life of Parker.

as possible, making sure, in the mean time, not merely of a truce, but of a fixed treaty of peace with France. He was also to have some bye dealings with the Huguenots; but he was to be more than ever cautious and secret in that matter, and to profess at court on all occasions that her majesty, his mistress, had a natural aversion to rebellious subjects of all kinds. After many months had been consumed, it was said that the Duke of Anjou declined the match because Elizabeth insisted, as a *sine qua non*, that he should change his religion. Then his younger brother, the boy Duke d'Alençon, was spoken of. In the spring of the year 1572, Walsingham was joined by Sir Thomas Smith, who was sent on a special mission, and it was not till then that this new matrimonial business was fairly entered upon. On the 22nd of March Smith reports to Secretary Cecil a long conversation he had had with Catherine de' Medic. According to this account, the queen-mother went directly to the point. Do you kn. w nothing, said she, how thy queen can fancy the marriage with my son the duke? Madam, said the diplomatist—a practised hand—you know me of old: except I have a sure ground, I dare affirm nothing to your majesty. Why, said she, if she be disposed to marry, I do not see where she shall marry so well; and yet I may, as a mother, justly be accounted partial; but as for those which I have heard named as suitors, as the emperor's son, or Don John of Austria, they be both lesser than my son is, and of less stature by a good deal (Catherine knew Elizabeth's partiality for tall men), and if she should marry, it were pity any more time were lost. Madam (quoth I), if it pleased God that she were married and had a child, all these brags and all these treasons would soon be appalled; and, on condition she had a child by M. D'Alençon, for my part, I care not if ye had the Queen of Scots here; for ye then would be as careful and jealous over her for the queen my mistress's surety as we, or as herself is. That is true (saith she), and without this marriage (saith she), if she should marry in another place, I cannot see how this league and amity would be so strong as it is. True, Madam (quoth I) the knot of blood and marriage is a stronger seal than that which is printed in wax, and lasteth longer if God give good success; but yet all leagues have not marriage joined with them, as this may, if it please God. I would it had (saith she), then surely would I make a start over and see her myself, the which I do most desire of all things." Without saying a word about the visit to England, Smith regretted that he had not so ample a commission for M. D'Alençon as he had formerly for Monsieur the Duke of Anjou. And here Walsingham, who was present at the audience, put in his word, as he had been instructed to do by Elizabeth, who had been vexed and distressed by reports that the Duke of Anjou had declined the match on account of certain rumours, that she had had two children by the Earl of Leicester and an amorous intimacy with

Sir Christopher Hatton besides.* "Then," said Mr. Walsingham, "and surely it was no religion that made that stop in the marriage of Monsieur, but some other thing." "No, surely," said she, "he never showed to me any other cause." "I assure you, madam," saith Mr. Walsingham, "I can marvellous hardly believe it, for at Gaillon he was so willing and so well affected that methought it did me much good when he spake of the queen my mistress, or with any of her ministers. I perceived it in his words, in his countenance, in his gesture and all things; but again, when he came to Paris, all was clean changed. It is true, Monsieur L'Ambassadeur (saith she), and it made me much to marvel at it; but even at Gaillon all other things liked him well; but at the religion he made a little stop, but nothing so as he did after. Upon this I bare him in hand (for he grieved me not a little, and the king my son also, as you know) that of all evil rumours and tales of naughty persons, such as would break the matter, and were spread abroad of the queen, that those he did believe, and that made him so backward. And I told him it is all the hurt that evil men can do to noble women and princes to spread abroad lies and dishonourable tales of them, and that we, of all princes, that be women are subject to be slandered wrongfully of them that be our adversaries; other hurt they cannot do us. He said and swore to me he gave no credit to them; he knew she had so virtuously governed her realm this long time that she must needs be a good and virtuous princess, and full of honour, and other opinion of her he could not have; but that his conscience and his religion did trouble him, that he could not be in quiet, and nothing else."†

Sir Thomas Smith and Walsingham, between them, had prevented the taking of any serious steps for the release of the captive queen, in which, indeed, the French court had never showed much earnestness.‡ Though allies in religion, there were many old jealousies between his most Christian and his Catholic majesty: the English envoys revived these feelings, and Mary's correspondence with the Duke of Alva was turned to good account. They told the French king and his mother that there were letters intercepted of the Queen of Scots to the duke, imploring for his assistance, and offering to send her son, Prince James, to be brought up in Spain, and proposing other things which would make a perpetual pique between England and Scotland, France and Spain;* and they informed Cecil that King Charles had exclaimed, in acknowledging Mary's imprudence,—"Ah! the poor fool will never cease till she lose her head; in faith they will put her to death, I see it is her own fault and folly,—I see no remedy for it: I meant to help, but if she will not be helped, *Je ne puis mais*, that is, I cannot do withal." Charles had indeed requested that Mary might be sent to live in France; and had said that, by the ties of relationship, he was bound to secure to her a kinder and milder treatment. But the captive's sufferings were forgotten in the bright prospect of seeing one of his brothers married to Elizabeth, and the fate of Mary had scarcely the weight of a feather in these double matrimonial negotiations. He agreed to leave her where she was, and began the arrangement of an alliance offensive and defensive with the English queen's able envoys, altogether disregarding the warning of his own ambassador, who had assured him that Elizabeth would never marry any one.

While these negotiations had been in progress the case of Mary had been still further complicated, and the hatred of Elizabeth increased, and the whole Protestant party in England thrown into agonies of alarm, by revelations of plots and conspiracies. In the month of April one Charles Bailly, a servant of the Queen of Scots, was seized at Dover as he was returning from the Duke of Alva with a packet of letters. The Bishop of Ross ingeniously contrived to exchange these letters for others of an insignificant kind, which were laid before the council; but Elizabeth and her ministers sent Bailly to the Tower and to the rack.† Under torture Bailly confessed that he had received the packet from Rudolfi, formerly an Italian banker in London, and that it contained

* "On le taxa de ce qu'ayant l'entrée, comme il a, dans la chambre de la Royne lorsqu'elle est au lict, il (Leicester) s'estoit ingéré de luy bailler la chemise au lieu de sa dame d' honneur, et de s'azarder de luymesmes de la bayser, sans y estre convyé."—La Mothe Fénélon.—The ambassador says that, at the instigation of the Earl of Arundel and others, the *Duke of Norfolk* had ventured to complain of these familiarities to the queen herself† In the trial of the persons accused by Herle—to be afterwards mentioned—one of the prisoners was charged with calling the virgin queen "a vile woman that desireth nothing but to feed her own lewd fantasy, and to cut off such of her nobility as were not perfumed and courtlike to please her delicate eye, and place such as were for her turn, meaning dancers, and meaning you, my Lord of Leicester, and one Mr. Hatton, whom he said had more recourse unto her majesty in her privy chamber than reason would suffer if she were so virtuous and well inclined as some noiseth her."—*Burghley Papers.*

† Dudley Digges, Letters from Walsingham and Smith to Cecil.

‡ Walsingham was instructed to say that Mary was kindly treated and liberally supplied with everything; but La Mothe Fenelon had informed his court that she was harshly treated, and in want of every comfort.

* Smith told the French Court that Mary would never cease to seek mischief and trouble to her majesty and her realm, yea, and would set all the princes of Europe together by the ears if she could.—*Dudley Digges.*—This seemed monstrous in his eyes, and he never seems to have reflected for a moment on the inextinguishable desire of freedom implanted in the human breast,—never to have reverted to the manner in which Elizabeth had made Mary a prisoner, or to have felt that the intrigues of which Elizabeth complained had been brought upon herself by her own conduct. Mary was in a situation to do desperate things. In addition to her loss of a crown and personal liberty, she was constantly haunted by the dread that her rival would make away with her in prison, and we shall see that these fears were not unfounded, and that the virgin queen and her council repeatedly entertained, not only the notion of a public execution, but also a project of secret assassination.

† It should appear, from a letter of the Bishop of Ross to Bailly, that that poor servant had maintained his secret under the *first* infliction of torture. "You will be esteemed," says the bishop, "worthy of reward for your constancy: abide by your former answers, for although the pains be great, yet your honour shall be the greater, and they cannot take life from you. . . . . This extreme handling of you will further much B's (the Queen of Scotland's) cause, and your enemies will be thought cruel, and you shall be repute honest and faithful that suffers patiently for your mistress's service. I pray comfort you and send you relief."—*Burghley Papers.*—It is least curious thing in these times to see how all the vi[illegible] court was constantly baffled, and how state prisone[illegible] different and distant places of confinement, con[illegible] with one another. The fact appears to be [illegible] ferior instruments of despotism and tre[illegible] and ready to do work on both sides,—to [illegible] heedless declarations one day and to carry [illegible] the next. The Bishop of Ross emphati[illegible] tain this bearer well." This man was p[illegible] Constant practice made such men very [illegible]

assurances that the Duke of Alva entered into the captive queen's cause and approved of her plan for a foreign invasion of England,—that, if authorized by the King of Spain, his master, he should be ready to co-operate with 40 and 30. Bailly said he did not know the parties designated by the ciphers 40 and 30, but that there was a letter in the packet for the Bishop of Ross, desiring him to deliver the other letters to the proper parties. Suspicion immediately fell upon the Duke of Norfolk. That nobleman had lain in the Tower from the 9th of October, 1569, till the 4th of August, 1570 (the day on which Felton was arraigned for the affair of the bull of excommunication), when he was removed in custody to one of his own houses, in consequence of the plague having broken out in the Tower. Some time before this delivery he made the most humble submission to the queen, beseeching her most gracious goodness to accept him again into favour to serve her in any manner that it should please her to direct and command. He acknowledged himself in fault for that he did unhappily give ear to certain motions in a cause of marriage to be prosecuted for him with the Queen of Scots; "but surely," he adds, "I never consented thereto in any respect, save upon reasons that were propounded to induce me for your highness's benefit and surety." He goes on to say that, now that he has considered the matter more deeply, he sees that he did err very much in that he did not cause all to be known to her majesty upon the first motion made to him. He then solemnly binds himself to have nothing more to do with the marriage or with anything that concerns Queen Mary.* This paper was sent to the queen, and a copy of it to the lords of her council, with a letter, telling them that it was no small matter for "a poor subject to be kept so long in this close air that never was acquainted with the like before," and hoping that he should find their lordships ready to move her majesty in his behalf, so that by her highness's goodness he might obtain so much grace as, being her majesty's true and loyal subject and faithful servant, he should not be suffered to remain any longer in the Tower. "Whereby," he says, "my poor carcase is not only in danger by close keeping, besides the infection of the pestilence, which doth most increase in this part of the city, as also for payment of my debts, for otherwise I should be driven, both myself and my land, to be hereafter in merchants' courtesy, which only groweth by my long continuance here.†" Cecil had long since assured the queen that it would be very difficult to make high treason of anything Norfolk had done as yet. Of course the [illegible] though he had been ten months a prisoner, [illegible]r been brought to any trial, but only in[illegible]d cross-questioned by the lords of the [illegible] Nor did he even now obtain much [illegible] sort of imprisonment. He was [illegible]warded in his own house by Sir Henry Neville; he was afterwards removed to the house of another nobleman devoted to the court, and then to another, and another, being everywhere in custody or closely watched. He petitioned the queen, Cecil, and others, to be restored to his seat in the council:—this was refused him; and it was a thing which the sovereign, having the free choice of her counsellors, might refuse without the infringement of law or constitutional right. He requested that he might be permitted to attend in his place in parliament; but this also was refused, and illegally, for he had been convicted of no treason, no crime by law. If Norfolk had been ever so well inclined to keep his engagement, this was certainly the way to make him break it in sheer desperation. Upon the arrest of Bailly he was more closely looked to; but some months elapsed before the matter was brought to his own door. At the end of August, 1571, one Brown, of Shrewsbury, carried to the privy council a certain bag full of money, which he said he had received from Hickford, the Duke of Norfolk's secretary, with directions to carry it to Bannister, the duke's steward. The lords opened the bag, and counted the money, which amounted to six hundred pounds. But there was something else in the bag that gave them more trouble, in the shape of two tickets, or notes, written in cypher. As Brown named Hickford, the poor secretary was apprehended, and on the 2nd of September he decyphered the two notes, which, with the money, were destined for Lord Herries in Scotland, who was making fresh exertions there with her party in favour of the captive queen. Sir Ralph Sadler was immediately sent for to guard the Duke of Norfolk, who was then at Howard House, where, on the 5th of September, on a strict examination, he denied all that Hickford had confessed. Two days afterwards he was committed to his old apartment in the Tower, being conducted thither by Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Henry Neville, and Dr. Wilson.* In the mean while Bannister, and Barker another secretary of the duke's, had been arrested; and as the Bishop of Ross had long been in custody with the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Ely, and others, it was easy to lay hold of him.† Hickford did not stop at betraying the key to the cyphers; he confessed many other things against his master the duke, without much pressing, and voluntarily offered to show some secret places in his house where his master had deposited letters. As the rest of Norfolk's servants were much attached to their master, and would confess nothing till they were tortured, or threatened with torture, it has been supposed by many that this Hickford had been for some time in the pay of the court. Bannister's fortitude and fidelity did not give way till he had suffered torture, but Barker's forsook him when he was shown the horrid rack. On the 20th of September, Sir Thomas Smith, the matrimonial

* Cecil's Diary.

† It appears that the Scotch bishop was not brought to London till the end of October, when he was removed from Ely, and that he was not committed to the Tower till the month of November.—Id.

† Id.

diplomatist, wrote to Cecil, now Lord Burghley,* in a pleasant humour. "We have," said he, "good hope, at last, that we may come home: we think, surely, that we have done all that at this time may be done. Of Bannister with the rack, of Barker with the extreme fear of it, we suppose to have gotten all. Bannister, indeed, knoweth little. . . . Barker was common doer in the practice, but rather, it may seem, chosen for zeal than for wit."† He then proceeds to tell the upright Cecil that he and his coadjutors had been putting Barker's confessions into proper order,—that is, they had been tampering with the evidence which they had procured by threatening a weak and silly man with the rack. Barker confessed that he himself had written some English metre for the amusement or encouragement of the Queen of Scots, who, in return, had written him a letter of thanks, which letter he thought might be laid up in some corner of his study, for he did not remember that he tore it or burnt it. He said that William Taylor, a carpenter, at the White Lion in Aldersgate-street, had a bag of writings of my lord duke's, wherein were contained certain letters of the Scottish queen and others; and that he, Barker, had requested the said Taylor to bury the said bag of writings in the ground, that they might be safely kept till called for. He confessed sundry other things, in a most confused way, that went to prove that Norfolk had never intermitted his correspondence with the Scottish queen, neither during his first confinement in the Tower nor after his release from that prison —that he had corresponded with the friends of Mary in Scotland by means of the Bishop of Ross, and with the Duke of Alva by means of Rudolfi, who had once delivered to him a letter from the pope. Although Smith had asserted that Bannister knew little, they made his evidence declare a good deal, and so shaped it as to make it agree with that of Barker and Hickford. When it came to the turn of the Bishop of Ross to be questioned, that prelate was found deficient in the nerve and courage which he had recommended to Bailly; but it is much easier to excuse his want of fortitude than the atrocity of his inquisitors. The bishop claimed the privileges of an ambassador, asserting that, even if he had been somewhat implicated, he was not liable to their jurisdiction, being the representative of an independent sovereign; and he alleged that when Randolph and Tamworth, Elizabeth's envoys at Edinburgh, were proved to have given advice and money to Mary's rebels, that queen, out of respect to their quality of ambassadors, had contented herself with ordering them to quit her realm; but Lord Burghley cut him short, by saying that he must answer or be put upon the rack.‡ Then the bishop wavered, but still he did not confess until he was told that his depositions were merely required to satisfy the mind of Queen Elizabeth, and should not be used against the life of any man. The duke had continued to deny everything, as at first, "with such confidence and ostentation," say Sir Thomas Smith and Dr. Wilson, "that he did astonish us all, and we knew not how we should judge of him." But when the commissioners showed him the confession of Barker and his other servants, the letters of the Queen of Scots, of which they had obtained possession through Hickford and Barker, and the deposition of the Bishop of Ross, he exclaimed that he was betrayed and undone by his confidence in others, and began to confess to sundry minor charges; for he never allowed that he had contemplated treason against his sovereign. Upwards of fifty interrogatories were put to him in one day; but the purport of the disclosures which were then made is unknown, as the examination cannot be found.*

But the rumours which were sent abroad beyond the dungeon cells and the walls of the Tower, and industriously spread among the people, were of a terrific nature. The Duke of Alva was coming with an army of bloody Papists to burn down London, and exterminate the queen, the Protestant religion, and all good Protestants; and the pope was to send the treasures of Rome to forward these deeds, and was to bless them when done. Every wind might bring legions of enemies to the British coast; every town in England, every house, might conceal some desperate traitor and cruel Papist, bound by secret oaths to join the invaders, and direct their slaughter and their burning; so that none should escape that professed the true religion, and none suffer that bore the marks of the beast of Rome. The press was most actively employed in printing alarming statements of this sort, which were circulated throughout the land: the pulpit, whether mounted by men in bands and surplices, or those that had none, resounded with anathemas against the Duke of Alva, the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Catholic powers,—for all these, it was assumed, were partakers in the plot. The subject afforded rhetorical figures and similitudes in abundance; and people were told that they would have a tolerably exact notion of the day of doom and of the infernal regions when they saw the towns and villages of England in a universal blaze. Men were so excited that they could not sleep by night or venture abroad by day without looking well round the corners of the streets, and taking some weapon under their cloak. Some, indeed, there were who ventured to say that England was not a realm to stand quietly like a sheep for the slaughter,—that there were arms and ammunition in the land, and good ships at sea,—that the mass of the natio[illegible] who were attached to the queen and to the [illegible] religion, were as bold of heart and as [illegible] arm as their progenitors, who had me[illegible] with the best of Europe in th[illegible] that the Spaniards and Walloo[illegible]

* Cecil was created Baron Burghley in 1571. In 1572 he received the Order of the Garter, and in the same year succeeded the Marquis of Winchester as Lord High Treasurer, which office he held till his death.

† Burghley Papers.

‡ Anderson's Collections.

* Jardine, *Criminal Trials.*—If this ex[illegible] prosecution it would probably have been [illegible]

morrow, sure of being so beaten as they had never been in their lives before. But these reasoners, if they escaped suspicion of being complotters and Papists in disguise, were set down as fool-hardy; as having an unscriptural reliance on the arm of flesh; as being wofully blind to the signs and portents in earth, air, and water. A wonderful alarm was excited by one Herle, who disclosed what was called a plot for murdering some of her majesty's privy-council.* Kenelm Barney and Edmund Mather, men as obscure as himself, were put upon their metal in the Tower, Herle, their former associate, being witness against them. All that could be proved against them was, that they were two contemptible scoundrels (each ready to betray the other), who were discontented with the court and the present government, which gave no promotion except to such "as were perfumed and courtlike,"—meaning such men as Leicester and Hatton; and who had talked in public-houses and lodging-houses about rescuing the Duke of Norfolk from the Tower and from certain death. As it became a struggle with them which should save his own neck by telling most, many other things were declared by the one or the other. Mather, for example, said that the death of Burghley had been proposed to him by the Spanish ambassador, but he equivocated miserably; and Barney said that there had been speeches used unto him by Mather touching the liberating of the Scottish queen and the killing of the queen's majesty. Mather appears to have been the scholar of the party; he interlards his depositions with Italian, which, he says, were words spoken with Borghese, a person attached to the Spanish embassy, who told him that, as man must die, it was better to choose an honoured death than live a shamed life,—that it was glorious to die with a sword in hand,—that if Burghley were taken out of the way all things would go well,—that some man of spirit ought to kill the poltroon and cut him to pieces. According to Barney's confession, Mather was wont to discourse of the noble fame that Poltrot won, though he suffered death for his labour, by killing the Duke of Guise; and of Hamilton, that killed the Regent of Scotland. But Mather endeavoured to shift the blame from himself by swearing that he only wanted to see how far the others would go, and that he himself would have been the informer against Herle and Barney, if they had not been suddenly arrested after coming from supper at the Three Tuns in Newgate Market. Little confidence can be placed in the revelations of such men, whose imaginations were stretched by the rack and the dread of death. But on the trial Mather and Barney were convicted on the strength of their joint confessions, and on the evidence of Herle. They were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, for treason; one Rolfe undergoing the same fate at the same time for counterfeiting the queen's majesty's hand. Herle received a full pardon.*

Much time had been spent in preparing for the public trial of the Duke of Norfolk; but at length, on the 14th of January, nearly a month before the executions last alluded to, the queen named the Earl of Shrewsbury, the keeper of Queen Mary, to be lord high steward; and Shrewsbury summoned twenty-six peers, selected by Elizabeth and her ministers, to attend in Westminster Hall on the 16th day of the same month. Among these were included, with other members of Elizabeth's privy council, Burghley, who had been active in arranging the prosecution, and the Earl of Leicester, who had originally excited Norfolk to attempt a marriage with the Scottish queen, who had signed the letter to Mary, and who was now athirst for the blood of the unfortunate prisoner, his miserable dupe. On the day appointed the peers met in Westminster Hall at an early hour in the morning, and the duke was brought to the bar by the Lieutenant of the Tower and Sir Peter Carew. The lords were assisted by the judges and all the law officers of the crown. About half-past eight the lord high steward stood up at his chair bare-headed, and the gentleman-usher holding the white rod before him, the serjeant-at arms made proclamation as follows:—"My lord's grace, the queen's majesty's commissioner, high steward of England, commandeth every man to keep silence on pain of imprisonment, and to hear the queen's commission read." The commission was read by the clerk of the crown, and then were all the lords called in order by their names of baptism and sur-names of dignity, beginning at the most ancient; and every one severally as he was called stood up and signified his appearance. The duke, with a haughty look, perused the countenances of all the lords, first those on the right hand of the lord high steward and then those on the left. After a fresh proclamation of silence, the clerk of the crown called upon the duke,—"Thomas Duke of Norfolk, late of Kenning Hall, in the county of Norfolk, hold up thy hand!" The duke held up his hand, and then the indictment was read, charging him with compassing and imagining the death of the queen, with levying war against her within the

* The first inkling of this business was said to have been given by Herle in a letter to Lord Burghley dated the 4th of January, 1572. "Of late," he says, "I have, upon discontent, entered into conspiracy with some others to slay your lordship; and, the time appointed, a man with a perfect hand attended you three several times in your garden, to have [illegible] in your lordship. The which not fallen out, and continuing in the [illegible] mischief, the height of your study window is taken towards the [illegible] minding, if they miss these means, to slay you with a shot [illegible]nce, or else in coming late from the court, with a pistol." [illegible] a breath, that he had been "touched with remorse [illegible]" and that he hopes he shall receive at his lord[illegible] convenient time, when these storms are past," [illegible] merited.—*Burghley State Papers.*—Herle, [illegible]ds taken into Burleigh's service. There [illegible] that he had been engaged *before* the plot. [illegible]ral letters, afterwards addressed by Herle [illegible] matters.

Stow.—Burghley Papers.—Digges.—In a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, Burghley says,—"I know not how to write, for I am here in my chamber subject to reports which are contrarywise. Mather and Barney, besides that they intended to kill me, have now plainly confessed their intention and desire to have been rid of the queen's majesty; but I think she may by justice be rid of them. Mather desireth not but that he was a 8206, and now saith he is a 02106. I wish him grace."—Digges.

realm, and with adhering to the queen's public enemies. The overt acts charged were,—1st. That, against the express command of the queen upon his allegiance, he had endeavoured to marry the queen of Scots, and supplied her with money, well knowing that she claimed a present title to the crown of England; 2nd. That he had sent sums of money to the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, and other persons concerned in the rebellion in the north, being the queen's enemies, after they had been attainted of high treason and had fled into Flanders. 3rd. That he had dispatched one Rudolfi to the pope, to the King of Spain, and the Duke of Alva, in order to excite them to send a foreign army into England, to join with such a force as he, the Duke of Norfolk, might raise for the purpose of making war against the queen within the realm, with intent to depose her, and to effect, his own marriage with the Queen of Scots. 4th. That he had relieved and comforted, with money and otherwise, the Lord Herries and other Scots, being the queen's public enemies." Then the clerk of the crown said, "How sayest thou, Thomas Duke of Norfolk? art thou guilty of these treasons, yea or no?" The duke besought the lords, if the law would permit it, that he might be allowed counsel. Catline, the chief justice, told him that the law allowed no counsel in cases of high treason. Upon this Norfolk complained that he was hardly handled. "I have had," said he, "very short warning to provide an answer to so great a matter,—not fourteen hours in all, both day and night. I have had short warning, and no books; neither books of statutes, nor so much as a breviate of the statutes. I am brought to fight without a weapon." He said that he was an unlearned man,—that he hoped that they would not overlay him with speeches; that his memory was never good, but now much worse than it was. "Sore troubles and cares," said he, "evil rest and close imprisonment, have much decayed my understanding; I pray God that this day it fail me not, and another time I will forgive it." The duke, however, showed no lack of memory and ready wit, and his acquaintance with the statutes and with Bracton was such that the attorney-general thought proper to taunt him with his nice knowledge of the law. He pleaded not guilty, maintaining,—1st. That the Queen of Scots was not the enemy or competitor of his sovereign,—that, on the death of her husband, the French king, she put away the title of Queen of England,—that, though her assumption of that title was now cited as the sole proof of her being an enemy, and having always been an enemy, yet the queen, his mistress, had had friendship with her during the ten years which had elapsed since that offence, standing godmother to her son, and doing other kind offices, and that, therefore, in trying to marry the Scottish queen, or in assisting her, he was not guilty of treason. 2nd. That he had never spoken with Rudolfi the Italian but once, and that then he only treated with him regarding some private loan and banking business; hearing from him, indeed, that he, Rudolfi, was intending to seek aid of money among the friends of the Scottish queen, but, as he, the duke, understood him, not for the purpose of levying war in England with this money, but merely that it might be applied by Mary to her own comfort and the encouragement of her own faithful subjects in Scotland. 3rd. That he had never supplied the English rebels in the north with money at the time of their insurrection, although he acknowledged having since sent some assistance to the Countess of Westmoreland, who was his own sister, and in the greatest distress; and that he had given his opinion as to the proper mode of distributing certain sums which had been sent into Flanders by the pope for the relief of the noble English exiles. He admitted that a letter from the pope, consisting of about six or seven lines in Latin, and beginning, *Dilecte fili, salutem*, had been delivered to him; but he said that he was offended with this liberty, and asked what he had to do with the pope, who was an enemy to his religion and his country?

Norfolk, who in his early life had been the pupil of the puritanic Fox, the martyrologist, and who had always passed for a good Protestant, vowed repeatedly on his trial that he would rather be torn to pieces by wild horses than entertain for a moment the notion of any change of religion. Everything the duke said was declared to be false, and was met by the written depositions (all cobbled and garbled) of his servants and accomplices. When he objected to such evidence he was told that the oaths of the witnesses, who had sworn to all they alleged, were worth more than his bare denial. He demanded to be personally confronted with the witnesses; but this was denied to him. There was, indeed, one witness produced, but he had known neither chains nor torture; he was an agent who had been employed by the Earl of Leicester to ensnare the prisoner, and it would have been well for the decency of the process if he had been kept out of sight altogether. This man, one of the innumerable retainers and instruments of Leicester, was Richard Candish, or Cavendish, —probably a relation of the distinguished navigator. His evidence, however, established nothing very material. The duke looked upon him with a scornful and smiling countenance, and said, "You are an honest man!" He reminded him how he had, of his own accord, become a bearer of intelligence between Leicester and himself,—how he had told him that my Lord of Leicester was firm, and Sir Nicolas Throgmorton his sure friend, and that they would both join to deal with the queen for him, and how Sir Nicolas Throgmorton sent word by him that he doubted not the queen in the end would arrange matters to his entire satisfaction. Further, he reminded Candish how he had forced himself upon his hospitality in Norfolk, and had then slipped away of a sudden. He gave him many more reproachful words of discredit; but the queen's serjeant told the duke that, Candish was sworn,

and that was enough. The court, however, were glad to be rid of this witness, who appears to have quailed before the nobleman whom he had helped to betray. We have mentioned in what manner the evidence of the Bishop of Ross had been extracted: Dr. Wilson, the Master of the Requests, and who, with Sir Thomas Smith, had taken his depositions, wanted him to appear in court and give his evidence orally, but, lacking in courage as he was, the bishop refused, saying, "I never conferred with the duke myself in any of these matters, but only by his servants, nor yet heard him speak one word at any time against his duty to his prince and country; and if I shall be forced to be present, I will publicly profess before the whole nobility that he never opened his mouth maliciously or traitorously against the queen or the realm." Norfolk repeatedly said that the bishop was a very timid man,—that Barker was a timid man,—that only Bannister had courage united to fidelity, and that he was "shrewdly cramped" when he made the false confession they produced. And then Barham, the queen's serjeant, most impudently asserted that Bannister had been no more tortured than the duke himself had been. The famous letter inculpating Norfolk, written by Murray, the late regent, was read in court, together with a letter said to have been sent by the duke to Murray, without going into any proof of the genuineness of those documents.* A great deal of the evidence went upon mere hearsay, and that at second or third hand; and hasty and boastful words delivered in moments of great excitement were taken as proofs of treason. There were other legal irregularities, such as had long been and long after continued to be common in state trials; but the strangest of all—the grossest possible interference of the queen—occurred in enforcing that particular part of the prosecution which related to the Rudolfi conspiracy. The solicitor-general stood up, and said, "I have also, my lords, one thing more to say to you from the queen's own mouth. The lords of the privy council do know it very well, but it is not meet here, in open presence, to be uttered, because it toucheth others that are not here now to be named; but, by her highness's order, we pray their lordships that they will impart it unto you more particularly. In Flanders, by the ambassador of a foreign prince, the whole plot of this treason was discovered; and a servant of his, not meaning to conceal so foul and dishonourable a practice, gave intelligence hither by letters, and hath therein disclosed the whole treason in such form as hath here been proved unto you. But I refer the more particular declaration thereof to the peers of the privy council." But no objection was raised by any one to this strange declaration; on the contrary, they all acted as if it were decisive of the case, and at eight o'clock at night, when the trial had lasted twelve hours, the peers unanimously returned a verdict of guilty. Then the edge of the axe was turned towards the duke, and the Lord Steward said,—"Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, the lords, your peers, having now found you guilty, what have you to say why I may not proceed to judgment?" The duke replied, "The Lord's will be done, and God be judge between me and mine accusers:" and then the Lord High Steward, with tears in his eyes, pronounced judgment:—"Thomas, late Duke of Norfolk, you have been indicted of high treason, and my lords, your peers, have found you guilty; therefore, this court doth award that you be taken hence to the Tower of London, and from thence be drawn through the midst of London to Tyburn; and there you shall be hanged till you be half dead, and being alive you shall be cut down quick, your bowels shall be taken forth of your body, and burnt before your face; your head shall be smitten off, and your body shall be divided into four quarters; your head and quarters to be set up where it shall please the queen's majesty to appoint: and the Lord have mercy upon your soul." Then the duke said, "This, my lord, is the judgment of a traitor; but (striking himself hard upon the breast) I am a true man to God and the queen as any that liveth, and always have been so. I do not now desire to live; I will not desire any of your lordships to make petition for my life; I am at a point. And, my lords, as you have banished me from your company, I trust shortly to be in a better company. This only I beseech you, my lords, to be humble suitors to the queen's majesty, that it will please her to be good to my poor orphan children, and to take order for the payment of my debts, and to have some consideration of my poor servants. God knows how true a heart I bear to her majesty and to my country, whatsoever this day hath been falsely objected against me. Farewell, my lords." This he spake with some passion; otherwise truly he conducted himself all the day long very modestly and wisely, as far as his cause would serve him.*

We are not informed as to the countenance and behaviour of Leicester, who sat through the trial and voted the death of his confiding and generous-hearted victim; but as he was a perfect actor, and one that could adapt himself to all circumstances, he no doubt made a good outward show of modesty, and wisdom, and loyalty.

The mode in which a case of constructive treason was made up will afford a curious exercise to the mind, and may be studied at length with some advantage.† But, after all, it will not be easy to arrive at any clear notion of the extent of Norfolk's imprudence or guilt. That the Rudolfi conspiracy compassed and imagined the overthrow of Elizabeth, in part by the aid of foreign arms and foreign money, there can be little doubt; but it would have been no unusual case if the conspirators had cloaked and concealed their extremest views from

* It was merely said, with respect to the duke's letter, that the regent had sent a copy of it to Elizabeth in his (Murray's) handwriting. They did not even profess to have seen the original.

* Jardine, Criminal Trials.—Burghley Papers.

† See Mr. Jardine's remarks appended to his clear and valuable account of this remarkable trial.

the duke, who was evidently a tool in the hands of more crafty, more daring, and inveterate plotters. If he were privy to the conspiracy in its full extent, —which he always denied, and which was never proved against him by unsuspected evidence,—he was guilty at the least of misprision of treason. He seems to have had a thoroughly English heart; and not only a patriotic feeling for the independence of his country, but also many of the prevailing national prejudices against foreigners of all kinds, not excepting even the Scots. Our own impression is, that he contemplated nothing more than the reinstating of Mary, the sharing in her authority in Scotland, and in her hopes of the English succession on Elizabeth's death. As a man of honour (if we may speak of such a character in such a time), the worst part of his conduct was his breaking his word to Elizabeth; but even there he was goaded and maddened by her harsh usage, beset by agents ever ready to work on his susceptible temper, and in a manner fascinated by the letters and messages of Mary.

But, though thus condemned, Elizabeth hesitated to inflict capital punishment on so popular a nobleman, who was her own kinsman, and who had been for many years her tried friend. Five days after his trial the duke wrote a long letter to her majesty, confessing that he had been undutiful, that he had most unkindly offended; but he still denied that he had ever contemplated treason. He told the queen that he was now but as "a dead dog" in this world, and preparing himself for a new kingdom,—that he would not ask her for life, but only beseech her to extend her merciful goodness to his poor orphan children. Some of his expressions are remarkable,—self-humiliating enough in all conscience. "The heavenly Lord," he says, "for Christ's sake, put it into your majesty's most gracious heart that my *carrion end* may take away and assuage so your majesty's just ire, as that the little poor wretches may taste of your highness's great clemency. . . . I do most humbly, upon my knees, take my leave most lowlily; beseeching your excellent majesty to excuse the ill and scribbling writing hereof, which, God knows, proceeds of my unableness, being overwhelmed with sorrow and care. God long preserve your majesty, and bless this your realm with your long continuance, to the glory of God, to the increase of good gospelers, and comfort of all good subjects."* Not much touched with these appeals, but hoping to derive advantage from the weakness of the prisoner, Elizabeth insidiously urged him to make an ample confession, and accuse others: but this Norfolk nobly refused, even when pleading for his orphan children. "The Lord knoweth," he says, "that I myself know no more than I have been charged withal, nor much of that, although, I humbly beseech God and your majesty to forgive me, I knew a great deal too much. But if it had pleased your highness, whilst I was a man in law, to have commanded my accusers to have been brought to my face, although of my own knowledge I knew no more than as I have particularly confessed, yet, if it had pleased your majesty, there might perchance have bolted out somewhat amongst them which might have made somewhat for mine own purgation, and your highness perchance have thereby known that which is now undiscovered. . . . . Now, an if it please your majesty, it is too late for me to come face to face to do you any service; the one being a shameless Scot, and the other an Italianified Englishman,* their faces will be too brazen to yield to any truth that I shall charge them with; though the one was my man, yet he will now count himself my master, and so indeed he may, for he hath, God forgive him, mastered me with his untruth. . . . . Alas! an if it please your majesty now to weigh how little I can say for your better service, and how little credit a dead man in law hath, I hope your highness of your most gracious goodness will not command me to that which cannot, I think, do you any service, and yet may heap more infamy upon me, unhappy wretch! (which needs not), for they will report that for abjectness of mine, or else, thereby to seek pardon of my life, I was contented to accuse by suspicion, when I had no other ground thereunto."† This letter was written from the Tower on the 23rd of January. On Saturday, the 8th of February, Elizabeth signed the warrant for the duke's execution on the Monday following; but at a late hour on Sunday night she summoned to her presence the wily Burghley, who had been earnest with her to permit the law to take its course. The queen, according to Burghley's own words, "now entered into a great misliking that the duke should die the next day, and said she was, and should be, disquieted, and that she would have a new warrant made that very night to the sheriffs, to forbear until they should hear further; and so they did: God's will be done, and aid her majesty to do herself good!"‡ Another warrant was countermanded in the same manner, and a third, obtained, as the queen gave out, by importunate counsel, on the 9th of April, was recalled with her own hand at two o'clock in the morning. She was evidently most anxious to lighten the odium of the execution, or to shift it from herself. The preachers, who had of late received regular political instructions from her

* Burghley Papers.—The letter ended—"Written by the woful hand of a dead man, your majesty's most unworthy subject, and yet your majesty's, in my humble prayer, until the last breath, Thomas Howard."

* Alluding to the Bishop of Ross and Barker.

† Burghley Papers.

‡ Burghley Papers. These words occur in a letter addressed to Walsingham, who was still resident ambassador at Paris. In the same letter Cecil says, "I cannot write you what is the inward cause of the stay of the Duke of Norfolk's death, only I find her majesty diversly disposed. Sometime when she speaketh of her majesty's danger, she concludeth that justice should be done; another time, when she speaketh of his nearness of blood, of his superiority in honour, &c., she stayeth. As, upon Saturday, she signed a warrant for the writs to the sheriffs of London, for his execution on Monday, and so all preparations were made with the expectation of all London, and concourse of many thousands yesterday in the morning; but their coming was answered with another ordinary execution of Mather and Barney, for conspiring the queen's majesty's death, and of one Rolph, for counterfeiting the queen's majesty's hand twice, to get concealed lands."

council, took up the matter, and, unmindful of the evangelical forbearance, they clamoured for vengeance on the duke, who had put in jeopardy the queen, the state, the gospel, and who had leagued himself with the enemies of the true faith. Private letters were written to the same effect to her majesty, but still she hesitated. In the meanwhile, Parliament had assembled. On the 16th of May the Commons communicated with the Lords, and then drew up a petition to the throne, representing that there could be no safety till the duke was dead, and calling for his immediate execution. The fanatic reasoning or declamation of the Commons had a wonderful effect out of doors—every Protestant seemed to echo their call for blood; and at last Elizabeth put her hand to a death-warrant, which was *not* revoked. Out of regard to his high rank, the brutal punishment awarded by the sentence was commuted into beheading at the usual place. On the 2nd of June, 1572, at eight o'clock in the morning, the duke was brought to a scaffold erected upon Tower Hill, attended by Alexander Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, and Fox, the martyrologist, who had formerly been his tutor. Dr. Nowel desired the multitude to keep silence; after which the duke made a dying speech, which was always expected, if not forcibly exacted, on such occasions. "'Tis no new thing," said Norfolk, "for men to suffer death in this place; though, since the beginning of our most gracious queen's reign, I am the first, and God grant I may be the last. I acknowledge my peers have justly sentenced me worthy of death; nor have I any design to excuse myself. I freely confess that I treated with the Queen of Scots in things of great moment, without my sovereign's knowledge, which I ought not to have done; whereupon I was cast into the Tower. But I was afterwards set at liberty, having made an humble submission, and promised, upon honour, to have nothing more to do with her; yet I confess I acted contrary, and this, in truth, disturbs my conscience." He then made an unseemly distinction between his word of honour and his oath, emphatically assuring the people that he had neither promised nor sworn it at the communion table, as was commonly reported. He then proceeded to confess neither more nor less than he had done on his trial; to aver that he had never been popishly inclined, though some of his servants and acquaintance were addicted to the Romish religion; and he said that, if he had offended God, the church, or the Protestants, in having such servants and acquaintance, he prayed God and them to forgive him. Then, after the reading of a psalm or two, he said, with a loud voice, "Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit." He embraced Sir Henry Lee, and whispered something to him. The Dean Nowel, turning to the people, said, "The duke desires you all to pray to God for him, and withal keep silence, that his mind may not be disturbed." The headsman asked the duke's forgiveness, and had it granted. One offering him a handkerchief to cover his eyes, he refused it, saying, "I am not in the least afraid of death." He then fell on his knees, praying, and presently he stretched his neck across the block, and his head, at one blow, was cut off, and showed by the executioner to the sorrowing and weeping multitude.* "It is incredible," continues Camden, a spectator of the sad scene, "how dearly he was loved by the people, whose good-will he had gained by a princely munificence and extraordinary affability. . . . The wiser sort of men were variously affected: some were terrified at the greatness of the danger, which, during his life, seemed to threaten the state from him and his faction: others were moved with pity towards him, as one very nobly descended, of an extraordinary good nature, comely personage, and manly presence; who might have been both a support and ornament to his country, had not the crafty wiles of the envious and his own false hopes, led on with a show of doing the public service, diverted him from his first course of life. They called likewise to mind the untimely end of his father,† a man of extraordinary learning, and famous in war, who was beheaded in the same place five-and-twenty years before."

But the Protestants, whose wild alarms had not yet subsided, were eager for a still greater sacrifice, and they turned a ready ear to an anonymous casuist, who proved, in his own way, that it stood, not only with justice, but with the honour and safety of Elizabeth to send the unfortunate Queen of Scots to the scaffold; and to another writer, who supported his arguments with numberless texts of scripture, all made to prove that Mary had been delivered into the hands of Elizabeth by a special Providence, and deserved to die the death, because she was guilty of adultery, murder, conspiracy, treason, and blasphemy, and because she was an idolator, and led others to idolatry.‡ Both Houses would have proceeded against the captive by bill of attainder, but Elizabeth interfered, and they were obliged to rest satisfied with cutting her off from her hereditary rights, or with passing a law to make her unable and unworthy of succession to the crown of England.§ The captive queen had been restored to her old prison in Tutbury Castle immediately after the defeat of the Earl of Northumberland, and, after some hurried removes to Chatsworth and other places, she was now at Sheffield Castle, in the tender keeping of Sir Ralph Sadler and my Lady Shrewsbury, who both wished her in her grave, and seized the opportunity afforded by the trial and condemnation of Norfolk

* Camden.

† The accomplished Earl of Surrey, the last noble victim of Elizabeth's father.

‡ D'Ewes.

§ Burghley was disappointed and angry that Elizabeth did not now send Mary to the block. In a letter dated 21st May, 1572, addressed to Walsingham, who was at Paris, he says that there was "soundness" in the Commons, and "no lack" in the higher House, but the queen had spoilt all; there being "in the highest person such slowness in the offers of surety, and such stay in resolution, as it seemeth God is not pleased that the surety shall succeed. To lament that secretly I cannot forbear, and thereby, with it and such like, I am overthrown in heart, so as I have no spark almost of good spirits left in me to nourish health in my body."—*Dudley Digges.*

to exult over her sufferings, and to insult her to her face. Sir Ralph informed Burghley how he had forthwith communicated what had passed in Westminster Hall to my Lady Shrewsbury, to the end that she might take occasion to make this queen understand the same, and how also he had given out to the gentlemen in the castle what number of the nobility did sit upon the trial, and, by common consent, pronounce the duke guilty. "Which," continues Sir Ralph, "being put abroad here in the house after this sort, was brought unto the knowledge of this queen by some of her folks which heard it, before my Lady of Shrewsbury came unto her, for the which this queen wept very bitterly, so that my lady found her all bewept and mourning, and, asking her what she ailed, she answered that she was sure my lady could not be ignorant of the cause, and that she could not but be grieved to understand of the trouble of her friends, which she knew well did fare the worse for her sake; and sure she was that the duke fared the worse for that which she of late had written to the queen's majesty." My Lady Shrewsbury, a woman of a peculiarly malignant disposition, and who is said to have been madly jealous at the attentions which her husband paid to his prisoner, insultingly told the fallen queen that she might be assured that whatsoever she had written to Elizabeth could do neither good nor harm. According to Sadler, Mary, "with mourning, became silent, and had no will to talk any more of the matter, and so, like a true lover, she remained still mourning for her love.* . . . . All the last week this queen did not once look out of her chamber, hearing that the duke stood upon his arraignment and trial; . . . and my presence is such a trouble unto her, that, unless she come out of her chamber, I come little at her, but my lady is seldom from her."† It would have been difficult to devise a more trying mode of torture than the constant attendance of such a woman as Lady Shrewsbury! But Mary had soon to weep for more blood. The Earl of Northumberland, after lying more than two years a prisoner in Lochleven Castle, was basely sold to Elizabeth by the execrable Morton, who, during his own exile in England, had tasted largely of the northern earl's hospitality and generosity. This transaction was the finishing touch to the character of the murderer of Rizzio and of Darnley. He permitted William Douglas, the laird of Lochleven, to enter into a negotiation with the exiled Countess of Northumberland for the liberation of her husband. Two thousand pounds, the price agreed upon, was deposited by the countess at Antwerp. Morton, at the same time, drove another bargain with Elizabeth. In the month of June or July the unfortunate earl was carried on board a vessel to proceed, as he was told by these infernal traitors, to join his dear wife in Flanders. We need scarcely add what followed; as a matter of course he was landed at Berwick, the first English port; from Berwick he was conducted to York, and there beheaded without a trial.* The earl, in the parlance of those times, continued obstinate in religion, and declared he would die a Catholic of the pope's church. "In his talk with divers he named himself simple Tom, and said simple Tom must die to set up cruel heresy. . . He did not pray for the queen's majesty, nor even wish her well, nor yet would confess he had offended her majesty, whereat many were offended, and thought he had no dutiful consideration of her majesty; and, on the other side, the stiff-necked Papists rejoiced much of his stedfastness in their creed of Popish religion." The Papists, indeed, considered Northumberland as a martyr, while the Protestants, still bewildered in their panic, and, with the natural feelings of Englishmen obliterated by religious antipathies and disgraceful fears, called for the heads of more traitors and idolators like him. Sir Thomas Gargrave, who communicates these particulars of the earl's execution to Lord Burghley, adds, "I beseech the Almighty to preserve the queen's majesty and all good subjects from their deceitful and cruel practices, the which, in my opinion, they intend, if time would serve. They have too much liberty and scope, and wax hardhearted, wilful, and stubborn."†

In Scotland Mary's cause had grown more and more hopeless, and many had forfeited their lives for their passionate attachment to it. Encouraged and assisted by Elizabeth, the father of Darnley, the imbecile Lennox, had established himself in the regency. More than a year before Norfolk's death, he gained, by surprise, the strong castle of Dunbarton, which had held out most gallantly for the queen. Among the prisoners taken in that fortress, was Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, whom Lennox caused to be hanged publicly at Stirling without trial. The civil war then raged more fiercely than ever, and deeper atrocities were committed by both parties. The regent, in a parliament, attainted Secretary Maitland as one of the assassins of his son Darnley, and some chiefs of the House of Hamilton for their opposition to the king's government. He assembled a second parliament, with the intention of passing more attainders, but his own hour was come. The Earl of Huntley, Lord Claude Hamilton, younger son of the Duke of Chatelherault, and

* "God, I trust," adds Sadler, "will put it into the queen's majesty's heart so to provide for herself that such true lovers may receive such rewards and fruits of their love as they have justly deserved at her majesty's hands."

† Ellis's Letters.—Sadler also tells Burghley that my Lord of Shrewsbury hath "a costly guest" in him; "for," says he, "I and my men and thirty-six horses of mine do all lie and feed here at his charge, and, therefore, the sooner he come home the better for him." Shrewsbury's absence was occasioned by his attending Norfolk's trial.

* In Percy's 'Reliques of English Poetry' (i. 295) there is a ballad on the giving up of the Earl of Northumberland to Elizabeth. Mr. Wright has recently published from the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum some verses on the same subject by one Singleton, a gentleman of Lancashire, but then a prisoner at York for religion.

† Wright, Queen Elizabeth and Her Times.—Sir Thomas Gargrave was not unusually intolerant; there is scarcely a letter of those times but laments that the persecuted Papists are not much more harshly dealt with. If some persons had had their own way they would have made a sort of Protestant St. Bartholomew before the Catholic one.

Scot of Buccleugh, secretly assembled five hundred men, made a night march, and got possession of the town of Stirling without opposition. The Hamiltons, on their onslaught, cried, 'Remember the archbishop,' for the prelate of St. Andrew's was of their kindred, though only illegitimately so.* In a few moments they broke open the lodgings of the principal lords of the regent's faction, and made them all prisoners, together with Lennox himself. It was the intention of the insurgents to convey their captives to Edinburgh Castle, which was still in their hands; but Morton escaped, barricaded his house, and made a vigorous resistance; the burghers of Stirling rose upon the intruders; some troops arrived under the Earl of Marr, and the victors found themselves obliged to turn and flee. One of the Hamiltons, determined that the regent should not escape, bade him remember the archbishop, and shot him through the head. It was a wild scene. The five hundred fled, loaded with plunder, and, as the borderers of Buccleugh had carried off every horse they could find in Stirling, their adversaries could not pursue them. As another regent was now wanting, the lords nominated the Earl of Marr—a man far too honourable for those men and those times. Morton had more power than the new regent, and Morton was the devoted friend and servant of Elizabeth, whom he obeyed in all particulars, managing the affairs of Scotland in such ways as best suited her real or supposed interests. But, in spite of Morton and Elizabeth, the banner of Mary still floated over the walls of Edinburgh Castle; and in the mountains of the north the Gordons and other Highlanders kept her cause lingering on.

Under the able management of Walsingham and Sir Thomas Smith, the treaty with France had been concluded in the month of April, 1572, about six weeks before the Duke of Norfolk's execution. The French king bound himself to give Elizabeth aid in all cases of invasion whatsoever; but Elizabeth did not show any readiness in proceeding with the matrimonial treaty, which was interrupted and renewed several times, and altogether ingeniously prolonged for the space of ten years. The English queen had been feasting at Kenilworth Castle with the Earl of Leicester, and had reached Woodstock on her way homeward, when she received the dismal intelligence of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, at Paris. The late pacification between the French Catholics and Huguenots had been as hollow as all the preceding ones: both parties were jealous and distrustful, rankling with ancient enmities; each had committed upon the other cruelties which it was difficult to forget, and each regarded the other as reprobated by the Almighty. The nominal head of the Huguenots was the young King of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. of France; but the real leader was the veteran Coligni, Admiral of France, and one of the first military commanders of the 16th century. After the conclusion of the treaty of pacification, Coligni was earnestly invited to court; but, suspecting the bad intentions of the queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, he declined the invitation, and retired to Rochelle, the stronghold of the Huguenots, where Navarre, Condé, and other eminent Protestants, kept him company. In the spring of 1571, King Charles professed a wonderful eagerness to reconcile the two parties, and offered the hand of his sister to Henry of Navarre. At the same time, he tempted Coligni with the offer of the command of a great French army to be sent into Flanders to co-operate with the Prince of Orange against the King of Spain—a project which was really entertained, and which, with other things, proves how little binding was the great Catholic league that excited such dread in England and in most Protestant states. In the summer of the same year, Charles again earnestly solicited the admiral to repair to court, writing to him with his own hand, and sending the letter, backed by warm solicitations from the admiral's near relations, by the hands of Teligny, the admiral's son-in-law. As, up to this time, the conditions of the late treaty had been scrupulously observed by the court, Coligni had scarcely an excuse for non-compliance. The sovereign, moreover, who was now of age, had made a great display of frankness and sincerity, and had even given the English ambassador, Walsingham, reason for believing that, in his heart, he inclined to those of the new religion.* The admiral, therefore, in the autumn of 1571 went to Blois, where Charles was keeping his court. He was received with all honour—was restored to all his former dignities, and the king called him "Father." For several months no one appeared to be so dear to the king as the veteran Coligni; but it is stated, on good authority, that the king cautioned him against his mother Catherine de' Medici, and her Italian favourites. Many of the Huguenots, who suspected the whole court, not excepting the king, repeatedly warned the admiral of his danger; but this old soldier had seen enough of intestine and religious war; and he said that he would rather be dragged a corpse through the streets of Paris than be the means of renewing those horrors. Meanwhile the match between Henry of Navarre and the Princess Margaret went on; and on the 18th of August of the present year (1572) the marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Paris. Coligni and a great number of the Protestant lords attended, and, as they would not enter the church to witness what they called the idolatry of the mass, there was a temporary building erected for them at the porch of the cathedral of Notre Dame. The three following days were spent in festivity. On the fourth day (Friday, the 22nd of August) the admiral attended a privy council, after which he went to the tennis-yard with the king, the Duke of Guise, and others of the court. As he walked thence homeward through the streets an arquebuse was

* He was natural brother to the Duke of Chatelherault, the head of the clan.

* Digges.

discharged at him from the window of a house occupied by a dependent of the Duke of Guise. He was struck in two places, but neither of the wounds was dangerous. The Huguenots crowded to his house uttering menacing language against the Guises, for they suspected that the Duke of Guise had directed the blow in revenge for the death of his father, who had been assassinated by Poltrot, the Huguenot, at the siege of Orleans.* King Charles, hearing that the admiral had expressed a wish to see him, went to his house accompanied by his mother, his brother the Duke of Anjou, and his courtiers. Coligni requested to speak with the king alone, and Charles commanded his mother, brother, and the rest to remove to some distance. When the admiral began to speak very earnestly, Catherine came up and drew the king away. We cannot enter into the long controversy as to the relative guilt of the parties, or whether the king himself had premeditated, through many months, the murder of the admiral and the general massacre which followed. Our own impression is, that Charles, wretch as he was, was *not* privy to the greater design of the massacre, but that he was carried forward suddenly, in part by his mother, and in part by his own fears at the menacing attitude assumed by the Huguenots when they saw what had been intended against their great chief. On Saturday, the 23rd, the queen-mother held secret conferences in the Louvre, and after dinner, or about noon, she entered the king's chamber, where her other son the Duke of Anjou, and several lords, soon joined her. All united in representing to Charles that the Huguenots were at that moment plotting his destruction, and that, if he did not destroy them before night, he and his whole family would be sacrificed before the next morning. According to his own account, he thereupon gave a reluctant consent to a general massacre, the execution of which was intrusted to the dukes of Guise, Anjou, and Aumale, Montespan, and Marshal Tavannes, who are generally believed to have arranged the whole plan beforehand with the queen-mother. Charles and Catherine then went to an open balcony to await the result, the young king trembling all over. At a concerted signal—the tolling of a church bell—the work of blood began. The house of Coligni was burst open, and he and all in it were murdered. The butchers threw the bodies out of the windows into the streets, where they were treated with brutal indignity: and then the tocsin was sounded from the parliament house, calling upon the people to protect their religion and their king. Forthwith all Paris resounded with the horrid cries of "Death to the Huguenots! —kill every man of them!—kill!—kill!" And the Protestants, wherever they could be found, were atrociously slaughtered, men, women, and children. Towards evening proclamation was made, by sound of trumpet, that it was the king's will the slaughter should cease; but, the Parisians were drunk with blood, and the massacre was partially continued through that night and the two following days. It is said that the governors in the provinces received the king's orders to prevent similar atrocities in their jurisdictions; but either from contrary orders received from the queen-mother, or from the intolerance and vindictiveness of the Catholics, scenes of precisely the same sort were enacted in Rouen, Lyons, and other cities. In Paris alone, five hundred men of rank, and nearly ten thousand of inferior conditions, were butchered in cold blood. All were not Huguenots, for many a Catholic took this easy opportunity for dispatching his personal enemy without regard to his creed. In all France thirty thousand individuals are said to have perished on St. Bartholomew's day and the days of slaughter which followed it.* When the deed was done the young king was overwhelmed with remorse, horror, and affright. "Every moment," he cried, "whether I am asleep or awake, I am haunted by visions of murdered men, all covered with blood, and hideous to sight." At first he endeavoured to attribute the massacre to the ancient feud between the House of Guise and the House of Coligni, but he presently shifted his ground. He went in state to the parliament at Paris, avowed himself the author of the massacre, laid claim to the merit of giving thereby a lasting peace to France, denounced the admiral and his adherents as traitors, and declared that, by his timely activity, he had prevented their murdering his whole family.

Of the French Protestants who escaped, some threw themselves into Rochelle, whence they cast an imploring eye towards England: others fled across the Channel, until every English port on the south coast was crowded with them. Their recitals filled the whole nation with horror and indignation. The English people would have rushed at once into a war to punish the treachery and cruelty of the French Catholics; but their queen took the matter much more coolly, and peremptorily forbade any of her subjects to take up arms except on their own account, and as private volunteers.† She did

* The Guises had maintained that Poltrot was an agent of Coligni. The Huguenots did occasionally resort to assassinations as well as the Catholics. Nearly four years before this attempted assassination of Coligni an attempt was made to murder another of Queen Mary's uncles, the Cardinal of Lorraine, at Rheims; where, "as he was going into his coach, he was shot at with an arquebuse, which, missing him, struck one of his called Ince, an Italian; and, striking him through the body, he fell dead."—Letter from Sir Henry Norris to Cecil, given by Wright.

* The number of the dead is variously stated, according to the religion of the parties writing, at 4,000, 10,000, 40,000, 70,000, 100,000! De Thou, Adriani, De Serres, and the author of a discourse addressed to the Swiss cantons, quoted by Mr. Allen (Letter to Francis Jeffrey, Esq. 8vo., London, 1827), agree in stating the total number at 30,000. The Swiss says,—"In France, in the month of August last, 30,000 persons were massacred within a few days. They were not slain in open battle, but in the bosom of peace. They were not armed and arrayed for fight; but were naked and asleep, or in a suppliant posture, bent on their knees, petitioning for mercy from their assassins. They were not assembled in a body, but dispersed in their separate houses and places of residence. This was not done by order of justice or by course of law, but by the rage and violence of a furious populace let loose from restraint. Among the victims were many persons confined by sickness or impotent from age, many honourable ladies and virtuous damsels of rank and family, many women with child, many youths entering on life, and many helpless children, many holy and learned men whose avocations excluded them from the profession of arms."

† The Bishop of London (Sandys) was very fearful lest the zeal of the preachers should lead them to say things which would not square with the queen's diplomatic relations with France. As the whole court was absent when the news of the massacre arrived, he wrote to

not recall her ambassador;—nay, she scarcely interrupted her matrimonial treaty, though she was glad to have an opportunity of telling the French court that a visit to England, which had been projected for her young suitor, the Duke of Alençon, would not be desirable in the present temper of her people. On the 27th of August Walsingham sent his secretary with a most civil message to Catherine de' Medici, thanking her and the king, her son, with most humble thanks for the great care it had pleased them to have of his safety and the preservation of the English in France "during this last *tumult*," for with this gentle word does the ambassador designate one of the most atrocious deeds recorded in any history.* In a few days he received instructions from his court to say, that it was hoped the French king might be able to prove to the world that there had been a conspiracy on the part of Coligni and the Huguenots; for that, otherwise, the king would hardly stand excused towards God and the world.† A few months after, to show her love to her good brother Charles, she stood godmother to his infant daughter; and she still kept talking of "the motion of the marriage" with the Duke of Alençon.‡ But other Protestant princes in Germany put themselves in a warlike attitude, and openly succoured the French Huguenots, who were soon in the field with an army of 20,000 men. Elizabeth, however, sent secret assistance both into France and into the Netherlands, where the persevering Dutch, under the Prince of Orange, maintained the struggle against all the forces which the Spanish monarchy could pour in that direction.

One of the first effects in England of the St. Bartholomew massacre was an outcry for the immediate execution of Queen Mary, a measure recommended by nearly the whole bench of bishops, from Parker the primate downwards. On the 5th of September Sandys, Bishop of London, proposed to Burghley forthwith to cut off the Scottish queen's head, who, he said, was the infirm part in the foundation of the existing state of things (*ipsa est nostri fundi calamitas*); to remove from the queen all Papists and private persuaders; to shut up the chief Papists of the realm in the Tower; to comfort, prefer, and place in authority the Protestants, "which only are faithful subjects;" and to displace all Papists whatsoever.§ The queen still shrunk from the odium of publicly imbruing her hands in her rival's blood; but she thought that it might be possible to get the thing safely done in Scotland. Killigrew was sent down to Edinburgh to arrange the matter, being charged not to commit his sovereign's honour by any too open proceeding. He was, in short, to keep himself in public to the settling of a treaty of pacification between the regency and Mary's adherents in Edinburgh Castle and elsewhere; but, in private, he was to propose the delivery of Mary into the hands of her enemies, that she might "receive that she had deserved there by order of justice;" and to demand as security to Elizabeth that they should deliver some of their children or nearest of kin to be kept as hostages in England.* Killigrew was instructed to say that the continuance of the Queen of Scots in England was found daily more and more dangerous both for the person of the queen's majesty and to her state and realm, so that nothing was more necessary than that the realm might be delivered of her; and, though by justice this might be done in the realm, yet for certain reasons it seemed better that Mary should be sent into Scotland.

But this negotiation fell to the ground through the unusual honour of the regent Marr, who was actively employed in arranging a very different pacification. He was labouring to effect a general union of the several rival factions into which the Scottish aristocracy was divided, an object for the accomplishment of which he seems to have been prepared to share his power with Maitland, Kirkaldy, Morton, and the other parties who had hitherto opposed his administration. In the midst of these patriotic negotiations, the Earl of Morton invited the regent to his house at Dalkeith and treated him very nobly; but the regent took a vehement sickness, which caused him to ride away to Stirling, where he died on the 28th of October of this present year, 1572. Some of his friends and the common people suspected he had "gotten wrong" at Morton's banquet.† On the 24th of November Morton, who was indisputably the greatest villain in Scotland, was chosen regent under the auspices of Elizabeth, whom he had already served in many particulars. His power had always been great, and now that it was supreme in Scotland, he devoted it to the two great objects of enriching himself by forfeitures and doing the will of the English queen. (A.D. 1573.) Killigrew remained with the new regent, and assisted him in arranging a separate treaty with the Earl of Huntley and the Hamiltons, by which Kirkaldy of Grange, Maitland of Lethington, and the others in Edinburgh Castle, were left to themselves to prolong a now hopeless struggle for Queen Mary. Maitland proposed an honourable capitulation: Morton in-

Burghley.—"The citizens of London, in these dangerous days, had need prudently to be dealt withal: the preachers appointed for the Cross in this vacation are but young men, unskilful in matters political, yet so carried with zeal that they will enter into them, and pour forth their opinions. If the league standeth firm betwixt her majesty and the French king (as I suppose it doth), they may perhaps, being not directed, utter speech to the breach thereof; how that will be liked of I doubt. If I may receive from your lordship some direction or advice herein, I will not fail to direct them so well as I can. The Dean of Paul's and I will first occupy the place, giving example how others may follow. .... Sundry have required a public fast and prayer to be had, for the confounding of these and other cruel enemies of God's gospel: but this I will not consent unto without warrant from her majesty."—*Wright.*

* Digges. In later letters, written to his friends in England, Walsingham expressed himself with proper indignation. He was the more indignant, as he fancied he had been duped by Charles IX.

† Id. ‡ Id. § Ellis.—Wright.

* Elizabeth wished to guard against "that further peril which might ensue by Mary's escaping, or being set up again." Killigrew was commanded to make the most "of the late horrible universal murder in France," and to move the Scots to have good regard that the like be not attempted among them. He was also commanded to use all good speed with the most secrecy that he can, and yet so to deal as that the matter (Mary's death) might rather be opened to him by the Scots than seem to be proposed by him to them.—*Burghley Papers.*

† Melville.

sisted on an unconditional surrender. At this crisis Elizabeth sent an army from Berwick, under Drury the marshal, who was furnished with heavy artillery, and with instructions to lay the castle in ruins. Though starving and destitute, the garrison under the brave and skilful Kirkaldy held out for thirty-four days, when they surrendered, expressly to Drury and the Queen of England, upon a general promise of favourable terms. But Elizabeth ordered that Maitland and Kirkaldy should be delivered up to Morton. At last all Maitland's undermining and countermining were at an end, and his subtle and refined genius stood rebuked and helpless: he ended his days on the 9th of June, a few weeks after the surrender of the castle. According to one account he took poison, and "died a Roman death;" according to another the poison was administered to him by Morton.* On the 3rd of August following the gallant Kirkaldy was hanged and quartered as a traitor, and thus perished the last remnant of Mary's party in Scotland. The French king, who had been repeatedly applied to by the captive queen and her ambassador, had refused to send any aid to Edinburgh Castle, lest Elizabeth should succour Rochelle, which he was then besieging. But this did not prevent Elizabeth from sending secret assistance to the besieged Huguenots, and permitting a great fleet to sail from her ports under the nominal command of the Count of Montgomery to attempt the relief of Rochelle. After various vicissitudes Rochelle was delivered from all fear, and the Huguenots found themselves strong enough to establish what was almost a settled and independent government in the heart of France. There were pacifications and campaigns of civil war in rapid succession, but the English queen and her ambassador Walsingham kept fair terms with the court, while they encouraged the Huguenots.

A.D. 1574.—In the month of May the wretched Charles IX. died a death of horror at Vincennes in the 26th year of his age. He was succeeded by his brother the Duke of Anjou, a former suitor of Elizabeth, who had been elected King of Poland two years before, but who was happy to return to his native country. This new king, Henry III., was detested by the Protestants for the part he had taken in the massacre; and he had not been a year on the throne when he detected a conspiracy to murder him, in which his own brother, the Duke of Alençon, Elizabeth's present suitor, was deeply implicated. Alençon escaped from the court, and began to levy troops for another war in conjunction with young Henry, the then Protestant King of Navarre. They both applied to Elizabeth for assistance; but she preferred the office of mediator, and, on the 14th of May, 1576, a treaty was concluded by which the Huguenots were to have permission to worship God in their own way in public churches, and Alençon obtained the honours, titles, and appanage which had been enjoyed by his elder brother Henry previous to his accession. From this time Alençon was styled Duke of Anjou. But this pacification was scarcely achieved when Henry III. placed himself at the head of a Catholic league, formed by the majority of his subjects, to protect their church from the attacks of the minority. In the month of February, 1577, he annulled at a blow the privileges granted to the Huguenots, who thereupon flew to arms.

At this moment the minds of Elizabeth and her ministers were rather occupied by the affairs of the Netherlands than by those of France. The Prince of Orange, after a tremendous struggle, had succeeded in establishing the independence of Holland and Zealand, and the Duke of Alva had been recalled to wither and die under the frowns and ingratitude of his master, Philip, for whom he had waded in blood. Alva had been succeeded by Zuniga, Commendator of Requesens, who, by policy and gentle measures, detached many of the partisans of the Prince of Orange, who, in his increasing difficulties, offered the sovereignty or the protectorship of Holland and Zealand to Elizabeth, who was assumed to be a representative of their ancient princes by her descent from Phillippa of Hainault, the wife of Edward III. The queen hesitated, and changed her mind more than once, but at last declared that she could not in conscience accept their offer, but that she would act as mediatrix between them and their lawful sovereign Philip. This answer was given in the month of February, 1576, but events occurred with wonderful rapidity which wholly changed the queen's plans. Requesens died, and was succeeded by John of Austria (a bastard son of the late Emperor Charles V.), a brave and popular commander; and it was rumoured that, not satisfied with the subjugation of the whole of the Netherlands, he contemplated an invasion of England and a marriage with the Queen of Scots. At the same time the Prince of Orange, in his despair, talked of offering the sovereignty of his country to Elizabeth's suitor Alençon, now Duke of Anjou. Upon this Elizabeth concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Orange party, protesting all the while to Philip that she merely intended to preserve to him the Netherlands from the grasp of the French, and to herself the kingdom of England free from invasion by his ambitious half-brother Don John. The English negotiator on this occasion was William Davison, who remained a long time with the States. The queen had already furnished large sums of money, but now they were in want of more, and Davison engaged to procure it on their giving adequate security. The Dutch diplomatist produced the valuable jewels and plate which had been pledged by Mathias of Austria to the States of Holland; and, on these things being sent to England, fifty thousand pounds were advanced for

* Killigrew himself says that Maitland died not without suspicion of poison. Melville and Spottiswood agree in saying that, being surrendered by Elizabeth, he died "after the Roman manner." Godscroft, the historian of the Douglases, says "He deceased on the 9th of July (June), at Leith, where he lay with Drury, before he was suspected and reported to have poisoned himself." Mary, in a letter addressed to her in her own hand, accused Elizabeth of the poisoning of Maitland and the most cruel hanging of Kirkaldy.

present exigencies.* In spite of the new spirit which had been infused into them by the English treaty, the Dutch were defeated in the great battle of Gemblours. They then applied, in a breath, to the Protestant princes of Germany, to Elizabeth, and to the Duke of Anjou. Cassimir, another of the English queen's suitors, marched into the Netherlands with a powerful army, and Anjou soon followed with ten thousand men. Neither, however, could do much against such great commanders as Don John and Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, who had recently arrived with another army of Spaniards and Italians. The Duke of Anjou excused his want of success by pleading his anxiety not to offend Elizabeth; and at this very moment he was renewing his suit with a rare ardour. He sent over Simier, a nobleman who possessed uncommon skill in amorous matters, and who was irresistibly witty and gallant. This Simier soon gained an extraordinary ascendancy over the mind of the queen, to whom he constantly represented that his employer Anjou was almost dying of love for her. He did more: he disclosed to her that the Earl of Leicester had recently married in private the widow of the late Earl of Essex. According to popular rumour the favourite had poisoned Essex to make way to his bed. Leicester stormed and protested; but, for the first time in his life, he found his royal mistress implacable. He was severely reprimanded, and placed in confinement at Greenwich. Elizabeth protested, as she had so often done before, that she would never agree to marry a man whom she had not seen. In the following summer (1580) the Duke of Anjou suddenly appeared at Greenwich, having travelled thither in disguise. The strong and masculine mind of Elizabeth was weaker than that of a child in some points, and this was one of them. The romance of the thing quite fascinated her; and it should appear that the adventurous lover's person made a favourable impression, notwithstanding his being somewhat disfigured by the small-pox. After a few days of ardent courtship, and much private talk, Anjou went his way. A few days after his departure Elizabeth assembled the lords of her council, and submitted to them "the great question." These lords were divided in opinion—some of them representing the danger to religion from a Catholic husband; the sinfulness of allowing the mass to be set up, though in private, in the royal palace; the peril to her majesty's life, if, at her age (she was now in her forty-ninth year), she should have issue; and the uselessness of the marriage if she had not.† Every account of Elizabeth's conduct at this critical moment is startling and perplexing, but most of them would lead us to believe that she was really anxious for a marriage with this young prince. Burghley, the scarcely less adroit Walsingham, her relative Hunsdon, Mildmay, Sadler,—all were lost in amazement, and doubt, and dread; for they had long ceased praying the Lord to send the queen a husband. It is said that she shed passionate tears upon finding that they did not unanimously petition her to marry, as they had done before. They were, however, too careful of their liberty and their places to offer any open opposition to what seemed to be the queen's wishes; and they actively drove on to its conclusion a preliminary matrimonial treaty with Simier. But in two months Elizabeth again declared that she would die a virgin queen. Again, however, in a few months, when a splendid embassy from Catherine de' Medici arrived in London (it was in the spring of 1581), she agreed that the marriage should be concluded within six weeks, but with a provision that she should be at liberty to change her mind again if certain secret stipulations were not previously fulfilled. It is difficult to understand, even with full reference to all her political relations at home and abroad,—it is impossible to reconcile to any fixed and wise principle the vacillating conduct of the queen. The States of the Netherlands, where her influence was great, formally elected the Duke of Anjou to be their sovereign; and when that prince marched into the country at the head of sixteen thousand men, heedless of her old anxieties about French ambition, she sent him a present of one hundred thousand crowns. Chiefly by means of this seasonable aid Anjou raised the siege of Cambray, and gained many other successes. On the approach of winter he put his troops into winter quarters, and hurried over to England, whither, it is said, he was now warmly invited by Elizabeth. His arrival was welcomed with fireworks and other rejoicings; and soon after the queen, before her whole court, took a ring from her finger and put it upon his. Hereupon the news was spread abroad upon the wings of the wind that the queen was going to marry at last. In Paris the news was, that the match could know no further impediment; in Antwerp and Brussels they lit bonfires and discharged artillery, as if it had really taken place. But, in the night, Elizabeth had talked with some of her council, and in the morning Anjou found his affianced bride pale and in tears; and before he left her apartment he was assured that she could never marry. The Frenchman returned to his own lodgings, where he threw the ring on the ground, venting some bitter reflections on the changeableness and caprice of English women.* It was, however, some time before these matters were made public; and the zealous Protestants continued to rail against the marriage, heaping all kinds of abuse, not only on the Duke of Anjou, but on the whole French nation, and much marvelling that the queen had not a better recollection of the feast of St. Bartholomew. The preachers had begun the attack some time before, by condemning the intended match from the pulpit, but they had been pretty well silenced. One Stubbs, of Lincoln's Inn, wrote an inflammatory attack, charging the queen with degeneracy

* Sir Harris Nicolas, "Life of William Davison, Secretary of State and Privy Councillor to Queen Elizabeth,"—a very valuable contribution to the history of this reign.

† Burghley Papers.—Sadler.

* Camden.—Mémoire de Nevers.—Daniel.

from her former virtue, and the Duke of Anjou with the most detestable vices. Elizabeth, by proclamation, defended the character of her suitor, and ordered the pamphlet to be burnt by the hangman. Stubbs, the publisher, and the printer, were all three condemned to lose their right hands, and to be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. The poor printer was pardoned, but the barbarous punishment was inflicted on the others. When his right hand was lopped off, Stubbs took off his hat with his left, and, waving it over his head, exclaimed, "Long live the queen!" After staying three months in England, Anjou prepared to depart, pledging, however, his word to the queen that he would soon return. She accompanied him as far as Canterbury, and there took leave of him, weeping like an amorous girl.* On his arrival in the Netherlands Anjou found very different employment: Alexander Farnese was not yet conquered,† and the Prince of Orange possessed in reality the power which nominally belonged to the French prince. Dissensions broke out between the French and the Dutch, and, in the month of June of the following year, Anjou, having witnessed the loss of the greater part of his troops, fled back to France. Soon after his return he fell into a lingering illness, of which he died in the month of June, 1584,—we need scarcely add, "not without suspicion of being poisoned," for no person of his quality went to the grave without some such rumour. Elizabeth's ambassador thought that the duke was still so dear to his mistress that he would not write an account of his death to her majesty "for fear of ministering cause of grief." The queen, shortly before, had accused the said ambassador of wishing his death, because he had mentioned that the duke was in danger.‡

We have alluded to the troubles of Ireland and to the views in that direction of France and Spain. That country had never been well governed or tranquil for a single year, but the difference of religion was now a perennial source of havoc and desolation. The native Irish had remained attached to the Roman church, and the efforts made by the English government and settlers to force them into conformity and to put down the mass constantly drove them into insurrection. Sometimes the English pale was wasted by fire and sword; but, generally speaking, the undisciplined Irish were the victims of that merciless war, and the power of the English continued to be progressive. Shane O'Neil was basely assassinated, and his lands, comprising the greater part of Ulster, were vested in the English crown as early as 1568. Numerous colonists were sent over from England to occupy these lands, where they had to maintain themselves by the sword, for the dispossessed proprietors struggled hard to keep their inheritance. In 1573 Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, undertook to subdue and colonize the district of Clan-huboy. He set sail with a small army of his own raising, but he met with little success. Most of his officers and a considerable portion of his men threw up the enterprise in disgust and returned home. Essex, who had utterly ruined his private fortune by the undertaking, remained in Ireland to serve against the insurgents wherever they might appear. In these duties he displayed great ability and bravery, but he was wretchedly seconded by the penurious and jealous court of England; and he died at Dublin in 1576, suspecting himself that he was poisoned.* The Irish priests naturally looked to the pope and the Catholic powers for assistance. From time to time they received encouraging messages from France and Spain; but the first to send them any real assistance in the shape of troops was Pope Gregory XIII. Six hundred disciplined troops and three thousand stand of arms were embarked at Civita Veccia, the nearest port to Rome, to fall down the Mediterranean, to touch at Lisbon, there to take on board Fitz-Morris, an Irish exile, and then to proceed to the Irish coast. But Stukely, the officer to whom this expedition was entrusted, proved a traitor or a mad adventurer: on reaching Lisbon he offered his services to Sebastian, King of Portugal, and, instead of going to Ireland to fight the English, he went to Africa to fight the Moors, who slew him, and King Sebastian, and all his host, at the battle of Alcazar. Fitz-Morris, who was a brother or half-brother of the Earl of Desmond, sailed from Lisbon in the right direction, but he had with him only about eighty Spanish soldiers, a troop of Irish and English Catholic exiles, and Saunders, the Jesuit, whom the pope had named his legate. Such a force could maintain itself nowhere, and the Irish had suffered so severely that they were slow to rise. Fitz-Morris, therefore, lingered among the moors and bogs; but in the following year, 1580, there was a great rising, and an Italian officer, in the

* "The departure was mournful betwixt her highness and monsieur: she loth to let him go, and he as loth to depart. Her majesty will not come to White Hall, because the places shall not give cause of remembrance to her of him with whom she so unwillingly parted. Monsieur promised his return in March."—Letter of Lord Talbot, in *Lodge, Illustrations.*

† Don John of Austria had died in the prime of his life. There is a horrible story which was generally believed by the Catholics on the continent: Egremont Ratcliffe, brother to the Earl of Sussex, who had been attainted for his share in the northern rebellion, and another Englishman named Gray, were arrested by the Spaniards, and on being put to the rack, they confessed that Walsingham had engaged them to assassinate Don John. No more credit is due to such confessions than to others extracted on the other side by the same means of torture; but the foreign writers add that Ratcliffe repeated his confession on the scaffold the moment before he was executed. The English, on the other hand, assert that both he and Gray declared themselves innocent of that wherewith they were charged. The case of Ratcliffe was attended by suspicious circumstances. After his flight from England he lived some years as a pensioner of Spain; but, in 1576, he stole into England. Being discovered, he was thrown into the Tower, but the government neither proceeded to try him or to execute him in virtue of the sentence of attainder, which last practice was adopted with Gray in the market-place of Namur. Herrera, the Spanish historian, says, without periphrasis, that "the said Ratcliffe being taken in the Tower of London, the Signor de Walsingham persuaded him, with great promises, to kill Don John."

‡ Burghley Papers.

* This was the unfortunate nobleman whose widow, a daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, Leicester, as mentioned above, married for his third wife.

pay of the pope, arrived from Portugal with six or seven hundred men, five thousand stand of arms, and some money. But these foreigners were presently assaulted both by sea and land, in an unfinished fort at or near to Smerwick, in the county Kerry. Two memorable men were in the English camp—Edmund Spenser, the author of the 'Faerie Queen,' and Walter Raleigh, then the captain of a company. The latter, who, in some respects, was not in advance of his age, took a conspicuous part in the carnage which ensued, and the gentle Spenser justified the atrocious deed with his pen. After resisting for three days, San Giuseppa, the Italian commander, hung out a flag of truce, and sent a secretary to the lord deputy, the Lord Grey of Wilton, whom Spenser calls "a most gentle, affable, loving, and temperate lord!" to treat for grace. According to Spenser, this was flatly refused. And afterwards, when their "colonel, named Don Sebastian, came forth to entreat that they might part with their arms like soldiers, at least with their lives, according to the custom of war and law of nations, it was strongly denied him, and told him, by the lord deputy himself, that they could not justly plead either custom of war, or law of nations, for that they were not any lawful enemies, and, if they were, he willed them to show by what commission they came thither into another prince's dominions to war, whether from the pope, or the King of Spain, or any other; the which when they said they had not, but were only adventurers that came to seek fortune abroad, and to serve in war amongst the Irish, who desired to entertain them, it was then told them, that the Irish themselves, as the earl, and John of Desmond, with the rest, were no lawful enemies, but rebels and traitors, and, therefore, they that came to succour them, no better than rogues and runagates, specially coming with no license, nor commission from their own king; so as it should be dishonourable for him in the name of his queen, to condition or make any terms with such rascals, but left them to their choice, to yield and submit themselves or no: whereupon the said colonel did absolutely yield himself and the fort, with all therein, and craved only mercy, which it being not thought good to show them, for danger of them, if, being saved, they should afterwards join with the Irish, and also for terror to the Irish, who are much emboldened by those foreign succours, and also put in hope of more ere long, there was no other way but to make that short end of them as was made."* The English, it should appear, did not pause to consider how these very arguments might be turned to the destruction of thousands of their own countrymen, who, with no express license nor commission from their queen, had been and actually were carrying on war in France, in the Netherlands, in the Spanish possessions in America. In the last-mentioned quarter the Spaniards soon came to consider the English as no better than rogues, and runagates, and rascals, and they slaughtered them without reference to the custom of war and the law of nations; but they had the bloody precedent of Limerick to throw in Elizabeth's face. The Irish and foreign writers, moreover, assert that the Lord Deputy Grey of Wilton promised the foreigners their lives; upon which they laid down their arms, and were all massacred in cold blood, with the exception of one Irish nobleman and a few Spanish officers; and, as veteran troops do not lay down their arms, even in extremities, without some such assurance, it may be conjectured that a promise, at least of life, was given. The English continued in that sharp course, and brought under the insurgents of Ulster and Connaught. In 1583 the Earl of Desmond, who had lain concealed for nearly three years in the wildest part of the country, was tracked and killed on his own hearth-stone by one Kelly of Moriarty, who cut off his head and sent it to Elizabeth. The earl's head was fixed upon London Bridge; and for some time there was peace in Ireland.

In Scotland there was the old state of confusion, intrigue, and treachery. The Regent Morton had scourged the country with a rod of iron, plundering in all directions, tampering with the coinage, and seeking every means to enrich himself. A border affray, in which several Englishmen of rank were slain, nearly involved him in a quarrel with Elizabeth; but, as he was useful, he continued to enjoy her protection. In 1578 a convention of the nobility insisted that James, who was now in his 13th year, was of a proper age to govern by himself. Morton was taken by surprise, and retired, as to the best place of safety, to Lochleven Castle. About three months after, he contrived to obtain possession of the person of the young king, and to resume his authority. The Earls of Argyle and Athole raised an army,—as they said, to rescue their sovereign from the captivity of the Douglases; but when a battle seemed inevitable, the English ambassador interfered, and patched up a reconciliation. Soon after, Morton gave a banquet to his adversaries; and the Earl of Athole, the chief of these, died of the dinner. And soon there ran a rumour that Morton was negotiating for the delivery of James into the hands of Elizabeth. At this moment Esmé Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, arrived from France, where he had been educated. He was the son of a second brother of the Earl of Lennox, the father of Darnley, and consequently a near relation to the young king, who at once took him into extraordinary favour. This, the first of James's many favourites, was handsome, graceful, and accomplished. His rise was proportionately rapid; he became Duke of Lennox, captain of the guard, first lord of the bedchamber, and lord high chamberlain. But, under this favourite, who knew little of Scotland, or of business of any kind, there was a minor favourite, James Stuart, commonly called Captain

* View of the State of Ireland, written dialoguewise between Eudoxus and Irenæus, by Edmund Spencer, Esq., in the year 1596.

Stuart, the second son of Lord Ochiltree, a family which also claimed kindred with the royal house. The captain, who had a turn for treachery and intrigue equal to that of Morton, had fully resolved to work the fall of the regent; and this he achieved after many difficulties, for Morton was strong in the prejudices and fears of the people, who were led to believe that the Duke of Lennox was an agent of the Guises, commissioned to restore the mass in Scotland. Morton had procured an act of parliament to ratify every act of his regency, and to indemnify him for any illegal exercise of authority into which he might have been led by the difficult circumstances of the times. It was, therefore, deemed imprudent to prosecute him for any part of his conduct as regent; but Morton, long before his regency, had been vehemently suspected of having a share in the murder of the king's father; and Captain Stuart, now created Earl of Arran, induced James to proceed against him on this account, alleging that the act of indemnity did not reach to the murderers, and that a sentence upon this fact would equally carry with it the forfeiture of Morton's life and of his immense wealth and wide estates, which would all fall to the king. The acute villain had grown somewhat dull with age; he allowed himself to be thrown into prison. Elizabeth sent down her old agent Randolph to interpose in his favour. The Prince of Orange and the Protestant King of Navarre also interfered—for Morton was deemed a sturdy Protestant, while the royal favourite, the young Duke of Lennox, was suspected of Papistry and a devotion to the French court. But these representations were not regarded, and Randolph, who was found out plotting with the Earls of Angus and Marr, was obliged to flee for his life.* Elizabeth even collected troops near the Borders to intimidate the Scots; but this measure was met by the levying of an army in Scotland, and James was made to send a messenger to demand explicitly whether the Queen of England wished to have peace or war. Her majesty then abandoned her creature to his fate, delicately protesting that it would not become her to make war in defence of a murderer; and old Morton, after a very irregular trial,† was submitted to the embraces of the "Maiden," a rude kind of guillotine, which he himself had introduced into Scotland a short time before. And thus perished another regent of Scotland. A portion of the trial is interesting, as bearing upon the question of Mary's guilt or innocence. The unanimous verdict of the jury brought the prisoner in guilty of concealing, or being art and part in the murder of Henry Darnley; and it was proved pretty clearly that his kinsman and confidant Archibald Douglas, and his servant Binning, were actually employed in the murder. It was also shown that he had given a bond to Bothwell, to secure him from punishment for that deed; and a paper was produced, which was said to be Bothwell's dying declaration, and which exonerated the queen from all share in the dark transaction. Morton, after sentence, confessed to the ministers of the kirk that, upon his return from England, after his exile for his part in the slaughter of David Rizzio, the Earl of Bothwell and his kinsman Archibald Douglas had solicited him to take part in a projected murder of Darnley; but he affirmed that he declined so doing, unless Bothwell could produce to him the queen's sign-manual in warrant of the deed. He alleged that Bothwell had promised him to produce such an assurance; but he admitted that he *never did*, and that he never saw anything from the queen to authorise the murder. He maintained that he had nothing whatever to do with the active part of the conspiracy; that he had concealed it, and kept Bothwell's secret, merely out of fear. But there was one striking circumstance which was now turned against him. After the assassination of Darnley, he (Morton) had promoted Archibald Douglas to be a judge of the Court of Session; and, when he was asked how he could reconcile this step with his pretended abhorrence of the murder, he had nothing to answer. His servant Binning was executed the day after his master; but the far more guilty Archibald Douglas escaped into England.

After the death of Morton, James nominally governed the kingdom by himself; but, in fact, the whole business of the state was managed, or mismanaged, by his favourite, the young Duke of Lennox, and by James Stuart, the new Earl of Arran. The latter was as great a scoundrel as Morton, without his ability and experience, and his private life was outrageously dissolute. He soon commenced an intrigue for the overthrow of the young Duke of Lennox, who had first put him in the way of court promotion; and the course he adopted speedily brought about the ruin both of his patron and of himself. At this moment the Catholics of England turned an anxious eye to the north, not only hoping that James, now that he was relieved from Morton, would make some exertions for his afflicted mother, but also that he might be won over, if not to their church, to a toleration of it—and his feelings in this respect would be of no small importance, as they saw that he would in all probability succeed to the English throne. Active intrigues were set on foot under the main direction of Parsons, the Jesuit, Waytes, an English Catholic clergyman, and Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit. But it was stated by, or for the king, that he was in a state of extreme poverty, and that, unless he were relieved and succoured from abroad, he must of necessity submit to the will of Elizabeth. Parsons flew to Spain, Creighton to Rome: Philip made James a present of 12,000 crowns; the pope promised 4000 crowns. Mary was made privy to the intrigue, and she offered, upon certain conditions, to legalise James's irregular accession. The English court was no stranger to what was passing, nor to the new conspiracy which ensued.

* The Earl of Angus was nephew to Morton.

† Morton's servants were barbarously tortured to force confessions from them.

The Earl of Gowrie, a son of the murderous Ruthven, invited James to his castle of Ruthven. The unsuspecting king accepted his invitation, and found himself a close prisoner. Then the authority of the state fell to the Earl of Marr, the Master of Glamis, the Lord Oliphant, and others, supported by the preachers, who proclaimed to their congregations that there had been a plot on foot to restore the mass and that limb of Satan, Queen Mary. Arran was taken and thrown into a dungeon; Lennox fled to France, where he died soon after—of course not without suspicion of poison. But, to prove that the Scottish preachers had been mistaken, he died a steady Protestant. When the news of her son's captivity reached Mary, she foresaw nothing less than his absolute ruin or murder, and, putting her own griefs out of consideration, she wrote a letter full of maternal tenderness and anxiety to Elizabeth, imploring her to interfere and save her only child. But Elizabeth was well satisfied with what had taken place, and she now left the affairs of Scotland to themselves. But the lords had never contemplated the violent measures which had suggested themselves to the affrighted imagination of a mother, and James, boy as he was, was their match, at least in dissimulation. He duped his gaolers into a belief that he forgave what had been done; he recovered his liberty, summoned a convention, and resumed the exercise of his authority, having formally pardoned all concerned in the Raid of Ruthven.

All this called for fresh precautions on the part of Elizabeth, who sent down her dexterous minister Walsingham. Intrigues almost inexplicable followed in rapid succession, and the English court was kept in an unceasing agony of alarm by reports of foreign invasions and inroads across the Borders; insurrections at home; plots against the queen's life; English St. Bartholomews. In this state Elizabeth gave full course to the penal code against the Catholics, which had been made more and more severe, and to the fears and fanaticism of her Protestant subjects. Spies and informers were let loose till the land swarmed with them: the adherents to the old faith were incessantly harassed, cast into prison on vague suspicions, ruined in their property and prospects. The conduct of government towards the Catholics somewhat resembled the brutal pranks of a set of boys who drive and torment a dog until he is mad, and then shoot him for being dangerous. And yet, after all, no dangerous Catholic conspiracy was ever traced to any great or powerful number of English subjects, —was never brought home to the doors of any but a few fanatics and inveterate plotters who had caught the infection of the times, when the ordinary proceedings of governments looked more like plots and intrigues than state business. Every man was tempted to work destruction on his personal enemy by the ease of the process with which he could accuse him of being unsound in religion and disaffected in politics. In this way Arden, a gentleman of an ancient family in Warwickshire, was sacrificed to the revenge of his neighbour Leicester. Arden's son-in-law Somerville, and Hall a missionary priest, and Arden's wife, were convicted of a conspiracy upon evidence extracted by the rack. Somerville strangled himself, or was strangled by others, in Newgate. Arden suffered the horrible death of a traitor. Hall, the priest, who had confessed on the rack, was suffered to live. Before this time Campion, an English Jesuit, who had been lurking in England, was put to the rack. He confessed nothing but the writing and distributing of works in favour of the church of Rome, nor does it appear that he was charged with any conspiracy, but he was executed with three priests named Sherwood, Kirby, and Bryant. Notwithstanding the prevailing fanaticism and panic which held in suspense all the generous feelings of the nation, people began to murmur at the frequent and increasing use of torture; and Burghley found it expedient to defend himself against public opinion. He protested that the Jesuit Campion had been racked *so gently* that he was soon after able to walk about and sign his confession.* Elizabeth did more: she proclaimed that torture should cease: but it ceased only in this specious proclamation,—in reality it became more active than ever. As the vile trade of an informer was a profitable one, many ingenious individuals took it up; and there was a wonderful increase of intercepted letters, forged documents, and lists found hid in Catholic houses,—found, we believe, in three cases out of four by those who had put them there—by the agents of the government. Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, son of the late Duke of Norfolk (one of the poor orphans for whom he had so implored and prayed), grew up a moody, melancholy man, and became a convert to Catholicism. From that moment he had been allowed no rest. To escape imprisonments and questionings, and the fate of his father and his grandfather, who had both suffered on the block, he resolved to quit his country, and, at the moment of departure, he wrote an affecting letter, which was to be delivered to the queen when he should be out of her reach. But some of his own servants, and the master of the vessel in which he intended to seek an asylum abroad, *were in the pay of Burghley*, and on their timely information he was seized on the coast of Sussex, brought up to London, and consigned to the Tower, where he died some years after in a miserable condition. Before his committal the Earl of Northumberland, the brother of the last earl, beheaded at York, had destroyed himself by discharging three pistol-bullets into his left breast in order to baulk Queen Elizabeth of the forfeiture of his lands. He had been accused of conspiring to liberate Queen Mary.† Passing over many

* Somers's Tracts.

† An historical doubt may be fairly raised whether this unfortunate Percy committed suicide or was assassinated. A dag or pistol was a sort of instrument not commonly left in the hands of a state prisoner in the Tower. To prove the suicide government brought forward one Mullan, who affirmed that he had sold a dag to the earl; and another state prisoner, named Pantan, who said that he saw it

other victims; we proceed to the Throckmorton plot, which was detected by the court, or invented by it, in 1584. Francis Throckmorton, a gentleman of Cheshire, was arrested on the evidence of an intercepted letter written by one Morgan, a supposed adherent of the Queen of Scots, though an agent of Burghley's, who was in France, and who, according to this letter, informed him that Mary's nephew, the Duke of Guise, was now ready to invade England for the purpose of liberating his relative. It was proved beyond a doubt that no such preparation existed in France; but that was nothing. Throckmorton was laid upon the rack: he was silent under the first torture; —he was racked again, and was still silent;—he was tortured a third time, and still confessed not. He was led a fourth time to the rack, and then certain papers were exhibited to him which were said to have been discovered in his house, and then the wretched man made some confessions in which he implicated Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador. Burghley summoned the ambassador before the privy council, and charged him with practising against the state. Mendoza indignantly repelled the charge, and retorted by accusing Burghley of robbing his master King Philip; of encouraging the rebellious subjects of Spain; and, amongst other things, he charged a certain counsellor of her majesty with having engaged the brother of a certain lord to murder Don John of Austria. The ambassador was sent out of the kingdom. Throckmorton, after a strange trial, was sent to the gallows and the executioner's knife at Tyburn. On the scaffold he declared that there had been no conspiracy, and (calling God to witness) that the confession he had made was a mere fiction invented to save his body from further torture. The Lords Paget and Charles Arundel, who had been named in the intercepted letter, had escaped into France, whence they put forth a declaration stating that they had fled because they feared Leicester and Walsingham, and because they knew that their innocence would not avail them against forged letters.

A.D. 1584.—In the autumn of this year Elizabeth summoned a new parliament; for, notwithstanding her thrift, she was deplorably in want of money. The commons voted liberally, and at the same time they passed fresh penal statutes against the Catholics. The blow was principally directed against the Jesuits, the seminary priests, and all English priests who had received consecration from the Bishop of Rome. Forty days were allowed them to quit the kingdom for ever: if found after that term they were to die the death of traitors; and all those who concealed them, or gave them hospitality, would be held as being guilty of felony. All persons knowing of such priests being within the realm, and not discovering them within twelve days, were to be fined and imprisoned. The English Catholics, having no schools allowed to them at home, had of late years sent their sons abroad for education, more especially to the college of Douay, a large establishment conducted by the Jesuits, who had obtained great reputation as teachers: but it was now enacted that all such students abroad as did not return home within six months after proclamation made should be deemed traitors; that all who furnished them with money should incur a premunire; that parents sending their children to such seminaries without license should forfeit one hundred pounds; and that the children there educated should be disinherited.* On the third reading of this bill Dr. Parry, a Welshman and a civilian, who had recently been returned to the House of Commons, and, as it should appear, through the nomination of Burghley, denounced it as a measure savouring of treasons, full of blood, danger, and despair to English subjects, and pregnant with fines and forfeitures which would go to enrich, not the queen, but private individuals. For this speech Dr. Parry was given into the custody of the serjeant-at-arms; but he was released on the following day by command of the queen, who stated that he had explained his motives partly to her satisfaction. Six weeks after Parry was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. On the 25th of February, 1585, he was put on his trial before a special commision in Westminster Hall, where he pleaded guilty, and with unusual alacrity confessed monstrous things, and read and translated himself to the court sundry foreign letters which were brought in evidence against him, the court taking great pains to suggest copious explanations for the satisfaction of "the great multitude," and he most readily entering into these explanations. According to his averment, which certainly was not proved by any of the letters produced, not only some Jesuits, but also the Cardinal Como and the Pope himself, had encouraged him to assassinate Queen Elizabeth. He had been frequently with the queen, but he said that his heart had failed him in contemplating her glorious mind and person. It seems to us evident, from the whole course of the trial, that he was a mere tool, and that he confessed and acted as never man did before that tribunal, from a full assurance that he was to receive both a pardon and a reward. But he had done his work, and could be no longer useful as a spy and entrapper. An effective scene was wanted to fix the notions of the queen's danger and the Catholic atrocity in the minds of the

delivered into the hands of the earl by a servant of the name of Price. But this Price, though in custody, was not produced.—*Howel's State Trials.*

According to Camden the Catholics did not believe in the suicide, but cast some doubts and suspicion upon a servant of Sir Christopher Hatton, which servant had been charged with the custody of the Earl of Northumberland just before his death. In a letter—an infernal letter—written, at a later period, by Sir Walter Raleigh to Burghley's son, Sir Robert Cecil, recommending him to get the Earl of Essex put out of the way, and not to fear after revenge from the earl's son, Raleigh says, "Northumberland that now is thinks not of Hatton's issue. Kelloway lives that murdered the brother of Orsay, and Orsay let him go by all his lifetime."—*Burghley Papers.*

If this be not an assuming as a fact known both to Raleigh and to Sir Robert Cecil that the Earl of Northumberland had been murdered by the contrivance of Hatton, we are wonderfully mistaken.

* Stat. 27 Elizabeth, c. 2.

people, and the Chief Justice accordingly passed sentence. Then Parry changed his tone, exclaiming that he was innocent, that his confession was a mere invention, and that he summoned Queen Elizabeth to answer for his blood before God. He also said, "I never intended to kill Queen Elizabeth. I appeal to her own knowledge, and to my lord treasurer's and master secretary's." He afterwards wrote a letter to the queen, telling her to remember her unfortunate Parry, chiefly overthrown by her hand. On the scaffold he repeated his denial of the whole of his confession, vowing that he was a true servant to the queen,—that he never thought of harming her, as she well knew, and as her own conscience would tell her. Sir Francis Knollys, who with others of the court was present at the revolting execution, urged his guiltiness. "Oh!" said Parry, "I pray God, Queen Elizabeth do not find that, in taking away my life, she hath killed one of the best keepers in her park." He was presently turned from the ladder, and, after one swing of the rope, was cut down alive; and when his bowels were taken out he gave a great groan.* It has been supposed by some that this sacrifice was crazed, and this may be the fact without any weakening of our suspicion as to the use which had been made of him.

The Catholics presented a petition against the late enactments, vindicating their loyalty and their religion,—declaring that they utterly abhorred all such projects of assassination as had recently been spoken of,—and held that neither priest nor pope could license that which was sinful. Richard Shelley, of Michael Grove, in Sussex, undertook to present this petition to the queen, who forthwith committed him to prison, where he died after a confinement of some years. The captive Queen of Scots, who saw herself altogether abandoned by her only child, now thought that every night would be her last. What seemed to aim at her life was an association recently entered into, called the Protestant Association, against all the enemies of Queen Elizabeth. The members of it solemnly swore to defend the queen, and to revenge her death or any injury committed against her. Leicester was at the head of it, and it had been confirmed by parliament.

The state of Elizabeth's foreign relations at this time was altogether anomalous. There was and there had been no declaration of war with Spain, but yet, ever since 1570, when the great Drake obtained a regular commission,† that commander and others who followed his example had been plundering in the West Indies, in Spanish America, and in the Pacific. The right which Spain assumed of considering the New World as treasure-trove, and of excluding from its commerce the ships of all other nations, was indeed monstrous; but, on the other hand, it will be difficult to consider Drake, Hawkins, and the rest, in any other light than that of buccaneers, however much we may admire their daring spirit and the great contributions they made in the course of their marauding expeditions to the sciences of navigation and geography. Drake, in the course of three expeditions, had plundered the Spanish towns of Nombre de Dios and Carthagena, and nearly all the towns on the coast of Chili and Peru, and had destroyed or taken an immense number of Spanish ships, returning from each voyage with immense booty. Elizabeth insisted that she and other nations had a right to navigate those seas and to visit the ports which the jealousy of the Spaniards kept closed to all save their own flag, and that it was contrary to the laws of nations to treat intruders as pirates; but there being no declaration of war, she certainly committed in this way manifold acts of real piracy. Again, in the Netherlands, the King of Spain was everywhere met by English money and English resources, which had enabled those whom he termed his revolted subjects to prolong the struggle year after year. For a long time Elizabeth furnished her aid with all possible secresy, denying to the Spanish court that she ever abetted rebels. But the course of events forced her to adopt a more open practice; and though she again declined the sovereignty or protectorship of the country, she, in 1585, sent over a royal army of six thousand men, having bargained with the States that they should pay all her expenses, and deliver to her, as securities, the towns of Brill and Flushing, and Rammekins, a strong and important fort. The queen's passionate regard for Leicester had cooled since the revelation of his secret marriage with the Countess of Essex; and that earl was now permitted to take the command of the army in the Netherlands, where he entertained very ambitious projects, and displayed a woful want both of military and civil ability. Without consulting his mistress, he induced the States to name him Governor-General of the Low Countries, and to declare his authority supreme and absolute, jointly with the council of state. Elizabeth wrote to him in a fury, telling him to remember the dust from which she had raised him, and to do whatever she might command as he valued his neck. The States, who had thought to please the queen by elevating her favourite, were in great perplexity, and Leicester soon showed them, in other ways, that they had committed a lamentable mistake in intrusting a sovereign power to such an incapable, arrogant, and insolent man, whose first operations were to cramp the freedom of commerce, which had given life and energy to the insurgents. In the field he was pompous, vain-glorious, and inefficient, presenting a wretched contrast to Alexander Farnese, the Prince of Parma, who still prolonged the struggle for Spain with remarkable generalship. He carefully avoided a battle, and his greatest affair of arms was an attack upon Zutphen, which failed, and which would scarcely deserve a mention in history but for the death of the gallant and accomplished Sir Philip Sidney, who perished

* Strype.—Jardine.—This Dr. Parry had been employed for many months as a spy on the English Catholics abroad.

† The buccaneers had commenced operations as early as 1530. Drake himself had commanded several marauding expeditions before, but he did not get the queen's commission till 1570.

there in the 25th year of his age.* The best-managed part of his campaign was his hunting all Catholics from places of profit and trust, and his captivating the Calvinistic preachers of the Low Countries by such measures, and by a very sanctimonious bearing. When the States ventured to call him to account for his gross misconduct, this noble grandson of a tax-gatherer and extortioner† promised redress, but complained to his creatures that one of his rank should be questioned by shopkeepers and artisans.‡ In the winter of 1586, having pacified the queen, he returned to England, still, however, retaining the power intrusted to him in the Low Countries. He was scarcely gone when two adventurers (Englishmen by birth), whom he had placed in command, delivered up two important forts to the Prince of Parma, and went over to the Spaniards.

By this time there began to rise a rumour that the King of Spain was preparing to invade England with a tremendous force, and some Catholic plot or other at home was the news of every day. Most—nearly every one—of these conspiracies were conjured up by the imagination, or were altogether obscure and insignificant; but, in the autumn of 1586, a real plot was discovered, at the head of which was Anthony Babington, a young English Catholic of an enthusiastic temper, who was brought to consider that it would be glorious in this world and acceptable in the next if he could assassinate Elizabeth and deliver Queen Mary from a captivity which was now rendered an unceasing torture, physically as well as morally. Babington had several accomplices, and one of these, named Pooley, put himself in direct communication with Walsingham, who was informed of every particular from the first rude arrangement of the scheme, and who permitted the plot to go on in order to implicate Mary. When he had played with the numerous threads of this intrigue for months, and had woven a complete web round the conspirators,—when he had obtained possession of two letters addressed by Mary to Babington,—he opened the subject to Elizabeth, and soon after proceeded to act. Ballard, a seminary priest, whom Camden calls "a silken priest in a soldier's habit," was suddenly arrested. Babington and the rest, who were all young men of fortune and acquirements, fled; but Babington was taken, in a few days, at Harrow-on-the-Hill, with Gage, Charnock, Barnwell, and Don, in the house of Bellamy their common friend. Titchborn, Travers, Abington, Salisbury, Jones, and Tilney were seized in other places, and of the whole number only Edward Windsor, the brother of Lord Windsor, escaped pursuit. These were no base and mercenary conspirators,—they were such high-spirited and intellectual young men as could not have been easily matched in the kingdom. But it appears that they were all put to the rack, or at least threatened with it; a gratuitous atrocity, for Walsingham, Burleigh, and the queen knew precisely all that could possibly be known of the business. While this was doing the bells of London rang merrily for their apprehension,—bonfires were lit,—and, on the morrow, banquets were spread in the streets, with singing of psalms and praising God for preserving her majesty and people.* The fate of the prisoners, however, on account of their youth, their honourable condition in society, and their previously unimpeached characters, excited some commiseration, and this seems to have been the cause of the government arraigning them not all at once, but in two separate bodies, notwithstanding the great legal objection that their case was one and indivisible. On the 13th of September, certain of them being put upon their trial, were condemned as traitors, and executed on the 20th, with a scrupulous attention to the atrocious processes prescribed by law, being all cut down while life was in them. The other seven were tried on the 15th and were all executed on the 21st, but, in this more fortunate than their companions, they were allowed to hang till they were dead. The place selected for their execution was Lincoln's Inn Fields, "even the place where they had used to meet and confer."† With the exception of Babington, it seems to be extremely doubtful whether any of these gentlemen contemplated the murder of the queen, and, with the single exception of Babington, all of them behaved chivalrously and nobly, endeavouring to take blame to themselves rather than cast it upon their companions. Most of them maintained that their views were confined to liberating the captive queen, a project likely to take firm hold of young and romantic minds. Titchborn, who possessed a tender heart and a poetical imagination, declared on the scaffold that he had only been guilty of concealing Babington's designs, which he had done from his sense of the sacred duties of friendship. Jones said at the bar that he could not, by divulging the plot, destroy his dear friend, Thomas Salisbury, and that in doing what a faithful friend ought, he had incurred the sentence of a traitor, though he was far indeed from any active treason. Bellamy, of Harrow, appears to have suffered merely because some of the fugitives were found in his house. His wife escaped, through a misnomer in the indictment. A statute had been just passed to meet the case, and to bring Mary to the block;‡

* Sir Philip Sidney was nephew o Leicester, but as unlike his uncle as light to dark.

† For the history of Leicester's grandfather, Dudley, the colleague of Empson, see ante, Reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.

‡ Grotius.

* Stow. The Protestant people of London were so excited that the French ambassador was afraid they would set upon and massacre all the Catholics and foreigners!

† Stow.

‡ Stat. 27 Eliz. c. 1. By this statute it was enacted that twenty-four or more of the privy council and House of Lords, to be deputed by the queen's commission, should make inquisition after all such as should invade the kingdom, raise rebellion, or attempt to hurt or destroy the queen's person, for or by whomsoever employed that might lay claim to the crown of England; and that the person for whom or by whom they should attempt the same, should be utterly incapable of the crown of England, deprived wholly of all right and title to it, and prosecuted to death by all faithful subjects, if he or she should be judged by those four-and-twenty men to be a party to such invasion, rebellion, or treasonable attempt.

and as what was deemed evidence against her had been secured from the Babington conspiracy, Elizabeth's council now proposed an immediate trial of the Scottish queen. But even now Elizabeth hesitated, to the dismay and secret wrath of Burghley, Walsingham, Sadler, and the rest of the ministry. At this moment Leicester, who was abroad, stepped in with what he considered a masterpiece of advice, proposing a little quiet poison. Walsingham, who had the chief management of the affair, objected to such a course as being contrary to God's law; upon which the earl sent him a canting preacher to prove that such means against such a person were quite justifiable by scripture. There was then a talk of shortening the captive's life by increasing the rigour of her treatment, which, in fact, had already been rigorous enough to make a sickly cripple of that once healthful and beautiful woman. At last, giving herself up entirely to the advice of Walsingham, Elizabeth issued a commission to try Mary and pronounce judgment upon her according to the act recently passed. There was no want of high names or of legal authorities in this most illegal commission. There were the Chancellor Bromley, the Lord Treasurer Burghley, the Earls of Oxford, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, and Lincoln; the Viscount Montague, the Lords Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, Stourton, Sandys, Wentworth, Mordant, St. John of Bletsoe, Compton, and Cheney; Sir James Croft, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Amyas Pawlet; Wray, chief justice of the Common Pleas; Anderson, chief justice of the King's Bench; Manwood, chief baron of the Exchequer; and Gawdy, one of the justices of the Common Pleas.

Mary had been moved from one prison to another, each remove being to a worse place, and to a harsher keeper. In the spring of the preceding year, Sir Ralph Sadler had been appointed to take charge of her, to his own great grief—for Elizabeth had become so much alarmed, that no degree of vigilance and severity towards the captive could satisfy her. There was a sort of poetical justice in what happened. Sir Ralph's old age was made wretched through the Scottish queen, whose power he had undermined by matchless intrigues in her infancy, and he prayed for death to deliver him from his difficult charge and his mistress's jealousy. He was superseded by Sir Amyas Pawlet and Sir Drew Drury, both fanatical Puritans and friends of the Earl of Leicester, who conscientiously annoyed and persecuted the Papist and idolator. About Christmas they had carried her, in a deplorable state both of body and mind, to Chartley Castle, in Staffordshire. On the 8th of August, a few days before the arrest of Babington, she was taken from Chartley under pretext of an airing, and carried by force to Tixhall, in the same county. She was carried back to Chartley in a few weeks; but, in the interval, her two faithful secretaries Naue and Curle had been taken into custody and conveyed to Walsingham's house, where they were kept; her cabinets at Chartley had been broken open, and a large chest had been filled from them with letters and papers, and conveyed to Walsingham. On the 10th of December, Pawlet discharged what he called Mary's superfluous servants, and seized all her money and jewels. Mary resisted at first; but, he says, "I called my servants, and sent for bars to break open the doors, whereupon she yielded." According to the gaoler's own account, he found her in bed, suffering greatly, and being bereft of the use of one of her hands.* A few days after the execution of Babington and the twelve other victims, orders were sent down to Sir Amyas Pawlet to remove Mary with all possible care and vigilance from Chartley to Fotheringay Castle, in Northamptonshire, the last scene of the captive's sufferings. There had been for some time a standing order to shoot the prisoner if she were found trying to escape, or if any dangerous attempt at rescue should be made. Pawlet again pretended that nothing more was meant than to revive the queen by giving her a change of air; but, avoiding the public roads, he led her about from one gentleman's house to another, and Mary knew not whither she was going until, at last, she saw herself shut up within the dismal walls of Fotheringay. When Elizabeth learned that she was safely lodged there, her gratitude burst forth in an unusual enthusiasm to the able manager of the journey. "Amyas, my most faithful and careful servant," wrote the queen to the gaoler, "God Almighty reward thee trebleford for thy most troublesome charge so well discharged!" Shortly after, Pawlet received orders, "in case he heard any noise or disturbance in Mary's lodgings, or in the place where she was," to kill her outright without waiting for any further power or command. Before the trial, as after it, Elizabeth would have preferred any kind of death to that of an execution under her own warrant. But though Mary had a narrow escape one night when the chimney of her wretched dungeon took fire, she lived on. At length, on the 11th of October, thirty-six of the English commissioners arrived at Fotheringay Castle; and on the following day they sent Sir Walter Mildmay, Pawlet, and Barker, a public notary, to deliver to the prisoner a letter from Elizabeth, charging her with being accessory to the Babington conspiracy, and informing her that they were appointed to try her for that and for other treasons. Mary read the letter with composure, and replied, with great dignity, to the commissioners—that it grieved her to find her dear sister misinformed; that she had been kept in prison until she was deprived of the use of her

* Letter from Sir Amyas Pawlet to Walsingham, quoted by Rammer. At this moment we find Walsingham lamenting, as Burghley had done some years before, that Elizabeth was not prepared to do things in season, and work her own security as she ought: and he adds, in the cant of the times, "Our sins do deserve this, especially our unthankfulness for the great and singular benefits it hath pleased God to bless this land withal."

FOTHERINGAY, as it appeared in 1718, from a Print in Bridge's Northamptonshire. The Castle, pulled down by order of James I., stood on the Hill to the right of the Church; and the tradition of the neighbourhood points to its left as the spot where the Hall stood in which Mary was beheaded.

limbs, notwithstanding her having repeatedly offered reasonable and safe conditions for her liberty; that she had given her majesty full and faithful notice of several dangers which threatened her, and yet had found no credit, but had always been slighted and despised, though so nearly allied to her majesty in blood; that when the Protestant Association was entered into, and the confirming act of parliament made upon it, she clearly foresaw that, whatever dangers should arise, either from princes abroad, or ill-disposed people at home, or for the sake of religion, the whole blame would be thrown upon her, who had unhappily so many enemies at the English court; that certainly she had reason to take it amiss that a league should be so lately made by her son, without her knowledge or consent; that it seemed most strange that the queen should command her, her equal, to submit to a trial as a subject; that she was an independent queen, and one that would do nothing that might be prejudicial to her own majesty or to other princes of her rank and quality, or to her son's rights; that her mind was not yet so far dejected, nor would she sink under the present calamity. "The laws and statutes of England," continued Mary, "are unknown to me; I am void of counsellors, and cannot tell who shall be my peers. My notes and papers are taken from me, and no one dares appear to be my advocate. I have committed nothing against the queen—have stirred up no man against her, and am not to be charged but from my own words or writings, which I am sure cannot be produced against me. Yet I cannot deny that I have recommended myself and my condition to foreign princes." On the next day, Pawlet and Barker returned to her from the commissioners to ask whether she persisted in her answer. She replied that she did most firmly. "But this," added she, "I had quite forgotten. The queen says I am subject to the laws of England, and to be tried and judged by them, because I am under the protection of them. But to this I answer, that I came into England to demand her aid and assistance, and have ever since been detained a prisoner, so that I could not enjoy the protection of the laws of England; nor could I ever yet understand what manner of laws they were."* In fact, the only law which the captive queen had known in England was the arbitrary will, the fierce hatred, of her sister. In the afternoon of the same day, there went to her certain selected persons from among the commissioners, "with men learned in the civil and canon laws," to persuade her to a compliance. The Lord Chancellor Bromley and the Lord Treasurer Burghley justified their authority by their patent and commission, told her that neither her state as a prisoner, nor her prerogative as a queen, could exempt her from subjection to the laws of England, and threatened, if she refused to plead, to proceed against her by authority of law, although she were absent. She replied, with undiminished firmness,

* Camden, Life and Reign of Elizabeth.

that she was no subject, nor liable to English law; that she would rather die a thousand deaths than dishonour herself by any such submission; that, however, she was willing to answer all things in a free and full parliament; and that, as for this meeting, it might probably be devised against her, who was already prejudged to die, to give some legal show and colour to their proceedings; and, therefore, she desired they would look to their consciences, and remember that the theatre of the whole world is much wider than the kingdom of England.* She then complained, in a touching manner, of her hard usage; but Burghley interrupted her, assuring her that the queen his mistress had always treated her with a rare kindness! A few hours after, they sent her the list of the names of her judges, "to let her see they designed to proceed by equity and reason." Although nearly every name was that of an inveterate personal enemy, she made no exceptions against the commissioners, which would have been useless; but—what was equally useless—she objected strongly to the late act, upon which their commission was founded, as being unjust and unprecedented, and purposely contrived to ruin her. She said that she could not away with the queen's laws, which she had good reason to suspect; but that she was heart-whole still, and would not derogate from the honour of her ancestors the kings of Scotland, by owning herself a subject to the crown of England, and that she would rather perish utterly than answer as the queen's subject and a criminal person. Here Burghley interrupted her, saying, "We will, nevertheless, proceed against you tomorrow, as absent and contumax." Mary replied, "Look to your consciences." Then the perfumed and court-like Vice-Chamberlain Hatton said, "If you are innocent you have nothing to fear; but by seeking to avoid a trial, you stain your reputation with an everlasting blot." This timely speech made a great impression, and on the following morning Mary consented to plead for the sake of her reputation, but on condition that her protest against the authority of the court should be allowed, and that she should do nothing to derogate from the honour of her successors or predecessors. Burghley asked her if she would appear at her trial provided her protest was entered in writing, without being fully admitted by them. Here Mary ought to have replied with a decided negative; but, in reality, protest or no protest was of the slightest consequence; and as they had threatened to proceed in her absence, and as they could easily force a weak and helpless woman to their bar, the queen consented.

On the 14th of October the commissioners assembled in the presence-chamber of Fotheringay Castle. At the upper end of this hall was a vacant chair of state, royally canopied, as if for the Queen of England, and "below it, and at some distance over against," was a chair without any canopy, for the Queen of Scots. The commissioners and their assistants, including the most expert lawyers of the day, sat upon benches placed towards the wall on either side of the apartment. Mary had no assistant—no papers—no witnesses; for everything had been taken from her: and yet, even according to the prejudiced accounts of her enemies, she displayed wonderful self-possession and address; and, in the striking words of a modern, and perhaps too favourable historian, she for two whole days kept at bay the hunters of her life.* Upon her first entrance, as soon as she had taken her seat, the Chancellor Bromley told her that the most serene Queen Elizabeth, being informed, to her great grief and trouble of mind, that she had conspired the destruction of her person and of the realm of England, and the subversion of religion, had appointed this present commission to hear how she could vindicate herself from the charge, and make her innocence appear to the world. Mary then rose, and said, that she had come into England as a friend and sister, to ask the aid which had been promised her, and had ever since been detained a prisoner; and then she repeated her protest against the authority of the court. The chancellor denied that any aid had been promised her; but there he stopped, not venturing to explain, promise or no promise, by what law Elizabeth had constituted her a state prisoner, or attempt to lessen the odium which had been generally cast on the national hospitality. But he told her that, as she had been living in England, she was subject to the English laws, and that therefore her protest could not be admitted. It was, however, agreed that her protest should be recorded, together with the chancellor's reply to it. They then read their commission at full length, and, as it was wholly founded upon the late act, she again protested against the said act as being made expressly against herself; and appealed for the truth of this, her assertion, to the consciences of men who had no conscience in state matters of this kind. Burghley, who would have had the grass growing over her grave many years before, told her that the validity of laws and acts of parliament did not depend upon their antiquity,—that new laws were as good as old ones, and equally binding,—that it did not become her to speak against them,—and that, in spite of her protests, they were all resolved to proceed against her by that said act of parliament. Mary said that she was ready to hear and answer concerning any fact against Queen Elizabeth. Then Gawdy, the queen's serjeant, opened the case against her with an historical account of Babington's conspiracy; asserting, at the close of his oration, that she knew of it, approved it, assented to it, promised her assistance, and showed the way and means for effecting it. When the serjeant had done speaking, sundry *copies* of letters which were said to have been written to her by Babington, and by her to Babington and others, were produced. According to these second-hand documents, which contained a scheme of the whole

* Camden, Life and Reign of Elizabeth.

* Dr. Lingard.

conspiracy, the captive queen had not only invited foreign powers to the invasion of England, but had also encouraged Babington and his associates to assassinate their sovereign. During the reading of these letters Mary was calm; but when, in the last letter, mention was made of the unfortunate Earl of Arundel, the son of the Duke of Norfolk, she burst into tears, and said, "Alas! what has the noble House of Howard endured for my sake!" But, presently drying her tears, she replied to this part of the evidence, declaring that she knew not Babington, nor ever received any such letters from him, nor wrote any such to him,—that they who pretended that she had written to Babington ought to produce her letters in her own hand-writing, and that if Babington wrote letters to her they ought to prove that she received them. There was, indeed, she said, a packet of letters put into her hand about the time alleged, but they had been written almost a year before, and she knew not who sent them. She said that many persons, compassionating her hard fate, had secretly made her offers of service, but that she neither excited nor encouraged any of these, though she, a close prisoner, cut off from the world, and for long periods from all knowledge of what was passing in it, could not hinder their enterprises. She was not answerable for the deeds of others. She had, indeed, used her best endeavours for the recovery of her liberty, as nature itself dictated and allowed; and to this end she had solicited the assistance of her friends. Others might have attempted dangerous designs without her knowledge; and it was an easy matter to counterfeit cyphers and characters. Although she denied prompting an invasion of England, she was less emphatic on that point than on the accusation of being privy to the plots againt Elizabeth's life: here she vowed repeatedly that she would never make shipwreck of her soul by engaging in such a bloody crime. In reply to a letter said to have been written by her to provoke an invasion, she declared that she suspected Walsingham as the author of that letter: and Walsingham, in fact, had handled every letter in his own way.* But the bronzed secretary stood up in his place, and solemnly called God to witness that he had done nothing in malice,—nothing unworthy of an honest man: and no doubt he thought that an honest man might do more than he had ever done for the sake of the queen and the Protestant settlement. Mary seemed to be satisfied with his disavowal; but she requested him, as a fair return, to be no more ready to believe those who slandered her than she was to credit those who accused him. The greatest weight of evidence was made to lie in the confession of Babington, and the extorted depositions of her own servants, Naue and Curle. In regard to Babington, she objected, that, if her adversaries had wished to discover the truth, they would have kept him for a witness, instead of putting him to death, —that his confession, if really made in the manner now set forth, was of no value, as it might have been dictated by the hope of mercy: as to the secretaries, she replied that Naue was a simple and timid man, and that Curle was the follower of Naue; their depositions might have proceeded from their anxiety to save their own lives. Naue, she said, had formerly committed the offence of writing certain things in her name without her authority. She demanded to be confronted with her two secretaries: the commissioners refused to produce them. Then Mary urged that the majesty and safety of princes must fall to the ground if they were to depend in this manner upon the writing and testimony of secretaries—that she was sure, if Naue and Curle were there present, they would clear her of all blame in this case,—that if they had not taken away all her notes and papers, she might answer more particularly to what was objected. There was another and a strong objection to the testimony of Naue and Curle, even if their depositions were free and ungarbled: they had both been sworn, as secretaries, to keep her secrets: if they had accused her truly they had perjured themselves to her; if falsely, they perjured themselves to the Queen of England.* The prosecutors read the heads of several letters addressed to the lately expelled Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, and to Sir Francis Englefield, Charles Paget, and other Englishmen abroad, among whom was that Morgan who had all along been in the pay of Walsingham. We have no doubt, in our own minds, that the captive queen, in her despair, wrote letters of this kind, approving of a plan of invasion, and offering to contribute to its success, by inducing her friends in Scotland to take up arms, to seize the person of James, and to prevent Elizabeth's friends from sending Scottish troops to her assistance; and it is quite certain, from the perfect machinery he had at work, that Walsingham might obtain possession both of her dispatches and of the letters written to her from abroad. It was not, however, considered decent to explain the nature of this machinery, and it was alleged that the original drafts of these dispatches and the foreign letters were all found amongst her papers at Chartley,—a most improbable circumstance, considering the situation of Mary, liable every moment to intrusion and seizure. And yet some of these letters from abroad, garbled as they might have been, went rather to disprove than to prove Mary's actual participation in the plots against Elizabeth's life. In regard to the whole of them, Mary said that they bore no relation to the destruction of the queen; and, if foreigners endeavoured to set her

* Some of the letters were widely different now from what they had been when produced on Babington's trial at London.

* Curle afterwards reproached Walsingham with breaking his promise, and not giving him the proper reward. Naue, in 1605, wrote an apology, which would certainly have more weight if Mary's son James, to whom it was addressed, had not been King of England, with ample powers both to punish and reward. "The sentence," says Camden, "which depended wholly upon the credit of her secretaries, and they not being brought face to face, according to the act of parliament, begot much talk and various discourses among the people." "I have seen," he adds, "Naue's apology to King James, in 1605, wherein he solemnly excused himself that he was neither the author nor the revealer of the design, and that he had stoutly opposed the principal articles of accusation against his mistress, which appeareth not by the proceedings."

at liberty, that was not to be imputed to her as a crime: she had at several times let the queen know that she would seek to procure her release from that hard captivity in which she had been kept for nearly twenty years. The commissioners insisted that it was fully proved, by some short passages in letters she had written to Mendoza, that there was a design on her part to convey her right in the English succession to the King of Spain. To this charge she replied, that being a close prisoner, oppressed with cares and deprived of all hope of liberty, and daily declining through sickness and sorrow, she had been advised by some to settle the succession upon the Spaniard, or upon some English Catholic; and that she had given offence to some of her friends by refusing to approve of any such scheme. "But," she added, "when all my hopes of England became desperate, I resolved not to reject foreign help." She again desired that her papers and her secretaries Naue and Curle might be produced, and this was again refused: she requested an adjournment, with the aid of counsel, and this was refused. She again demanded to be heard in full parliament, or that she might speak with the queen in council in person. The commissioners, who had received fresh instructions from Elizabeth, would grant nothing; but the chief of them, including Burghley, Walsingham, and Hatton, took her apart from the rest—she rising up, "with great presence of countenance," says Camden— and spoke to her for some time. During this secret conference Mary was observed to be much agitated. The commissioners then adjourned the assembly to the 25th of October, then to meet, not in presence of the prisoner, nor in Fotheringay Castle, but in the Star Chamber at Westminster. On the appointed day the commissioners, with the exception of the earls of Warwick and Shrewsbury, assembled in the Star Chamber, to which other lords were summoned. They *now* brought before them Naue and Curle, who affirmed upon oath, and, as it was expressed, "only in respect of the truth, frankly and voluntarily, without any torture, constraint, or threatening," that the letters, and copies of letters, before mentioned, were genuine and true; and that all was true which they had before confessed and subscribed. This over, without any further ceremony the court pronounced sentence against Mary, daughter of James V., commonly called Queen of Scotland; "for that since the conclusion of the session of parliament, viz., since the 1st day of June, in the twenty-seventh year of her majesty's reign, and before the date of the commission, divers matters have been compassed and imagined within this realm of England by Anthony Babington and others, with the privity of the said Mary, pretending a title to the crown of this realm of England, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the royal person of our lady the queen: and also for that the aforesaid Mary, pretending a title to the crown, hath herself compassed and imagined within this realm divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the royal person of our sovereign lady the queen, contrary to the form of the statute in the commission aforesaid specified." On the same day, however, the commissioners and the judges of England put forth a declaration that the said sentence did not derogate from the title or honour of James, King of Scots, who remained in the same place, degree, and right as if the said sentence had never been pronounced.*

Mary clearly foresaw that the departure of the commissioners from Fotheringay would be followed by the arrival of the executioner; and she told Sir Amyas Pawlet that history made mention how the realm of England was used to shed royal blood. But though Elizabeth had procured a sentence, she paused at the prospect of the block, being resolved, as was usual with her, to make the weight of blood seem to fall upon others. And there were others, including the highest names in the kingdom, and among the representatives of the people, who were quite ready to take the burden upon their own consciences. On the 29th of October, four days after the passing of the sentence, the parliament assembled, and on the 12th of November both houses, addressing the queen, implored her to give orders for the immediate execution of the Queen of Scots. Mr. Serjeant Puckering, the speaker, in the name of the commons, after relating the history of Mary, pointed out the very dangerous consequences of sparing any longer the life of that wicked woman. He then quoted examples from the Bible of rulers who had incurred the vengeance of the Almighty by showing mercy to their enemies, as Saul, who had saved King Agag, and Ahab, who had preserved Benhadad. The speaker ended by saying that they relied upon her princely resolution, and that they accounted the execution as a thing that would be unto God most acceptable. Elizabeth commenced her reply by expressing gratitude for the special care which Providence had taken of her, and by asserting that her nature was so devoid of malice, that even now, although she had been convicted of treason, if she thought Mary would repent, and her emissaries not pursue their designs —or, that if they were two milk-maids, with pails upon their arms, and it was merely a question which involved her own life without endangering the religion and welfare of her people,—she would most willingly pardon all her offences. She then pathetically declared that if, by her own death, the kingdom might be bettered, she would willingly die, having nothing worth living for. Next she reproached the house for their frequently standing more upon form than matter,—more upon the words than the sense of the law; complaining that the late act of parliament about treasons (which had been devised in her own closet) had brought her into a great strait, by obliging her to give directions for her kinswoman's death, which was to her a most grievous and irksome burden. But,

* Burghley Papers.—Hardwick Papers.—Camden.—Howell, State Trials.—Jebb, Life of Mary.—Original letters cited by Chalmers, Ellis, Raumer, and Wright.

then, changing her tone to keep up the panic-alarm, and the cry for blood, she said that she would tell them a secret;—that she lately saw it written that an oath was taken within a few days by certain persons either to kill her or to be hanged themselves, and thereupon she expressed her mindfulness *of their own oath of association* for the security of her person. She ended her long discourse by saying "that she thought it requisite, with earnest prayer, to beseech the Divine Majesty so to illuminate her understanding, and to inspire her with His grace, that she might see clearly to do and determine that which should serve to the establishment of His church, preservation of their estates, and the prosperity of the commonwealth under her charge; wherein, as she knew delays are dangerous, they should, with all convenience, have her resolution." When a few days had passed, and when, according to her own account, she had had a great conflict with her merciful nature what to determine, she sent a message to the lords and commons, earnestly charging them to consider whether some other means might not be suggested. The two houses deliberated and conferred with one another, and then unanimously replied that no other sound and assured means could be devised for the safety of the realm, religion, and her majesty's person. But Elizabeth had not yet done acting. In reply to this address she said that she had had a fearful struggle with herself—that she had entertained a greedy desire and hungry will that their consultations might have had another issue—that she must complain, though not of them, *unto* them; for that she perceived by their advice, prayers, and desires, that only her injurer's bane must be her security. But, in the mean while, whispers had been spread abroad by those who knew Elizabeth's character, and these rumours she met by declaring, that if any persons were so wicked as to suppose that she prolonged this time only to make a show of clemency, they did her so great a wrong as they could hardly recompense—that she, in referring the subject of Mary's execution to parliament, had earnestly desired that every one should act in that matter strictly according to his conscience, and that, if her ministers had not signified as much to them, they had not done their duty towards her. She said that she had just cause to complain that she, who had pardoned so many rebels, and winked at so many treasons, should now be obliged to take the life of such a person. Many opprobrious books and pamphlets had accused her of being a tyrant, which was, indeed, news to her; but what would they now say if a maiden queen should spill the blood of her own kinswoman? Yet it were a foolish course to cherish a sword to cut her own throat; and she was infinitely beholden to them who sought to preserve her life. Then she reverted to a round-about oracular style, saying, "If I should say I will not do what you require, it might, peradventure, be saying more than I mean; and if I should say I will do it, it might, perhaps, breed greater peril than those from which you would protect me." She then gave a few comfortable words to the members before they returned to their counties, and dismissed them.*

A few days after, on the 6th of December, she ordered the sentence of death to be proclaimed in various parts of London and in other places, which was done in great state, and with infinite rejoicings. In London every house was illuminated, the bells were rung from every steeple, bonfires were lit in every street, and there was a great singing of psalms in all parts of the city.† Lord Buckhurst and Mr. Robert Beale, accompanied by a great troop, were sent to Fotheringay Castle to announce her doom to the captive, and to tell her in Elizabeth's name what especial favour had been shown to her in her trial by the appointment of many distinguished noblemen and the whole of the privy council to be her judges, instead of obliging her to appear before the common criminal courts. Buckhurst and Beale were instructed to obtain, if possible, a confession of guilt from Mary, who, it was calculated, would lose heart and courage at the close prospect of death. But Elizabeth had formed a wrong estimate of the strength of her rival's character. Mary, whatever may have been her former errors or guilt, suffered and died like a heroine and a martyr. She received the message, not merely with firmness but with cheerfulness, saying, that she was a-weary of this world and glad that her troubles were about to end. The two messengers were accompanied by a Protestant bishop and a dean, according to *their* notion, to direct her conscience and administer spiritual comfort in this extremity,—according to *her* notion, to persecute her with their heretical intolerance in her last moments. She wholly rejected their assistance, but begged in the blessed name of Christ that she might be attended by her own almoner, who was in the castle, though long since separated from her. Buckhurst and the Protestant priests brutally told her that, do what she might, she could hardly die a saint even in Catholic eyes, seeing that she had been fairly condemned for attempting to murder their queen. Once more Mary, with the name of her Saviour in her mouth, denied that she had ever devised, counselled, or commanded the death of Queen Elizabeth. When left to herself and her Catholic chaplain, she wrote a letter to the pope and another to the Archbishop of Glasgow, in which she called upon her relatives of the House of Guise, who had been accused equally with herself, to vindicate her character. A few days after her gaolers, Sir Amyas Pawlet and Sir Drew Drury, informed her that, as she had refused to make any submission or confession, and as she was now dead in law, she had no right to the insignia of royalty which hitherto had been left to her in her prison. Mary replied that she was an anointed queen,—that, in spite of Elizabeth, her council, and her heretical judges,

* D'Ewes.—Howell.—Camden.
† Holinshed.

she would still die a queen. While Pawlet's servants took down her canopy of state, and disrobed her of the regal ornaments, the starch Puritan himself sat down with his hat on in her presence, and otherwise insulted her. Mary then wrote her last letter to her rival, telling her that her mind was free from malice and resentment,—that she thanked God that he was now pleased to put an end to her troublesome pilgrimage,—that the only favours she would ask were that she might not be privately put to death, and that her servants and others might be allowed to witness her end,*—that her faithful attendants might have liberty to leave England without disturbance, and quietly enjoy the small legacies she had bequeathed them, and that her body might be conveyed for interment to France. These things she besought her to grant in the name of Christ, by their near relationship, by the memory of Henry VII., their common ancestor, and by her own royal dignity.

In the meanwhile Henry III., King of France, had sent over Bellièvre as a special ambassador to intercede for Mary's life. Bellièvre was a pedant and a poor negotiator, but there seems to be no good reason for suspecting his sincerity. Elizabeth, according to the report of his mission, deferred, with infinite malice, giving him audience, pretending, first, that some hired assassins, unknown to him, had got mixed in his retinue with the design of taking her life; and then, that the plague had broken out among his followers on their journey. It was while she was sending these evasive answers to Bellièvre that parliament proceeded to confirm the sentence and to press for the execution. At last, on the 7th of December, she sent for the ambassador to Richmond, where she received him, seated on a throne and surrounded by her chief lords. Bellièvre remonstrated in forcible language. Elizabeth betrayed signs of strong emotion, but met all his representations with the reply that this was the third time the Queen of Scots had attempted her life. According to De Thou, Bellièvre pledged his sovereign's word that the Duke of Guise would give his own sons as hostages for the future conduct of Mary if her life were spared. Elizabeth told him, in a word, that such guarantees would be of little use when she was dead. Bellièvre returned to London, where he remained some days anxiously waiting for a definitive answer, and then, getting none, he intimated that as they had proceeded even to the recording of a sentence of death there was no need for his making a longer stay in England, and he demanded his passport. Elizabeth neither sent him an answer nor his passport. He wrote again and requested an audience,—she was indisposed and could not be seen: he caused a letter to be put into the hands of Walsingham, who engaged to get an answer the next day. On the next day Bellièvre received a *verbal message*, that the queen was pleased to grant a delay of twelve days. He still lingered about court in the hopes of doing some service; and, on the 6th of January, 1587, when Mary had been prepared to die, he was summoned to Greenwich, where Elizabeth condescended to hear at length his arguments against the execution of the infamous sentence. His pleading was interlarded with references to classical history, philosophy, poetry, and the Old Testament: but these things were after the taste of the queen and her court. He told her that the race of common and low people is of lead, but that of kings is of gold,—that from royalty royal deeds are looked for,—that princes, though not always equal in grandeur and power, are equal in royal dignity and the right which comes from heaven,—that it would be a bad example to show the world that princes could die on a block like common people. Yet some of his arguments were well put and unanswerable. In reply to the position that strangers, even of royal dignity, are subject to the laws of the country which they have chosen for their residence, he said that it was necessary to prove a free choice, and that the world knew the Queen of Scots had been kept in England wholly against her will. With regard to the attempts made by Mary, even supposing the accusation of her enemies to be true, they were to be excused, inasmuch as the rage of despair, resulting from a captivity of nineteen years, might well have driven her to follow some rash advice. Touching the danger there might be during the lifetime of Mary of a league of Catholic princes against the English throne, he said that Mary's death, far from obviating that peril, would increase it, and that the pretext of such a league and war would be rendered much more specious than it had hitherto been by the just vengeance called for by an act so strange and so extraordinary. Elizabeth heard the ambassador with tolerable patience until he told her that if she proceeded to such a rigorous and extraordinary judgment his master could not do otherwise than resent it: she then expressed herself in terms "almost of indignity." Bellièvre then prepared to depart, but he was requested to remain a few days longer. On the 14th of January he received his passport and went his way with the conviction that his intercession had been fruitless, and that nothing could allay the queen's thirst for revenge.* L'Aubespine de Chateauneuf, the resident ambassador, resumed the negotiation; but he was presently silenced by being accused of taking a part in a new plot to assassinate Queen Elizabeth. The queen and her ministers, indeed, pretended that they gave no credit to this foul charge, but they nevertheless intercepted his dispatches and threw his secretary into

* "Fearing," says Mary, "as I do, the secret tyranny of some persons, I beg you not to permit the sentence to be executed upon me without your knowledge; not from fear of the torment, which I am very ready to suffer, but on account of the reports which, in the absence of witnesses above suspicion, might be spread respecting my death, as I know has been done in the case of others of different condition. To avoid which I desire that my servants shall be spectators and witnesses of my death, in the faith of my Saviour and in obedience to His church."

* Advis et Memoire de ce qu'a été fait en Angleterre, par M. de Bellièvre, &c. This account seems to have been written by a person attached to the embassy.

prison. The French king, in his rage, interrupted his diplomatic relations; but being made to feel that the insult was a mere trick to prevent further interference, he soon sent over another envoy to interpose between Mary and the scaffold.

In the course of nature James of Scotland, though a less powerful sovereign, ought to have been infinitely more earnest than Henry of France; but James was glad that his own mother should be kept in a captivity which left to him the occupation of the throne;* he was besides always slow and inert; and he may possibly have comforted himself with a doubt whether Elizabeth would really proceed to execution. The King of France certainly thought it necessary to awaken this tender son to a sense of his parent's danger, and about a month after sentence was passed in the Star Chamber he exhorted him by all means to take his mother's part, telling him that by so doing he would be highly commended by all other kings and princes, and that if he failed in taking this course, he would draw upon himself the greatest reproaches, and very possibly considerable danger.† On the last day of November, 1586, the French ambassador informed his master that King James had promised to intercede for his mother through his ambassador, Keith, "an honest man, but rather *English;*" that King James had told him, in his oracular way, that the case of the Queen his mother was the most strange that ever was heard of, and that there was nothing like it since the creation of the world; that he had written with his own hand to Elizabeth, and to four or five great men in England, as also to Walsingham, telling the latter, in particular, to desist from his bad offices, for otherwise he, James, might do him some displeasure. "But," continues the ambassador, "several lords and great men are dissatisfied that he has sent Keith, a man of so little importance, and a pensionary of England. They say that in an affair of such consequence, in which the life of his mother is concerned, which ought to be as dear to him as his own, might he not have found in his kingdom some others who would have considered the mission as an honour, and would have devoted their lives and property to it, if it had been necessary,—offering, too, to undertake the journey at their own expense? This leads them to imagine that there is some secret understanding with the Queen of England, in which they are further confirmed, because the instructions for Keith were drawn up by the king, Lethington, and Gray, without being communicated to any of the others." At this time James's resident ambassador at Elizabeth's court was the notorious Archibald Douglas—an appointment about equally disgraceful to both courts. There was a talk of sending the new Earl of Bothwell, Francis Stewart,—a grandson of James V. by his natural son John, styled Prior of Coldingham,—an impetuous and frank man, devoted to Mary, to negotiate for her at this extremity; but this project was defeated by the intrigues and artifices of Archibald Douglas. A month later Courcelles complained that the King of Scotland did not seem to have much at heart any embassy in his mother's favour.* The king however made, through Keith, something like a spirited remonstrance, at which Elizabeth was so enraged, that she was well nigh driving her poor pensioner from her presence. James instantly took the alarm, and wrote an humble letter of apology, declaring that he did not impute to her personally or directly the blame of anything that had been done against his mother, and he only besought her to suspend further proceedings until the arrival of the Master of Gray. At the mention of this name Elizabeth must have been satisfied, for the Master of Gray was a venal scoundrel who had long been in her interests.† There were however some lords in the Scottish council who were more anxious about Mary than was her own son, or who knew the character of the Master of Gray better than James did; and, at the instance of these men, Sir Robert Melville was joined in commission with Gray. Melville exerted himself to the utmost to save the queen's life—Gray assured the English Court that no mischief would ensue from her death. At their first audience Elizabeth declared to them that she was immeasurably sorry that there could be no means found to save the life of their king's mother with assurance of her own—that she had laboured hard to preserve the life of both, but it could not be. At a second audience, the Master of Gray requested to know whether Queen Mary were alive, for a rumour had got abroad that she had been privately dispatched. "As yet," replied Elizabeth, "I believe she lives, but I will not promise for an hour." Melville trusted that the poor queen might be allowed to live on, seeing that the chief nobility of Scotland were ready to deliver themselves as hostages that no other plot or enterprise should be made on her account against the English crown; or that, if it pleased Elizabeth to send her into Scotland, King James would engage himself that no harm should ever be done by her or on her account. Elizabeth, turning to the Earl of Leicester and others of her favourite lords, expressed her scorn and contempt both of the King of Scots and these his proposals. She was then asked by the Scottish envoys how the Queen of Scots could really be esteemed so dangerous? "Because she is a papist, and they say she shall succeed to my throne," was the harsh but honest reply of Elizabeth. It was replied that

* On the 4th of October, 1586, when Elizabeth was preparing her commission for Fotheringay Castle, James told Courcelles, the French ambassador, that he loved his mother as much as nature and duty commanded, but he could not like her conduct, and knew very well that she had no more goodwill towards him than towards the Queen of England; adding, among other things, that he had seen letters in her hand-writing, which proved her ill-will towards him, and that he knew very well that she had made frequent attempts to appoint a regent in Scotland, and deprive him of the throne.—*Raumer.*

† Letter from Henry III. to Courcelles, the French ambassador in Scotland.—*Raumer.*

* "At all events," says the ambassador, "the king will endeavour to derive advantages for himself. He positively declared that he would not commence war with England, except in case of an attempt to exclude him from the succession to that throne."

† In the preceding month of August Burghley enters in his diary—"A warrant for 2000*l.* delivered to the Master of Gray, of Scotland, to levy certain footmen in Scotland for the Low Countries."

Mary would divest herself of her right in the English succession in favour of her son. This was an allusion which Elizabeth could never bear, and losing all temper she shrieked, "She hath no such right. She is declared incapable of succeeding." Upon this it was argued that there was then an end of danger from the papists, and that Mary, being so debarred, could not be so very perilous. But Elizabeth said, that though Mary's right was indeed annulled, the papists still considered it as existing. The rejoinder was inevitable: if the Queen of Scots gave up all right in favour of her son, who was a Protestant, she could never again pretend to claim it, and her renunciation should proceed with consent of friends, and in free and legal form. Leicester explained that the King of Scots would thus be placed, with regard to the succession, in precisely the same position as his mother now occupied. Elizabeth, who hated all successors, Catholic or Protestant, screamed again—"Is that your meaning? Then should I put myself in worse case than before! By God's passion this were to cut mine own throat. He shall never come into that place or be party with me." Gray replied that the King of Scotland must become party with her majesty when he succeeded by his mother's death to her claims of every kind, and that thus the execution of Mary would, as Elizabeth had said, (though without grounds) make her case worse than before. The cool reasoning Scotsmen were too much for the English Queen, and she cut short the conference by telling them that it was *she* that had kept the crown on their king's head ever since his infancy. She then turned to leave the room. Sir Robert Melville followed her, tenderly beseeching her to delay the execution. She exclaimed "No! not for an hour!" and disappeared. Upon receiving intelligence of this conference, James assumed for a moment a more becoming tone, and in a letter written with his own hand to the Master of Gray he charged him to spare no pains nor plainness in this case—to be no longer reserved in dealing for his mother, for he had been so too long. But at this moment Gray was bargaining with Leicester and Walsingham, and privately telling Elizabeth that a dead woman bites not. Walsingham at the same time wrote to James, expressing his surprise at his interference to rescue the mother that bore him from a bloody grave, and telling him that, as a Protestant prince, he ought to feel that his mother's life was inconsistent with the safety of the reformed churches of England and Scotland. To maintain his dignity James recalled from the English court his ambassadors, who, with the exception of Melville, had sold his mother's blood. And what was the next proceeding of this king the descendant of a hundred kings? Did he call an army to the borders?—No! He issued an order to the Scottish clergy to remember his mother in their public prayers—and the fierce Presbyterians, with very few exceptions, refused to pray for the idolater and papist.

Elizabeth was not wholly without alarm at the recal of the Scottish ambassadors; but James's strange conduct gave her confidence. Still, however, she seemed undecided, and was constantly heard muttering to herself, *Aut fer aut feri: ne feriare feri.** It was again deliberated in the cabinet, whether it would not be better to dispose of Mary secretly. At this moment Walsingham, who had managed the whole matter† very prudently, got up a fit of sickness, and, withdrawing from the court, left the after responsibility to fall on Secretary Davison. Shortly after receiving the petition of parliament to carry the sentence into execution, Elizabeth had caused the Lord Treasurer Burghley to draw out the death warrant. Burghley gave this warrant to Davison to get it engrossed, ordering him to bring it for the queen's signature as soon as it was done. When Davison presented the warrant to Elizabeth, she commanded him to reserve it till a more convenient season.‡ He accordingly kept it by him five or six weeks, during which time Leicester severely reprimanded him for not presenting it, and Burghley once reproved him in Elizabeth's hearing for not bringing it up. On the 1st of February, a few days after the departure of James's ambassadors, Davison was sent for *privately*, to bring the warrant that the queen might sign it. At this very time, to keep up the alarm, reports were spread all over the kingdom, that London was set on fire by the papists, that the Duke of Guise was landed, that Mary had escaped, that Queen Elizabeth was murdered. The protestants became almost frantic; and still further to prolong the illusion, a hue and cry was published by order of government for the apprehension of Mary, as if she had really broken the strong walls of Fotheringay Castle. This time, when Davison presented the warrant, Elizabeth, after reading it, called for pen and ink, signed it, and laid it down by her upon the mats, telling him that she had been induced to delay, out of regard to her own reputation, wishing it to appear that she had not violently adopted the measure from any feeling of malice or revenge towards the Queen of Scots. After some flippant discourse, some smiles, and some irony, she told the secretary to take up the warrant and carry it immediately to the great seal, cautioning him to get it sealed as *privately as possible*, as she entertained suspicions of persons about the lord chancellor, and feared that, if the warrant were divulged before it was executed, it might increase her own personal danger. She expressly commanded him to use despatch, and to send down the warrant to Fotheringay Castle without troubling her again on the subject, or letting her hear anything more about it until it was executed. Davison offered to go to the chancellor forthwith, but she commanded him to wait

* Either bear with her, or smite her; strike, lest thou be stricken.

† It is remarkable that Burghley in his diary never makes an allusion to any of these proceedings. The Babington conspiracy, the trial of Mary, the negotiations to save her life, her execution, are all passed over without a word. He only notes down that Sir Walter Raleigh got Babington's lands by royal grant.

‡ The Scotch and French ambassadors were then interceding for Mary's life.

till the evening. She desired him on his way to call on Walsingham, who had taken to his bed, and to tell him that she had signed the warrant; "because," as she said, jestingly, "the grief he will feel on learning it will nearly kill him outright." Davison was leaving the apartment, when she began a complaint against Sir Amyas Pawlet and others, who, as she said, might have rendered the signing the warrant unnecessary; and she expressed a wish or a hint that Davison or Walsingham might yet write both to Sir Amyas and Sir Drew Drury, in order to sound their disposition as to privately dispatching the Queen of Scots! Davison, who had always shrunk from the secret murder, assured her that it would be merely labour lost; but, finding her extremely desirous to have such a letter written to the two gaolers, he says that, to satisfy her, he promised to signify her pleasure, and then took his leave. On his way from the royal apartment the secretary called upon Burghley, and found him at home, closeted with Leicester: he showed his warrant, and they both enjoined him to use dispatch, and neglect all other business. Later in the day he called upon Walsingham, showed the warrant, and arranged with him the matter of a letter to Sir Amyas Pawlet and Sir Drew Drury. He then proceeded to the lord chancellor's, where, when it was almost dark, at about five o'clock in the evening, the great seal was put to the warrant. From the chancellor's he returned to Walsingham's, and found the letter ready to be dispatched. According to this damnable document, though Walsingham and Davison recoiled themselves from secret assassination, they were capable, at their mistress's command, of recommending it to others. They told Sir Amyas Pawlet that they found by speech lately uttered by her majesty, that she doth note in them both (Pawlet and Drury) a lack of that care and zeal that she looked for at their hands, in that they had not in all this time, of themselves, without other provocation, found out some way to shorten the life of that queen. "Wherein," continue Walsingham and Davison, "besides a kind of lack of love towards her, she noteth greatly that you have not that care of your own particular safeties, or rather of the preservation of religion and the public good, and prosperity of your country, that reason and policy commandeth, especially having so good a warrant and ground for the satisfaction of your conscience towards God, and the discharge of your credit and reputation towards the world, *as the oath of association* which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed, and especially the matter wherewith she standeth charged being so clearly and manifestly proved against her. And therefore she taketh it most unkindly towards her, that men professing that love towards her that you do, should, in any kind of sort, for lack of the discharge of your duties, cast the burden upon *her;* knowing, as you do, her indisposition to shed blood, especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood as the said queen is." Upon leaving Walsingham, Davison went to his own house in London, where he slept. The next morning, about ten o'clock (no very early hour for those times), Elizabeth sent for him, and asked whether the warrant had passed the great seal: he informed her that it had. She asked why he had used such haste? Davison replied, that he had used no more haste than she had commanded; and in one of his narratives he observes, that, as twenty-four hours had elapsed since she had given him orders to get the warrant sealed, she could not suppose that he had not obeyed her commands. He asked her whether it was still her intention to proceed with the affair, and she replied that it was, though she thought it might have been better handled, because this course threw the whole burden upon herself. Davison observed, that he knew not who else could bear it, seeing her laws made it murder in any man to take the life of the meanest subject in her kingdom, except by her warrant. She abruptly broke into a great commendation of Archibald Douglas, the worthy kinsman of Morton, and wished that she had but two such counsellors. Seeing that Davison took little notice of that discourse, she rose up and walked a turn or two in the chamber: then one of the ladies entertained her with some other discourse, and he left her for that time. He went down to Sir Christopher Hatton, the vice-chamberlain, and told that courtier what had passed, adding, that he feared it was the queen's intention to throw this burden from herself if she could; "remembering him how things had passed in the case of the Duke of Norfolk, the imputation of whose death she laid heavily upon my lord treasurer Burghley for divers years together." In the end, Davison says, he told Hatton plainly, that, notwithstanding the directions she had given him for sending down the warrant to the commissioners (which haply she thought he would adventure for her safety and service), he was absolutely resolved not to meddle in it *alone*. Hatton agreed to accompany him instantly to the lord treasurer. Burghley approved of Davison's resolution not to proceed singly, and agreed to submit the matter to the whole of the privy council. In the mean time he desired that the warrant might be put into his hands, and Davison, in the presence of Hatton, delivered it to Burghley, who kept it till it was sent away to Fotheringay. The next morning, the 3rd of February, Burghley assembled the council in his own chamber, and they unanimously consented to have the execution hastened, "knowing how much it imported both to themselves and the whole realm, and having so clear a testimony of her majesty's pleasure as her own warrant under her hand and great seal of England." They also expressed their unwillingness to trouble her majesty any further on the subject; and then calling for Mr. Beale, the clerk of the council, as the fittest person, they deliberately gave him the death-warrant and letters of instruction to the commis-

sioners.* On the following morning Davison went to court, where he found her majesty in conversation with Sir Walter Raleigh. She presently called Davison to her, and, as if she had understood nothing of these proceedings (the meeting of her whole council, the writing of the letters, &c.), she said to him, smilingly, that "the overnight she had dreamt a dream, that the Queen of Scots was executed, and that she had been in her dream so angry against him therefore, that she could have done anything to him." At first the secretary treated this as a jest, for her majesty was "so pleasant and smiling." But Davison knew his mistress;—a moment's reflection excited an uncomfortable doubt—and he asked whether, having proceeded so far, she had not a resolute intention to execute the sentence. She answered yes, and swore a great oath, but that she thought it might have been done in another way; and she asked him whether he had not heard from Sir Amyas Pawlet. Hereupon Davison produced Pawlet's answer to the infamous epistle which he and Walsingham had written. It appeared that Pawlet, though an unfeeling bigot, had some conscience, which was, however, no doubt quickened by his fear of consequences in this world. In great grief and bitterness of mind he deplored being so unhappy as to have lived to see this unhappy day, in which he was required, by direction from his most gracious sovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbade. His goods, his life, were at her majesty's disposal; he was ready to lose them the next morrow if it should so please her, but God forbid that he should make so foul a shipwreck of his conscience, or leave so great a blot to his posterity, as to shed blood without law and warrant. Elizabeth then called Pawlet, lately her "dear and faithful Pawlet," a "precise and dainty fellow;" and waxing still more in wrath, she accused him and others, who had taken the oath of association, of perjury and breach of faith, they having all promised and vowed great things for her, and performing nothing. She said, however, that there were some who would do the thing for her sake, and she named one Wingfield, who with some others would have done it. Upon which Davison once more insisted on the injustice and dishonour of secret assassination, and upon the great danger which would have been brought upon Pawlet and Drury if they had consented. On the 7th of February, at the very moment when the walls of Fotheringay Castle were echoing with the noise made by the workmen in erecting Mary's scaffold, Elizabeth began an earnest conversation with Davison, on the danger in which she lived, telling him that it was more than time that the affair was concluded, swearing a great oath, and commanding him to write a sharp letter to Sir Amyas Pawlet. The secretary, being "somewhat jealous of her drift," cautiously replied, that he imagined such letter was unnecessary. She then said that she thought, indeed, Sir Amyas would look for it; and then one of her ladies entering to inquire her majesty's pleasure as to what should be had for dinner, she suddenly broke off the conversation and dismissed Davison, who never saw her face again.*

On this same day the arrival of the Earl of Shrewsbury at Fotheringay Castle was announced to Mary, who knew what it meant, as Shrewsbury was Earl Marshal. He was attended by the Earls of Kent, Cumberland, and Derby, by one or two ministers of the gospel, and by Beale, the clerk of the council. Mary rose from her bed, dressed herself, sat down by a small table, with her servants, male and female, arranged on each side of her. Then the door was thrown open and the Earls entered, and Beale proceeded to read the death-warrant. When Beale had done reading, the queen crossed herself, and with great composure told them, that she was ready for death—that death was most welcome to her, though she had hardly thought that, after keeping her twenty years in a prison, her sister Elizabeth would so dispose of her. She then laid her hand on a book which was by her, and solemnly protested that as for the death of the queen, their sovereign, she had never imagined it, never sought it, never consented to it. The Earl of Kent, who seems to have thought that the value of an oath depended upon the book that was touched, rudely exclaimed, "That is a popish bible, and therefore your oath is of no value." "It is a Catholic testament," replied the queen, "and therefore, my lord, as I believe that to be the true version, my oath is the more to be relied upon." The Earl of Kent then made a long discourse, advising her to lay aside her superstitious follies and idle trumperies of popery, to embrace the true faith, and to accept in her last agonies the spritual services of the Dean of Peterborough, a very learned and devout divine, whom her majesty had mercifully appointed to attend upon her. Mary rejected the dean, and asked again for her own chaplain. Here the Earl of Kent brutally told her, that her death would be the life of *his* religion, as her life would have been its death. He refused her the attendance of her chaplain and confessor, as being contrary to the law of God and the law of the land, and dangerous to themselves. After some long and desultory conversation, in which she put the touching question, whether it were possible that her only son could have forgotten his mother, she calmly turned to the Earl Marshal, and asked when she was to suffer. Greatly agitated, the Earl of Shrewsbury replied, "To-morrow morning at eight." The earls then rose to depart. Before they went, she inquired whether her late secretary Naue were dead or alive. Sir Drew Drury replied, that he was alive in prison. "I protest before God," she exclaimed, putting her hand again on the Catholic testament, "that

* In one of the letters which were addressed to the Earl of Kent, and which was signed by Burghley, the Earl of Derby, Leicester, Charles Howard, Hunsdon, Cobham, Francis Knollys, Hatton, Walsingham, and Davison, it was said that his lordship (Kent) would understand by the bearer how needful it was to have the proceedings herein to be kept very secret.

* Sir Harris Nicolas, Life of William Davison.

Naue has brought me to the scaffold to save his own life. But the truth will be known hereafter." Then they all withdrew, leaving the doomed queen alone with her attendants. Presently she bade them dry their tears, and gave orders that supper might be hastened, "for that she had a deal of business on her hands." That night she supped very sparingly, as her manner was, and while she sat at table, she asked one who waited upon her, whether the force of truth was not great, since, notwithstanding the pretence of her conspiring against the queen's life, the Earl of Kent had just told her that she must die for the security of *their religion!* She then alluded to the earl's attempt to make her forego her creed, saying with a smile, that he was an unfit doctor to undertake a conversion. When supper was over, having called her servants before her to the table, she drank to them all, and they pledged her in return upon their knees, mixing tears with their wine, and imploring her pardon for any offences they might have committed against her. She forgave them, and asked forgiveness of them, and then delivered some christian advice as to their future conduct in life. She then distributed the few things she had among them, and retired to her chamber, where she wrote with her own hand two sheets of paper as her last will, and three letters, one to her confessor, one to the King of France, and the other to her cousin, the Duke of Guise. This done, she prayed and read alternately till four o'clock in the morning, when she threw herself upon her bed and slept. At break of day she rose, assembled her little household, read to them her will, distributed all her clothes, except those which she had put on, bade them farewell, and retiring to her oratory threw herself upon her knees before an altar. About eight o'clock the sheriff of the county entered the oratory and told her that the hour was come. She rose, took down the crucifix, and turned to take the few last steps which were between her and the grave. She came forth with an air of pleasantness and majesty, dressed in a gown of black satin with a veil of lawn fastened to her caul and descending to the ground. Her chaplet was fixed to her girdle, and she kept in her right hand the ivory crucifix which she had taken from the altar. In an ante-chamber she was joined by the noble lords and the two knights who had been her hard keepers, and presently she found standing in her path her house steward, Sir Robert Melville, who had been denied access to her for the last three weeks. This old and faithful creature fell upon his knees before her, and with a passion of tears lamented his hard fate which would make him the bearer of such sorrowful news into Scotland. And when he could proceed no further, by reason of his sobs, the queen said to him, "Good Melville, cease to lament, but rather rejoice, for thou shalt now see a final period to Mary Stuart's troubles. The world, my servant, is all but vanity and subject to more sorrow than an ocean of tears can wash away. But, I pray thee, take this message when thou goest, that I die true to my religion, to Scotland, and to France. God forgive them that have thirsted for my blood as the hart longeth for the water brooks! Commend me to my son, and tell him I have done nothing to prejudice the kingdom of Scotland." Old Melville still wept; the queen wept also, and kissing him said, "Once more farewell, good Melville, pray for thy mistress and queen." She then addressed herself to the lords, requesting them to treat her servants with kindness, and permit them to stand by her at her death. To the last request the Earl of Kent objected as inconvenient, saying, that it was to be feared that they would be troublesome to her majesty and unpleasing to the company—that if they were present at the execution they would not fail, as papists all, to put some superstitious trumpery in practice; and perhaps there would be a dipping their handkerchiefs in her grace's blood, which it was not decent in them, the protestant lords, to admit of. "My lords," said Mary, "I will give you my word they shall deserve no blame, nor do such things as you mention; but, poor souls, it would do them good to see the last of their mistress; and I hope your mistress, as a maiden queen, would not deny me, in regard of womanhood, to have some of my women about me at my death. Surely you might grant a greater favour than this, though I were a woman of less rank than the Queen of Scots." Kent was silent; and the other lords did not choose to take the responsibility of granting what was asked. Mary then said with some vehemence, "Am I not cousin to your queen, descended from the royal blood of Henry VII., a married Queen of France, and anointed Queen of Scotland?" At length, after much consultation, the lords determined to comply in part; and Melville, her steward, her apothecary and surgeon, and two of her maids, named Kennedy and Curle, were allowed to attend her to the scaffold. The procession now moved forward to the great hall of the castle, headed by the sheriff and his officers, next after whom followed Sir Amyas Pawlet and Sir Drew Drury, and then the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent. In the hall stood the scaffold, which was raised about three feet from the ground, and covered all over with black cloth with rails around it. Upon the scaffold there were a low stool, a cushion, and a block, all covered with black. The queen mounted the scaffold without any change of countenance or any faltering, and took her place upon the stool. On her right hand stood the Earl of Kent, on her left the Earl of Shrewsbury: the rest of the company, which, by Elizabeth's orders, consisted of very few persons, stood in the hall without the rails. Immediately in front of her was the headsman from the Tower, in a suit of black velvet, with his assistant also in black. The warrant was read by Mr. Beale; when it was ended the company cried with a loud voice, "God save Queen Elizabeth!" All the time Beale was reading the warrant the Queen

of Scots looked cheerful and easy. At the end of it, she bade them recollect that she was a sovereign princess not subject to the laws and parliament of England, but brought to suffer by injustice and violence: she declared again that she had not sought Elizabeth's death, and said that she pardoned from her heart all her enemies. Here the Dean of Peterborough stood up, and, interrupting her, began a long discourse upon her life, past, present, and to come. The queen stayed him once or twice, saying, "Mr. Dean, trouble not yourself, I am fixed in the ancient religion, and, by God's grace, I will shed my blood for it." The dean would not be silenced: he still pressed her to change her faith; he told her that his gracious mistress was very careful of the welfare of her immortal soul, and had commissioned him to bring her to the only right path. If she would recant even now there might be hopes of mercy; if she refused she must inevitably be damned to all eternity. "Good, Mr. Dean," answered Mary, with more earnestness than before, "trouble not yourself about this matter: I was born in this religion, I have lived in this religion, and I will die in this religion." So saying she turned aside from him; but the dean, who was never surpassed by the fiercest dominican that ever tortured a dying Protestant, Albigensis, Lollard, Hussite, or Huguenot, turning round the scaffold, again faced her, and again thundered out his sermon. But at last the Earl of Shrewsbury ordered him to cease preaching and proceed to pray: and whilst the dean prayed in English, Mary prayed alone in Latin, repeating the penitential psalms with great warmth of devotion. When the dean had done she prayed in English for the church, her son, and Queen Elizabeth. She then kissed her crucifix, saying, "As thy arms, O Jesu, were stretched upon the cross, so receive me, O God, into the arms of mercy!" "Madam," said the Earl of Kent (a fit patron and companion to such a dean), who was horrified at her kissing the crucifix, "you had better put such popish trumpery out of your hand and carry Christ in your heart." Mary replied, "I can hardly bear this emblem in my hand without, at the same time, bearing him in my heart." The two executioners then came forward, and, kneeling before her, asked forgiveness. Her women began to perform their last office, disrobing their mistress; but the headsmen were in a hurry and interfered, pulling off with their own rude hands a part of her attire; upon which she observed to the earls that she was not used to be undressed by such attendants, or to put off her clothes before so much company. Here her servants could no longer contain their feelings, but

Tomb of Mary Queen of Scots, in the south aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey.

she put her finger to her lips, kissed them again, and bade them pray for her. Then the maid, Kennedy, took a handkerchief, edged with gold, in which the eucharist had formerly been enclosed, and fastened it over her eyes. The executioners led her to the block, and the queen, kneeling on the cushion before it, said, with a clear and unquailing voice, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit!" But the headsman's nerves were not in such good order; he probably entertained the notions of the times about the sacredness of royal blood, and he was disturbed by the groans and lamentations of Mary's servants; perhaps of all present, except Kent and the dean. He trembled and struck so badly that it cost him three strokes to cut the neck asunder. At last, when the head had fallen on the scaffold, he took it up, and holding it at arms' length, exclaimed officially, "God save Queen Elizabeth!" The Dean of Peterborough added, "Thus perish all her enemies!" The Earl of Kent, approaching the headless body, cried in a louder voice, "So perish all the enemies of the queen and gospel!" Everybody else was silent; not a voice said Amen to the dean and the earl. The queen's little lapdog was observed to have crept under her clothes, and would not be removed till force was used, and afterwards it would not leave the body, but went and lay down between the head and shoulders.*

On the morning after the execution a dispatch arrived at court from the Earl of Shrewsbury. The dispatch was carried by Mr. Henry Talbot, Shrewsbury's son; and Burghley, to whom it was delivered, immediately sent for Davison, and after consulting with Hatton and some other privy counsellors, he agreed not to acquaint the queen suddenly with the execution. But by the hour of noon the report was spread in the city, where the Protestants testified their exceeding great joy by ringing all the church bells and lighting bonfires. It was impossible that Elizabeth could remain ignorant of these things; she learned all the particulars in the evening, but did not then take the least notice of the event, "nor showed any alteration at all." On the next morning, when she was officially informed of the execution, she sent for Sir Christopher Hatton, and with an appearance of wonderful grief, declared that she had never commanded or intended *that thing*, and laid the whole blame on the privy council, but chiefly on Davison, who had abused the trust she had reposed in him by allowing the warrant to go out of his hands. Davison hurried to court fearing no evil, as the whole of the privy council had acted with him in the matter; but the counsellors, who knew that there must be a victim, strongly advised him to absent himself from court for a few days. Poor Davison took their advice, and on the 14th of February he was committed to the Tower. At the same time the queen turned the engines of her pretended wrath against Burghley, who was struck with alarm, and withdrew to his own house for many days, whence he wrote the most humiliating letters to his mistress. The day after the arrest of Davison, Walsingham, who had recovered from his illness at the very nick of time, returned to court, where for some weeks he had the principal management of affairs in his own hands. One of his first duties appears to have been to devise a message to the French king, assuring him of her majesty's ignorance of the sending of the warrant, her sorrow at the execution, and her determination to punish her ministers. But soon Burghley and the rest emerged from this artificial mist, and only William Davison was made a scapegoat or sacrifice, being condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. The poor secretary suffered miserably from imprisonment, palsy, and utter poverty, for the treasury seized all his property to pay the fine; and thus he lived through the seventeen long years to which the remainder of Elizabeth's reign was drawn out.

Some weeks after the execution of Mary, Sir Robert Carey, son of her relative, Lord Hunsdon, was dispatched by Elizabeth to make her excuses to King James for the murder of his mother. Some of the Scots were so infuriated, that they would have torn this messenger to pieces if he had not been protected by troops which James sent him as an escort. On first learning the news, it is said that the royal dastard and pedant burst into tears, and threatened to move heaven and earth for vengeance. In the letter presented by Sir Robert Carey, Elizabeth told James of the unutterable grief which she felt on account of that "unhappy accident" which, *without her knowledge*, had happened in England. She appealed to the supreme Judge of heaven and earth for her innocence; said she abhorred *dissimulation*, and deemed nothing more worthy of a prince than *a sincere and open conduct*—that she had never intended to carry the sentence into execution—that she was punishing those who had frustrated her merciful intentions: and she added that, as no one loved him more dearly than herself, or bore a more anxious concern for his welfare, she trusted that he would consider every one as his own enemy who endeavoured, on account of the *present accident*, to excite any animosity between them. All James's mighty wrath soon evaporated, and he sat down quiet and contented, with an increase of the pension which Elizabeth had long been paying him, and with a hope that his dutiful conduct would clear all obstructions to his succession to the English throne on the death of its present occupant.

Circumstances and her own happy arts went equally in Elizabeth's favour in disarming the resentment of France. She made a public apology to the ambassador L'Aubespine for the harsh treatment he had received, took him by the hand to a corner of the room, told him that the greatest of calamities had befallen her, and swore sundry great oaths that she was innocent of Mary's death.

* Jebb.—Camden.—Conn.—Saunderson.—Robertson.—Chalmers.—Walter Scott.

Four of her council, she said, had played her a trick: they were old and faithful servants, or by God she would have all their heads off! She said that what troubled her most of all was the displeasure of the king his master, whom she honoured above all men, and she assured the ambassador that she was now quite ready to aid him against his enemies with men, money, and ships. L'Aubespine remarked that she had all along given assistance to the enemies and revolted subjects of France. Here she drew a nice distinction, saying, that she had done nothing against Henry, but had only assisted the King of Navarre against the Duke of Guise. The ambassador asked whether it were fair to do this without the king's consent—to supply fuel to civil war in his dominions—and whether she would suffer any foreign prince to do the like in her dominions. But the civil war continued to rage in France, and Henry III. was soon glad to have her countenance to the murder of the Guises. If that unhappy family were bigots and persecutors and chief directors of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, they certainly found no faith or mercy themselves. In December, 1588, Henry III. secretly distributed forty-five daggers to as many assassins in the castle of Blois: the Duke of Guise, Queen Mary's cousin, who had been invited as a guest, was set upon and murdered at the door of the king's chamber. On the morrow his brother, the cardinal, was assassinated in a like barbarous manner; and the Protestants were only prevented from making public rejoicings at their fall by the better sense and feeling of their great leader, Du Plessis Mornay. The Catholics became more fierce and formidable than ever, the pope launched the sentence of excommunication, the doctors of the Sorbonne released the subjects from their oath of allegiance, and a few months after, as Henry was laying siege to his own capital, he was assassinated by a fanatic monk of the order of the Jacobins, named Jacques Clement.

King Philip of Spain, who was exasperated to the extreme by the bold and brilliant expeditions of Drake and others to the West Indies, was in a different position from that of the French and Scottish king, and making the most of the recent tragedy at Fotheringay Castle, he branded Elizabeth as a murderer, and animated his people with a desire of vengeance. She on her side made some politic efforts to disarm his resentment. Leicester, who had returned to Holland, soon became an object of contempt. She recalled him, allowed the Hollanders to put Prince Maurice of Orange in his stead, and then seemed very well disposed to give up the Protestant cause in the Netherlands. She kept the precautionary towns, as they were called, and greatly did the Netherlanders fear that she would sell all these keys of their dominions to the Spanish king. Burghley opened negotiations with Spain, and two foreign merchants, an Italian and a Fleming, were intrusted with a secret mission to the Duke of Parma, who still maintained himself in the Netherlands. But Elizabeth and her ministers soon foresaw that no sacrifices they could make would disarm the animosity of the Spaniards, and every wind brought them news of immense naval and military preparations in Spain and Portugal.* While the queen continued to negotiate, Sir Francis Drake was dispatched with a fleet of 30 sail, and ordered to destroy all the Spanish ships he could find in their own harbours. Never perhaps was a commission more ably or more boldly executed. On the 19th of April (1587) he dashed into Cadiz roads, and burnt, sunk, or took 30 ships, some of which were of the largest size He then turned back along the coast, and between Cadiz bay and Cape St. Vincent, he sunk, took, or burned 100 vessels, besides knocking down four castles on the coast. Drake, who was a humorist, called this "singeing the King of Spain's beard." From Cape St. Vincent he sailed to the Tagus, where he challenged the Marquis Santa Cruz, and took, almost under the shadow of his flag, the St. Philip, a ship of the largest size, loaded with the richest merchandise. These operations materially tended to delay the sailing of the Spanish armada for more than a year, and allowed Elizabeth time to prepare for her defence. They are also said to have had another effect, to have caused the death of Santa Cruz, the best sailor of Spain, whose orders prevented him from accepting Drake's challenge, notwithstanding his superiority of force, and who fell sick, and some months after died of slow fever and vexation at the mischief done by the English. But Philip, whose power on the whole had increased rather than diminished since the first commencement of his enmity with Elizabeth—for if he had lost Holland he had annexed Portugal to his dominions—was not to be put from his purpose of invading England. He obtained from the pope supplies of money and a renewal of the bull of excommunication against Elizabeth. He levied troops in all directions, he hired ships from the republics of Genoa and Venice, he took up all the proper vessels possessed by his subjects of Naples and Sicily, he pressed the construction of others in Spain, in Portugal, and in that part of Flanders which still belonged to him, where shoals of flat-bottomed boats were prepared for the transport of the Duke of Parma and 30,000 men. By the month of November of this year, (1587,) the danger to England seemed so imminent, that Elizabeth summoned a great council of war, in which were included many officers of remarkable genius and bravery, and among others the ambi-dextrous, the all accomplished Walter Raleigh, who took a leading part in the deliberations, and gave the greatest weight to the opinion that the invaders ought to be met at sea, and not waited for on land.† Through parsimony, the whole royal navy of England did not, at this moment, exceed 36 sail, but merchant ships were fitted out by the nobles and people at

* Hardwicke State Papers.

† Mr. Tytler, in his Life of Sir Walter Raleigh (Edinb., 1833), has collected all the interesting particulars of the great Spanish enterprise.

their own expense, and armed for war, and Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, names scarcely eclipsed by all the heroes who have succeeded them—men who had lived their lives on the ocean, and girdled the globe in their daring expeditions—the best seamen of the age, were appointed to the command under the high admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham, who is described himself as being of a wise and noble courage, skilful in sea matters, wary and provident, and of great esteem among the sailors. The entire number of ships collected on this critical occasion was 191; the number of seamen was 17,400. Eighteen of these ships were volunteers. There was one ship in the fleet, (the Triumph) of 1,100 tons, one of 1000, one of 900, two of 800 each, three of 600, five of 500, five of 400, six of 300, six of 250, twenty of 200: all the rest were smaller, the total amount of tonnage being 31,985.* The Dutch were applied to for their assistance, "and," says Stowe, "they came roundly in with three score sail, brave ships of war, fierce, and full of spleen, not so much for England's aid as in just occasion for their own defence, foreseeing the greatness of the danger that must ensue if the Spaniards should chance to win the day and get the mastery over them." The fleet was distributed at various points, for it could not be known where the enemy would attempt their landing. The lord admiral, who guarded the western coast, divided his force into three squadrons. Drake was detached towards Ushant to keep a look-out; Hawkins cruised between the Land's End and Scilly Islands; Lord Henry Seymour cruised along the coast of Flanders, blocking up the Spanish ports there; and other captains constantly scoured the Channel.

As it was given out that the Spaniards intended to sail up the river and strike their first blow at London, both sides of the Thames were fortified, under the direction of Federico Giambelli, an Italian deserter from the Spanish service. Gravesend was strongly fortified, and a vast number of barges were collected there, for the double purpose of serving as a bridge for the passage of horse and foot between Kent and Essex, and for blocking up the river to the invaders. At Tilbury Fort, directly opposite to Gravesend, a great camp was formed. Nor was there less stir and activity inland. "There was not a corner of England which did not ring with preparation, and muster its armed force. The maritime counties, from Cornwall to Kent, and from Kent to Lincolnshire, were furnished with soldiers, both of themselves and with the auxiliary militia of the neighbouring shires, so that, upon any spot where a landing might be effected, within the space of forty-eight hours an army of twenty thousand men could be assembled." The Catholics vied with the Protestants in activity, in zeal, in patriotism; and as their gentlemen of rank were generally excluded from commands by the jealousies of the Protestants,

* Southey's Naval History.—In the Armada there were only three ships of size superior to the Triumph, the largest of the English ships; but there were 45 ships ranging from 600 to 1000 tons; and though the English fleet outnumbered the Armada, its entire tonnage was less than one-half of that of the enemy.

TILBURY FORT. From a Picture by Laymaker, engraved by Kip, about 1680.

although the lord admiral himself, Lord Howard of Effingham, was a Catholic, they served in the ranks like common soldiers, or they embarked in the ships to do the work of common sailors. This grand fact ought to have proved to the queen how ungrounded had been her fears, how uselessly she had drenched herself in blood;—it ought to have put down from that day forward the persecution which she exercised, or permitted to be exercised, from political motives, against her Catholic subjects; but, alas! it was not so. When the lord-lieutenants of the different counties returned their numbers, it was found that there were under arms 130,000 men, exclusive of the levies furnished by the city of London. It is true that not above half of these men had been trained, and that a very small number indeed were veteran soldiers. But if the enemy had effected a landing, they had not in the heart of the country a single forfeited town; they must have kept the field constantly, and one campaign would have converted the rustics and burghers of England into good soldiers. Two thousand foot and two hundred horse were stationed at Milford Haven; 5000 brave men of Cornwall and Devonshire were thrown into Plymouth; the men of Dorsetshire and Wiltshire drew up at Portland; the Isle of Wight was put into a formidable attitude, and every important point was watched and guarded. Moveable columns kept up a communication between the more distant points. The force assembled at Tilbury Fort consisted of 22,000 foot and 2000 horse, and between them and London were 28,000 men levied for the protection of her majesty's person, commanded by her kinsman Lord Hunsdon, and 10,000 Londoners.* A confident hope was entertained that the fleet would be able to prevent any disembarkation, but it was provided, in case of a landing, that the country should be laid waste, and the invaders harassed by incessant attacks. The queen never shone to more advantage than at this warlike crisis, and though she kept her person between the capital and the near camp at Tilbury Fort, the fame of her brave deportment and her encouraging words were spread everywhere. She reviewed the Londoners, whose enthusiasm was boundless; and when the arrival of the Armada was daily expected, she reviewed the army at Tilbury Fort, riding a war-horse, wearing armour on her back, and carrying a marshal's truncheon in her hand. The Earls of Essex and Leicester held her bridle rein, while she delivered a stirring speech to the men. "My loving people," said the queen, "we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear! I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects; and, therefore, I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation and sport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live or die amongst you all—to lay down for my God, for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour, and my blood, even in the dust. I know that I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms! To which, rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms,—I myself will be your general,—the judge and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded more noble or more worthy subject; nor will I suffer myself to doubt, but that by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people."* Everything in this camp speech was exciting and appropriate except the laudation bestowed on the general; for the lieutenant was none other than that carpet-knight and most inefficient commander, the Earl of Leicester! It had been arranged by the Spanish court that the Armada should leave Lisbon in the beginning of May, but the Marquis de Santa Cruz was then sinking under the fever of which he died; and, by a singular fatality, the Duke of Paliano, the vice-admiral, and an excellent officer, fell sick and died nearly at the same time. Philip found a difficulty in replacing these two commanders. After some delay he gave the supreme command to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who, instead of being the best sailor in Spain, was no sailor at all, and wholly ignorant of maritime affairs. Martinez de Recaldo, who was appointed vice-admiral, was, however, a seaman of good experience. At last, the Invincible Armada, as the Spaniards called it in their pride, set sail from the Tagus on the 29th of May. It consisted at this time of about 130 vessels of all sizes; 45 of these were galleons and larger ships; 25 were pink-built ships; 13 were frigates. They mounted altogether 2431 guns of different calibres.

* In the year 1798, when England was threatened with a French invasion, the late John Bruce, Esq., keeper of the State Paper Office, was directed by Henry Dundas, then war secretary, to make a search among the papers under his charge, with the view of discovering the arrangements made for the internal defence of the country in 1588. Mr. Bruce accordingly compiled a report, with an appendix, containing most of the contemporary documents relative to the Armada; the original lists of the army and navy; and the correspondence of Drake and the other heroes with the queen and her ministers. Mr. Bruce's work was never published, only a few copies being printed for the members of the cabinet; but Mr. Tytler has had access to it and derived from it the principal part of his account of the Armada, given in the 'Life of Sir Walter Raleigh.' Murdin, in his collection of the Burghley Papers, gives lists of the numbers of men and ships prepared for the defence of the kingdom against the Armada, which were communicated to him by Lord Royston, who had caused them to be transcribed from a volume of the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. Several of the letters from Drake and his comrades have been published in the Hardwicke Papers and the collections of Ellis and Wright.

* Cabala.

In addition to the mariners, they carried nearly 20,000 land troops, among whom were 2000 volunteers of the noblest families in Spain. But this mighty fleet, when steering towards Coruña, where it was to take on board more troops and stores, was overtaken, off Cape Finisterre, by a great tempest, and dispersed. Four large ships foundered at sea; the rest reached Coruña and other ports on that coast, but considerably damaged by the storm. This occasioned a fresh delay, which, however, might have proved fatal rather than favourable if Elizabeth's advice had been followed by her brave commanders. A report reached London that the enemies' ships had suffered so much that they could not possibly proceed on their expedition this year: and as the cost of the English fleet was great (though the government only bore a part of it), the queen, from motives of economy, made secretary Walsingham write to the admiral to tell him to lay up four of his largest ships, and discharge their crews. But Lord Howard of Effingham nobly replied to this letter, that, rather than dismantle any of his ships, he would take upon him to disobey his mistress, and keep them afloat at his own charge. The admiral now called a council of war, wherein it was determined to sail for the Spanish coast to complete the destruction of the Armada, if so disabled, or to ascertain at all events its real condition. A brisk north wind soon carried him to Coruña, whither he chased before him fourteen Spanish ships which were at sea. Having ascertained the truth, he became anxious to return, lest a part of their fleet might make the western coast of England in his absence. Favoured by a change of wind, he soon reached his station at Plymouth, where he allowed his men a little relaxation on shore. On the 19th of July, one Fleming, a Scottish pirate or privateer, sailed into Plymouth, with intelligence that he had seen the Spanish fleet off the Lizard. At the moment most of the captains and officers were on shore playing bowls on the Hoe. There was an instant bustle, and a calling for the ships' boats, but Drake insisted that the match should be played out, as there was plenty of time both to win the game and beat the Spaniards. Unfortunately the wind was blowing hard in their teeth, but they contrived to warp out their ships. On the following day, being Saturday, the 20th of July, they got a full sight of the Armada standing majestically on—the vessels being drawn up in the form of a crescent, which, from horn to horn, measured some seven miles. Their great height and bulk, though imposing to the unskilled, gave confidence to the English seamen, who reckoned at once upon having the advantage in tacking and manœuvring their lighter craft. At first it was expected that the Spaniards might attempt a landing at Plymouth, but the Duke de Medina adhered to the plan which had been prescribed to him, and which was to steer quite through the Channel till he should reach the coast of Flanders, where he was to raise the blockade of the harbours of Nieuport and Dunkirk, maintained by the English and Dutch, make a junction with the Duke of Parma, and bring that prince's forces with him to England. Lord Howard let him pass, and then followed in his rear, avoiding coming to close quarters, and watching with a vigilant eye for any lucky accident that might arise from cross winds or irregular sailing. And soon a part of the Spanish fleet was left considerably astern by the main division, where the Duke of Medina kept up a press of sail, as if he had no other object in view than to get through the Channel as fast as possible. He made signals to the slower ships to

THE SPANISH ARMADA ATTACKED BY THE ENGLISH FLEET. From the Ancient Tapestry in the House of Lords, destroyed in the late Fire at the Houses of Parliament.

keep up, which they could not, and he still kept every sail bent. The Disdain, a pinnace, commanded by Jonas Bradbury, now commenced an attack by pouring a broadside into one of the laggards. Lord Howard, in his own ship the Ark Royal, engaged a great Spanish galleon, and Drake, in the Revenge, Hawkins, in the Victory, and Frobisher, in the Triumph, ranging up gallantly, brought into action all the galleons which had fallen astern. The rear-admiral Recaldo was with this division, and fought it bravely; but his lumbering ships lay like logs on the water in comparison with the lighter vessels of England, which were manageable and in hand like well-trained steeds. Before any assistance could come from the van, one of the great Spaniards was completely crippled, and another—a treasure ship with 55,000 ducats aboard—was taken by Drake, who distributed the money amongst the sailors. The Duke of Medina hove-to, till the slower ships came up, and then all of them, under press of sail, stood farther up the Channel. This first brush gave great spirit to the English, and there were in it several encouraging circumstances. It was seen, for example, that the tall Spanish ships could not bring their ordnance to bear, firing, for the greater part, over the English without touching them; and that the surer fire of the latter told with terrific effect on those huge ships crammed with men, soldiers, and sailors. Howard returned towards Plymouth, where he was to be joined by forty sail. In the course of the night one of the greatest of the Spanish ships was set on fire, purposely, it is said, by a Flemish gunner. All her upper works were consumed, and she was abandoned: the hulk was carried into Weymouth, to the great joy of the people. It was a dark night with a heavy sea, and some of the Spaniards ran foul of each other, to their great mischief.

On the 23rd, Howard, who was reinforced, and who had received into his division Sir Walter Raleigh, came up with the whole Armada off Portland, when a battle began, which lasted nearly the whole of that day. The English fought loose and at large, avoiding a close combat or boarding, for which the size of their vessels and their inferior numbers unfitted them. They kept separate, but always in motion, tacking and playing about the enemy, pouring in their fire, and then sheering out of range, returning before the Spaniards had time to reload, giving them another broadside, and then sheering off as before. According to Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Henry Wotton compared it all to a morrice-dance upon the waters! But once or twice the dying away of the wind rendered these manœuvres impracticable. A division of five merchantmen, led by the gallant Frobisher in his great ship the Triumph, was cut off from the rest, and brought to close action for two whole hours. But, at the same time, one of the English squadrons cut off a division of the Armada, and crippled every ship in it. Then Howard, from the Ark Royal, signalized, and this victorious squadron, by means of sweepers and tow-boats, was brought into position to the rescue of Frobisher's merchantmen. These victorious ships reserved their fire till they were close alongside the Spaniards. The darkness of night interrupted the battle: in the course of the day the English had taken a large Venetian argosy and several transports. Next day the Spaniards showed small inclination to renew the fight; and it was apparent that they wished to hold on to the place appointed for their junction with the Duke of Parma. The English, on their side, were not in fighting condition, for, by a shameful parsimony, they had been poorly supplied with gunpowder, and by this time they had burnt all they had on board. Howard, however, detached some barques and pinnaces which returned with a supply towards night; but a day had been lost. On the morning of the 25th, he came up with part of the Armada, off the Isle of Wight, where Captain Hawkins took a large Portuguese galleon. Presently it fell a calm: the great ships of Spain lay motionless upon the water, and were much too heavy to be towed. The English craft, of the lighter kind, were easily towed by their long boats. When a breeze sprung up, Frobisher was set upon by several galleons, and was in great peril, but the White Bear and the Elizabeth Jonas came up to his relief. Other ships ranged up on either side, and the battle seemed becoming general, but the English had *again burnt all their gunpowder!* Having shot away the mainmast, and otherwise shattered the Duke of Medina's own ship, they took advantage of the wind and sheered off. The duke dispatched a messenger to the Duke of Parma, urging him to be ready, and to send him, if possible, some "great shot," for he had expended his supply—and to wonderfully little purpose.

On the morrow, the 26th of July, the Armada sailed up the Channel with a fair breeze: Howard hung on their rear, now and then keeping up a feeble fire. He had resolved not to renew the struggle till they came to the Straits of Dover, for he knew that a strong squadron, under Lord Henry Seymour and Sir Thomas Winter, would be ready there to take part in the action. As he followed in the wake of the Spaniards, he received ammunition and all proper supplies from shore; and his force was continually increased by small ships and men out of all the havens of the realm; for the gentlemen of England hired ships from all parts at their own charge, and with one accord came flocking thither. There was a clear sky and a leading wind, which enabled the Spaniards to come to anchor before Calais on the 27th. Hence Medina Sidonia would have proceeded to Dunkirk, but he was strongly advised to remain where he was; and he sent, over-land, a messenger to the Duke of Parma, entreating him to detach some fly-boats, without which he could not cope with the light and active English ships, and to hasten the embarkation of his troops, which he represented might effect a landing in England under cover of his fire.

But both these requests were childish and absurd. Although Seymour and most of the English ships had left the station to co-operate with Howard, a small division remained with the Dutch, who closed Parma's only outlets, Nieuport and Dunkirk, and who were more than sufficient to scatter and sink his flat-bottomed boats, if they had put to sea. But, besides that these boats, which had been hastily constructed with bad materials, were already rotting and falling to pieces, disease had broken out among the land-troops, and owing to the delayed arrival of the Armada, their provisions were almost exhausted. Thus Parma could do nothing till the blockade was cleared and proper ships with provisions were supplied to him. When he had lost a whole day, the Duke of Medina thought of making for Dunkirk; but in the meanwhile Seymour and Winter had joined Howard, and he was hemmed in by 140 English sail "fit for fight, good sailers, nimble and tight for tacking about." The Spaniards, however, were well ranged, their greatest ships being placed seaward, next the enemy, like strong castles, the lesser being anchored between them and the shore. The English found that in this position they must fight to disadvantage, but they hit upon a stratagem which presently broke this array. Eight small ships were gutted, besmeared with pitch, rosin, and wild-fire, filled with combustibles, and placed under the desperate guidance of Captain Young and Captain Prouse, who at the dead of night, favoured by wind and tide, led them close to the Spanish line, took to their boats, fired the trains, and escaped. The Spaniards, who remembered some terrible fire-ships which had been used against them by the Dutch in the Scheldt, began to cry, "The fire of Antwerp! The fire of Antwerp!" Some cut their cables, others let their hawsers slip, and in haste, fear, and confusion, put to sea, though few or none could tell which course to take. In this dreadful confusion the largest of the galeasses ran foul of another ship, lost her rudder, floated about at the mercy of the tide, and was then stranded. When the fire-ships had exploded, and the danger was over, a gun was fired from the duke's ship as a signal to the Spaniards to return to their former position; but the gun was heard by few, because "they were scattered all about and driven by fear, some into the wide sea, some among the shoals of Flanders." When morning dawned, the English renewed the attack on the scattered squadrons, one of which had drawn up near Gravelines. One fierce attack was made on the great galeass, stranded near Calais, but the small craft could not board her until the admiral sent 100 men in his boats under Sir Amyas Preston. The Spaniards made a brave resistance; but in the end their captain was shot through the head; they were boarded at all points, cut to pieces or thrown overboard and drowned. In this huge bottom were found 50,000 ducats, "a booty well-fitting the English sailor's affections." At other places, Drake, Hawkins, Raleigh, Cumberland, Seymour, and Frobisher, gained many advantages. One of the capital ships of the Armada, a large galleon of Biscay, sunk under the English fire. A few of her crew who escaped drowning told a fearful tale: one of the officers on board having proposed a surrender was killed by another enraged at his proposal: this other was killed in revenge by the brother of the first; and while this bloody scene was in progress the ship went to the bottom. The San Matteo, commanded by Diego Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, in attempting to cover another ship, was raked by the Rainbow and Vanguard, and, finally, compelled to surrender by a decisive broadside from a heavy Dutchman. Another great Spaniard dismantled and rent, drifted, fell ashore, and was taken by the mariners of Flushing. Two ketches foundered at sea. Still, however, the rest of the fleet rallied, and the Spaniards, who had shown no deficiency of courage, cried for revenge: but the Duke of Medina Sidonia had had enough of this war, and calling a council he resolved to make his way back to Spain in the best manner he could; and as it was held dangerous to attempt the English in their narrow seas, he resolved to steer northwards and return to Spain by sailing round Scotland.

On the last day of July, Drake wrote to Walsingham—"There was never anything pleased me better than the seeing the enemy flying with a southerly wind to the northward. We have the Spaniards before us, and mind, with the grace of God, to wrestle a pull with them. God grant that we have a good eye to the Duke of Parma, for, with the grace of God, if we live, I doubt it not but ere it be long so to handle the matter with the Duke of Sidonia, as he shall wish himself at Saint Mary's Port among his vine-trees." No one can doubt of the activity and good-will of Drake, of Frobisher, of any one of the great captains engaged; but yet the Spaniards were allowed to go down the wind without much pursuit. "The opportunity," says Sir William Monson, "was lost, not through the negligence or backwardness of the lord admiral, but merely through the want of providence in those that had the charge of furnishing and providing for the fleet; for at that time of so great advantage, when they came to examine their provisions, they found a general scarcity of powder and shot, for want of which they were forced to return home. Another opportunity was lost, not much inferior to the other, by not sending part of our fleet to the west of Ireland, where the Spaniards of necessity were to pass, after so many dangers and disasters as they had endured. If we had been so happy as to have followed their course, as it was both thought and discoursed of, we had been absolutely victorious over this great and formidable navy; for they were brought to that necessity that they would willingly have yielded, as divers of them confessed that were shipwrecked in Ireland."*

* True and exact account of the Wars in Spain.—The remarkable fact of the fleet being left bare of ammunition is confirmed by a letter written on the 8th of August, from the camp at Tilbury Fort, by Secretary Walsingham to the Lord Chancellor. Walsingham says,—

In effect, when the Spaniards had rounded the Orkneys, they were scattered and shattered by a tremendous tempest, the more perilous from their want of a proper knowledge of those seas and coasts. They threw overboard horses, mules, artillery, and baggage. Some of the ships were dashed to pieces among the Orkneys and the Western Isles, some were stranded in Norway, some went down at sea with every soul on board, some were cast upon the iron coast of Argyle, and more than thirty were driven on the coast of Ireland, where the popular name of Port-na-Spagna, bestowed on a place near the Giants' Causeway, recalls a part of the fearful catastrophe. Those who fell among the Scotch were made prisoners by King James; but the poor Spaniards who fell among the Irish had a worse fate—an eternal blot on the glory of those who inflicted it. The English feared that they might join the Irish Catholics, who were again in insurrection; and Sir William Fitzwilliam, the lord deputy, sent his marshal, who drove them out of their hiding-places and butchered 200 of them in cold blood. The rest, sick and starved, committed themselves to the greater mercy of the waves in their shattered vessels, and for the most part were drowned. A small squadron was driven back to the English Channel, where, with the exception of one great ship which put into Havre, it was taken by the English, or by their allies the Dutch, or their other friends the Huguenots, who had equipped many privateers at Rochelle. The Duke of Medina, about the end of September, arrived at Santander, in the Bay of Biscay, with no more than sixty sail out of his whole fleet, and these very much shattered, with their crews all worn out with cold, and hunger, and sickness, and looking like spectres. The lord admiral of England had anchored safely in the Downs on the 8th of August, having lost but very few men and only one vessel of any consequence. On the 10th, Drake wrote to Walsingham—"The Prince of Parma I take to be as a bear robbed of her whelps; and no doubt but, being so great a soldier as he is, that he will presently, if he may, undertake some great matter, for his credit will stand now thereupon." But soldiership and flat-bottomed boats could avail the Duke of Parma nothing against the victorious navy of England; and though an alarm was absurdly kept up for some months, the danger was over from the moment that the disorganised Armada retreated to the north.* About the middle of August, the camp at Tilbury Fort was broken up, it being the queen's pleasure to discharge the soldiers, but yet to continue the captains and officers in wages.†

When the disbanding of the troops was over, the Earl of Leicester took his departure from court for Kenilworth Castle, but he fell suddenly ill on the road, and died at Cornbury in Oxfordshire, on the 4th day of September. The queen did not appear to grieve much for his loss, and almost immediately after his death she caused his effects to be sold by auction, for the satisfaction of certain debts he owed her treasury.* The fact was, the queen had been for some time provided with another darling, to whom she transferred the strange affection which for so many years she had bestowed on Leicester. This new favourite was Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, son of the unfortunate earl who had died in Ireland, and whose wife had been very irregularly married to Leicester. At first the queen hated him on his mother's account, but this feeling gave way to an admiration of his handsome person and vivacious disposition. He was made master of the horse, knight of the garter, and captain-general of the cavalry in 1587, before he was twenty years of age. Upon the death of Leicester he succeeded at once to the dangerous post of prime favourite—a post almost as disagreeable as it was dangerous, for it called for the daily and hourly exercise of flattery and gallantry towards an old woman, a sort of service which ill suited the frank and impetuous character of Essex.

A.D. 1589.—Don Antonio, an illegitimate nephew of Henry King of Portugal, who had perished at the battle of Alcazar, in 1580, had taken refuge in England, where for some time he was left to pine in abject poverty. But now Elizabeth resolved to use him as a means of annoying Philip of Spain, well knowing that the Portuguese were dissatisfied with the government of that sovereign, who had seized their country on default of legitimate heirs, and in right of his descent from Isabella of Portugal. She boldly set forth that Don Antonio was a legitimate prince, and her parliament, breathing revenge and conquest, voted her most liberal supplies, and petitioned her to carry the war into Philip's dominions. She told them that she was very poor, and needed all the money they had voted; but thereupon an association, headed by Drake and Norris, undertook to defray the greater part of the expenses, and in a short time they collected an armament of about 200 sail of all sizes, carrying nearly 20,000 men. Don Antonio embarked in royal state, and the fleet commanded by Drake set sail. It was scarcely gone out of Plymouth when the queen was thrown into tender anxieties by missing the young Earl of Essex, who had disobeyed her orders, and gone to indulge his taste for war. The expedition was badly planned, miserably supplied with money and ammunition, and but lamely conducted after the landing of the troops. It was also disgraced by cruelties unusual even in that age. Drake repaired in the first instance to Coruña, where he took four ships of war and burned the lower town. The troops, which

"I am sorry the lord admiral was forced to leave the prosecution of the enemy through the want he sustains. Our half doings doth breed dishonour, and leaveth the disease uncured."—*Wright.* It appears, however, that a part of the fleet followed the Spaniards all along the English and Scottish coast as far as the Frith of Forth.

* Camden.—Stow.—Strada.—Bentivoglio.—Strype.—Burghley Papers.—Hardwick Papers.—Southey.—Ellis.—Wright.

† Letter from Leicester to Burghley, given by Wright.

* It appears that there were two stories, one being that he was poisoned by his wife; the other that his death had been hastened by magic and conjuring.

were commanded by Sir John Norris, defeated a body of Spaniards intrenched in the neighbourhood, but they could not take the upper town; and as their powder began to fall short, and sickness to rage in their ranks, they were re-imbarked and carried to Peniche, on the Portuguese coast, about thirty miles to the north of Lisbon. From Peniche the fleet proceeded to the mouth of the Tagus, while the army marched through Torres Vedras to Lisbon, proclaiming everywhere their Don Antonio. But, contrary to their expectations, no one joined the Don, and they found the country laid waste and bare. There was only a weak Spanish garrison within Lisbon, and the English said they would certainly have taken that capital if it had not been for their total want of proper artillery! Famine was now added to sickness; and Norris, who had disagreed with Drake as to the management of the campaign, thought the best thing to do was to re-imbark and return home. The young Earl of Essex displayed a romantic bravery, yet the campaign, on the whole, was exceedingly inglorious. As they retreated homewards the English plundered the towns of Cascaes and Vigo. When they counted their numbers at Plymouth more than one half of their 20,000 had perished, or were missing.

On his return to court, Essex found that he had been nearly supplanted in the royal favour by Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Charles Blount, the latter second son of Lord Mountjoy, and a student in the Temple; but he soon prevailed over these aspirants. Raleigh was sent into Ireland, where he remained for several years, and, after fighting a duel with him, Essex contracted a great friendship for Blount, who soon afterwards became Earl of Mountjoy. But though Essex enjoyed the queen's good graces, and readily obtained gifts and favours for himself, he was generally unsuccessful in his applications for his friends, being constantly thwarted by the jealousy of the Cecils and their party. In 1590, when Walsingham, the principal secretary, died, Essex earnestly pressed the claims of the unfortunate William Davison, who had been sacrificed to a state subterfuge; but the "old fox," as Essex called Lord Burghley, was resolved to put his son Robert, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, in Walsingham's place. The queen, beset by these rival parties, had recourse to one of those middle means which were familiar to her: she desired Burghley to take upon himself the vacant place, with permission to his son to act as his assistant. Essex, who was rather passionate than malicious, soon forgot the dispute, but it was treasured up in the cold, hollow heart of Sir Robert Cecil. About this time Essex married the widow of the lamented Sir Philip Sydney, who was a daughter of Walsingham. This was gall and wormwood to the queen, who, however, gradually seemed to forget the offence.

In the following year, 1591, the earl, whose ruling passion was a love of military glory, passed over to France with a small army of 4000 men, to assist Henry of Navarre, now Henry IV. of France. Henry, on the death of his predecessor, found himself opposed by the French Catholic league, and obliged to strengthen his right of birth with the right of conquest. He attempted, indeed, to disarm the hostility of the Catholic party by large concessions, but this so incensed the Huguenots, who had hitherto been his support, and in whose religion he had been brought up, that they threatened to leave him to the fury of his enemies. He was forced to abandon for a time the siege of Paris, and to retire into Normandy. At this crisis he applied to his old secret ally, Queen Elizabeth, who very opportunely supplied him with 20,000*l.* in gold, and with some troops. Essex greatly distinguished himself, and lost by a musket-shot his only brother, Walter Devereux, to whom he was fondly attached. Other expeditions were sent over from time to time, and contributed to check the enemies of Henry, particularly in Brittany, where the Spaniards, in alliance with the lords of the league, had landed a considerable force. This war, though somewhat costly, and contributing in no very direct manner to any English interest, was very popular with the Protestants; but in 1593, Henry, to secure peace to his throne, embraced the Catholic religion. Elizabeth charged him with perfidy and double dealing; but when the French king agreed to maintain an offensive and defensive war against Philip, as long as Philip should remain at war with England, she was fain to be satisfied; and when Henry gave an enlarged toleration to the Huguenots, the wrath of the Protestants generally abated.

Ever since the defeat of the Armada, the severity used against the Catholics in Ireland had been on the increase. Fines and imprisonment were of daily occurrence, and capital punishments became horribly frequent. Burghley pretended that this was done to render the Catholics powerless in case of an invasion, thus choosing to forget that, in the presence of an invasion, the Catholics, almost to a man, had rallied round the queen. An inevitable consequence of the barbarous system was to provoke conspiracies among desperate men, and to cause rumours of many plots which never existed. In the spring of 1594, Roderigo Lopez, a Jew and physician to the queen, was seized in his own house, and examined by Essex, Lord Burghley, and his son Sir Robert Cecil. After a rigorous examination, the Cecils came to the conclusion that the Jew was innocent of any plot against her majesty's life. Essex, who had given the information against the Jew, was exceedingly angry; and he became still more so when Elizabeth sharply reprimanded him, calling him a rash and temerarious youth, to enter into a matter against a poor man which he could not prove. This rebuke, and the hope of mortifying the sagacious Cecils, sharpened the industry of Essex, who, by means of much dark labour, made out a substantial charge of high treason against the Jewish physician and two Portuguese, called Ferreira and Manuel Lewis, fol-

lowers of Don Antonio. The prisoners were thrown into the Tower, and were no doubt laid upon the rack. Ferreira confessed that, under the Jew's direction, he had written to Fuentes and Ibara, Spanish ministers in the Low Countries, offering to poison the English queen for 50,000 crowns; and Lewis confessed that he had been commissioned by Fuentes and Ibara to urge Lopez to the deed. The Jew acknowledged that he had received presents from the Spanish court, but added, that in so doing he meant to deceive the deceivers, and that he never intended anything prejudicial to the person of the queen, vowing, to the great offence of the hearers, that he loved her majesty better than he loved God. About the same time certain letters were intercepted, which spoke of a conspiracy for burning the English fleet. They were all three found guilty, and were executed some three months after.

In the meanwhile Henry IV. was deriving no very great advantage from his war with Spain, to which Elizabeth had bound him. He saw Champaigne invaded, and Burgundy threatened, Picardy overrun, and Dourlens and Cambray taken by the Spaniards; and in the month of April, 1596, the Archduke Albert, who had succeeded to the government of the Spanish Netherlands, and who had suddenly raised 15,000 men, as if for a very different purpose, took from him the town and citadel of Calais. Elizabeth, who had of late been very sparing of her money and troops, was in great alarm at the latter conquest, which brought the Spaniards, who were again talking of invasion, to the very threshold of her own door, and her grief and consternation were great, as her two great naval commanders, Drake and Hawkins, had died of sickness and vexation in the preceding year, in the course of a very unsuccessful expedition to Spanish America. She now took to writing prayers, and Sir Robert Cecil told Essex that no prayer is so fruitful as that which proceedeth from those who nearest in nature and power approached the Almighty; but the Lord Howard of Effingham, thinking that something more was wanting, suggested another attack upon the Spanish coast, and in the month of June, 1596, a fleet of 150 sail, with 14,000 land troops, sailed from Plymouth. The lord admiral took the command of the fleet, and the Earl of Essex of the army; but to make up for the inexperience and rashness of the young earl, he was ordered to submit all important measures to a council of war, composed of Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir George Carew, and other tried officers. In the month of June the fleet sailed into Cadiz bay, and in defiance of the fire from the forts and battlements and 15 large men of war, they got into the harbour, where, after a fierce fight which lasted six hours, three of the largest of the Spanish ships were taken, and about 50 sail were plundered and burnt. As soon as this was over, Essex landed a part of the land force, and on the next day he forced the city of Cadiz to capitulate. The inhabitants paid 12,000 crowns for their lives;—their houses, their merchandise, their goods of all kinds were plundered by the conquerers, and the whole loss sustained by the Spaniards on this occasion was estimated at 20,000,000 of ducats. Essex, who was the real hero of this short campaign, would have retained the conquest, and he offered to remain at Cadiz and Isla de Leon with 3000 men, but he was overruled, and compelled to re-embark, having first seen the fortifications razed, and the town reduced to ashes.

On the return of this expedition, which was not absent above ten weeks, dissensions and jealousies broke out among the commanders, and the queen was incensed at the small portion of the plunder which was brought to her treasury. The Cecils had taken advantage of his absence to undermine the great credit of Essex, and now he was insidiously assailed from all sides, and, on account of the glorious genius of the man, we regret to add that Sir Walter Raleigh treacherously intrigued against him, and claimed to himself the chief merit of the expedition. Essex was sinking to rise no more, when a lucky accident came to his assistance. The Spanish treasure ships from the new world arrived safely in Spain with 20,000,000 of dollars on board. Essex maintained that he had projected a voyage from Cadiz to Terceira for the purpose of intercepting this rich prize, and that he certainly should have succeeded in doing so had he not been thwarted and overruled by the creatures of the Cecils. Old Burghley, who made some false steps to recover the good will of Essex—things almost unaccountable in such a man—was called to his face a miscreant and coward, and driven for a time from court. Essex was somewhat over-proud and confident on this victory, but not being capable of a lasting hatred, he consented in the course of a few months to a regular treaty of peace and amity with the Cecils, which was managed for his own purposes by Sir Walter Raleigh. But this treaty was *hollow and faithless* on the part of Sir Robert Cecil, and in the beginning of the year 1597 Essex quarrelled with the queen for promoting his personal enemy, Henry Lord Cobham, to the office of warden of the cinque ports, which he, Essex, had petitioned Elizabeth to grant to his near connexion Sir Robert Sidney. He left the court, and was mounting his horse to go into Wales when the queen pressingly recalled him, and to pacify him made him master of the ordnance. Philip of Spain, smarting from the serious blow received at Cadiz, was now preparing a new armada, indulging, it is said, in the hope of placing his own daughter, who had a sort of claim to the succession through her descent from John of Gaunt, upon the English throne. The English cabinet resolved to anticipate this attack, and after some struggle with the queen's economy, they fitted out a powerful armament for the destruction of the new armada in its own ports, for the intercepting of the treasure ships, and the harassing the Spanish coasts and colonies. The command was given to the ardent Essex, who had

under him Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh. The fleet sailed from Plymouth in the month of July, 1597, but it was almost immediately driven back upon the coast by a tremendous storm, which disabled many of the ships. It did not get to sea again till the 17th of August, by which time the men had eaten up all their provisions. Although Essex captured three Spanish ships, which were returning from the Havannah, and which were valued at 100,000*l.*, and although he took in the Azores the isles of Fayal, Graciosa, and Flores, which the English could not keep, his expedition was considered a failure. A Spanish fleet had threatened the English coast in his absence, and on his return the queen received him with frowns and reproaches. The earl, who was further incensed by some steps gained in the government by Sir Robert Cecil and his friends, retired to his house at Wanstead in Essex, and, under pretence of sickness, refused to go either to court or parliament. But the queen, who was constantly quarrelling with him when present, could not bear his prolonged absence, and she got him back by creating him hereditary earl marshal.

At this moment Spain, which for some time had been secretly negotiating with France, intimated that it would gladly include England in a general peace, and in the month of May, 1598, Sir Robert Cecil, who had been on a mission to Paris, brought direct proposals for a treaty. The Cecils, with all the rest of that tribe, insisted that these proposals should be entertained, but the warlike Essex argued hotly for a continuation of hostilities. The dispute in the cabinet grew violent, and old Burghley, losing his temper altogether, told Essex that he thought of nothing but blood and slaughter, and drawing out of his pocket a psalm-book, pointed to the words "blood-thirsty men shall not live out half their days." The Cecil party carried the majority of the nation with them, but men acquainted with the policy of Spain thought that Essex's objection to the peace was not groundless, and the soldiers and sailors, who had always loved him, held him as a greater favourite than ever. In the meanwhile Henry IV. of France had signed with Philip the treaty of Vervins, by which he recovered possession of Calais and the other places which he had lost during his alliance with Elizabeth.

In the course of this summer the English cabinet was agitated by another great question: Ireland was in a most alarming state, and it was deemed expedient to send over the new lord deputy with extraordinary powers. The Cecils proposed one officer, Essex another: the queen sided with the Cecils, and attacked Essex with her usual severity of language.* The earl, forgetting himself and his duty, turned his back upon his sovereign in a kind of contempt. The queen would not bear this insolence, and so bestowed on him a box on the ear and bade him go to the devil. Essex immediately clapped his hand on his sword, and the lord admiral stepping in between, he swore a great oath, that he neither could nor would put up with an affront of that nature, nor would he have taken it at the hands of Henry VIII. himself, and so saying he rushed out of the apartment and instantly withdrew from court, again to brood over his wrongs in his house at Wanstead. From June till October he remained in that solitude, but then, to the surprise of most people, he returned to court, and apparently to the possession of his former favour. It is doubted however whether Elizabeth ever forgave him. "His friends," says Camden, "dated the earl's ruin from this unfortunate circumstance; making this remark, that fortune rarely caresses a cast off favourite a second time." During Essex's seclusion Burghley had gone to his grave. That remarkable statesman died on the 4th of August, 1598, in the 78th year of his age, having mainly directed the councils of Elizabeth for forty long years. Elizabeth is said to have wept bitterly at his death. About the same time, however, her heart was lightened by intelligence of the death of her arch enemy Philip of Spain, who died in his 71st year. We pass over many of the persecutions, state trials, and sanguinary executions which threw a gloom on the last years of this reign: but there is one case which, on account of its frightful absurdity, seems to merit a moment's notice. One Stanley accused a private soldier, named Squires, of a design to poison the queen. Squires, after lying on the rack *for five hours*, confessed that Walpole, a Jesuit, had engaged him to commit the crime, and had furnished him with a most powerful poison. The poison was contained in a double bladder, which Squires was to prick with a pin, and then to press on the pummel of the queen's saddle. The queen (so went this story) would undoubtedly touch the poison with her hand, and afterwards move her hand to her mouth or nose, and so death must ensue, as the said poison was "so subtle and penetrating" that it would instantly reach either her lungs or her stomach. The tortured man moreover confessed that he had actually rubbed some of the poison into the pummel of the saddle on which the queen's majesty had actually ridden. On the trial one of the queen's counsel could not describe her majesty's peril for weeping, and another of them declared that her escape was as great a miracle as any recorded in holy writ. The prisoner said that he had confessed all sorts of things on the rack merely to escape from that torture. He was executed as a traitor, and died maintaining his innocence of what we may pretty safely call an impossible crime.

Upon the accession of Philip III., though no treaty of peace was concluded, the war was allowed to languish, and by degrees all parties began to entertain the notion of an enduring peace. France had suffered so severely, more from a civil war than from her conflicts with the Spaniards, that Henry IV. was most anxious for tranquillity. The Catholic union or "league" had been dissolved by his con-

* The struggle here was, not which of the two, Essex or the Cecils, should appoint his friend, but which should prevent his friend's being appointed. The post of lord lieutenant or deputy in Ireland was no longer an enviable one.

version, but he saw himself threatened by a new league of his Protestant subjects, few of whose leaders, with the exception of his great minister Sully, ever heartily forgave him for changing his religion. Although the French king had owed much to the support and secret assistance of Elizabeth before he came to the throne, and had no reason to be dissatisfied with her conduct since; yet before concluding any treaty with their common enemy, the King of Spain, he frankly told her that unless she bore a more active part in the contest he must conclude peace with Philip. She was in great anger at this proposal, and her envoy, Sir Robert Cecil, accused Henry of ingratitude. The debonnaire king said that in aiding him she had worked for her own interests, and in the month of April, 1598, he signed a treaty with Spain, by which he recovered Calais and all the places he had lost; at the same time by the publication of the tolerant edict of Nantes, he disarmed the hostility of his Protestant subjects. Shortly after a new treaty was concluded with the States of Holland, who had been more averse to the peace with Spain than Elizabeth herself. By this treaty the queen was freed from the charge of 126,000*l.* per annum, the average expense of the garrison she maintained in the cautionary towns; and the states moreover gave acknowledgments for a debt of 800,000*l.* due to her majesty, and bound themselves to discharge it gradually by instalments.

The Scottish king had for some time been in bad odour at the English court on account of his great anxiety for the succession, and the efforts he had made to secure it, by negotiating, not only with the king of Spain, but with the pope himself! Secret as these negotiations had been, they were detected by Elizabeth's agents. Among the prisoners that crowded the gaols of England there was one Valentine Thomas, who had been committed for some common felony. Of a sudden this man confessed, *in private*, that James had hired him to assassinate the queen. This seemed to be a sure way of humbling the Scottish king. Elizabeth wrote to James, telling him that she could not believe him guilty: James requested her to send him a declaration under the great seal, that the charge was false and groundless. She sent him an instrument, but it was so worded as to appear rather a pardon than an attestation of his innocence, and he returned it to her. Elizabeth considered this as an insult, and attacked the pusillanimous James with her usual virulence, and he, on his side (he never lacked words), retorted. But this was all he could do; and though, after a time, the cloud seemed to disperse, he was kept uneasy by the conduct of the English court, who did not bring Valentine Thomas to trial, but kept him in prison, to be produced as necessity should require. Had James taken any hostile direction the man would have been brought forth to denounce him publicly; but he grew quiet under this suspended rod, and when he came to the throne of England he had the miserable satisfaction of sending Valentine to the gallows.

Meanwhile the state of Ireland grew worse and worse, though before this time things were brought to such extremities, that Walsingham had thought it no treason to wish the island and all in it buried in the sea. "The Irish nation," says a quaint old historian of the court of Elizabeth, "we may call a malady, and a consumption of her times, for it accompanied her to her end; and it was of so profuse and vast an expense, that it drew near unto a distemperature of state and of passion in herself; for, towards her last, she grew somewhat hard to please, her armies being accustomed to prosperity, and the Irish prosecution not answering her expectations, and her wonted success; for it was a good while an unthrifty and inauspicious war, which did much disturb and mislead her judgment; and the more, for that it was a precedent taken out of her own pattern. For as the queen, by way of division, had, at her coming to the crown, supported the revolting States of Holland, so did the King of Spain turn the trick upon herself, towards her going out, by cherishing the Irish rebellion; where it falls into consideration, what the state of this kingdom and the crown's resources were then able to endure and embrace. * * * * We shall find the horse and foot troops in Ireland were, for three or four years together, much about 20,000, besides the naval charge, which was a dependant of the same war, in that the queen was then forced to keep in continual pay a strong fleet at sea to attend the Spanish coasts and parts, both to alarm the Spaniards and to intercept the forces designed for the Irish assistance; so that the charge of that war alone did cost the queen 300,000*l.* per annum, at least, which was not the moiety of her other disbursements and expenses; which, without the public aids, the state of the royal receipts could not have much longer endured*."

The present leader of the Irish insurgents was Hugh, the son of the late Baron of Duncannon, who had been exalted by the queen to the Earldom of Tyrone, and who had exalted himself to be the O'Niel and rightful Irish sovereign of Ulster—an extraordinary man, ambitious, crafty, brave, and of an indefatigable activity. He possessed high military talents, and was not destitute of ability in civil government. Under his guidance the Irish pursued a consistent plan, which they had never done before. They wore out the English troops by a desultory warfare among marshes, woods, and hills; and strong in their numbers and improved discipline, they ventured to face them in the open field. Sir John Norris, the veteran who had gained honour in the Netherlands and in France, was harassed to death, and died of sheer grief and vexation. Sir Henry Bagnall was defeated in a pitched battle fought at Blackwater, in Tyrone, and lost his own life, the lives of 1500 of his men, his artillery, and ammunition. After this

* Naunton, Fragmenta Regalia.

CHARGE OF IRISH CHIEFTAINS. From a MS. Illumination in the Harleian Collection.

victory all the Irish, with the exception of a few septs, proclaimed the Earl of Tyrone the saviour of his country, and rose in arms, with the hope of wholly expelling the English. To meet the storm and to measure swords with the Earl of Tyrone, it was necessary to appoint a general of superior ability, and one that enjoyed the favour of the English army. The Cecils suggested that none was so fit as the Earl of Essex, for they wished to remove him from court, and involve him in a business which had brought death, or disgrace and ruin, to all preceding commanders. The earl was warned by his friends to beware of Ireland: he expressed great reluctance to take the command; but at last he yielded to the requests of the queen, and the temptations of a large sum of money and greater powers and privileges than had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors; and in the month of March, 1599, he left London for Ireland, surrounded by the flower of the English nobility. The Londoners followed him on the highway for more than four miles, crying, "God bless your lordship—God preserve you!" for he was much beloved by the common people, and some of them followed him until the evening. Almost as soon as he reached Ireland he appointed his friend the Earl of Southampton to be general of the horse, considering that the power to make such an appointment was vested in him. But the queen, after some angry correspondence, compelled him to revoke it.* Soon after he was accused of wasting time and money. He replied, that he acted by the advice of the lords of the Irish council, and in consideration of the state of affairs. "These rebels," he said, in one of his first dispatches, "are far more in number, than your majesty's army, and have (though I do unwillingly confess it) better bodies and perfect use of their arms than those men your majesty sends over." The queen harshly told him that she had great cause to think that his purpose was to prolong the war. The Cecils took every advantage of this fresh quarrel, and they no doubt helped to check the earl's supplies and embarrass his operations. His troops seem, indeed, to have been a Falstaff's army; many deserted, many fell lame, and could not, or would not, march; and then a sickness of a serious kind, the effect of scanty or bad provisions, broke out amongst them. By the month of August he had no more than 3500 foot and 300 horse in the field. He demanded and obtained a reinforcement of 2000 men, upon which he marched, for the first time, into Ulster, the centre of the rebellion. He went, however, complaining that he had received nothing but "discomforts and soul wounds," and that Raleigh and Cobham with others were working

* It appears that Lord Southampton's disfavour with the queen arose from his marrying without her leave a kinswoman of the Earl of Essex.

his ruin at home. On the 5th of September Essex came up with Tyrone and his whole army in the county of Louth, but instead of a battle their meeting ended in a personal parley, the result of which was an armistice for six weeks, which was to be renewed from six weeks to six weeks, until May-day following. The Earl of Tyrone gave Essex several demands on the part of the Irish, which he undertook to deliver to the queen. Tyrone returned with all his forces into the heart of his country. Essex, upon receiving some angry dispatches from England, left the government of Ireland to the Archbishop of Dublin and Sir George Carew, and, without waiting for any order or permission, hastened to London. Upon Michaelmas eve, about ten o'clock in the morning, he alighted at the court-gate in post, and made all haste up to the presence, and so to the privy chamber, and staid not till he came to the queen's bed-chamber, where he found the queen newly up, with her hair about her face; he kneeled unto her, kissed her hands, and had some private speech with her, which seemed to give him great contentment; for when he came from her majesty he was very pleasant, and thanked God, though he had suffered much trouble and storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home. The courtiers wondered at his going so boldly to her majesty's presence, she not being ready, and he so full of diet and wine, that his very face was full of it. In the course of the forenoon he had a long conference with her majesty, who was very gracious towards him. All the lords and ladies and court gentlemen also were very courteous—only a strangeness was observed between the earl and Sir Robert Cecil and that party. But after dinner, when Essex went again to the queen, he found her much changed; and she began to call him to question for his unauthorised return, and his leaving of all things in Ireland in such peril and confusion.* At night, between ten and eleven o'clock, he received an order from her majesty to consider himself a prisoner in his room. Sir John Harrington, who had accompanied Essex from Ireland, was frightened out of his wits by the royal violence. "When I came into her presence," says Sir John, "she chafed much, walked to and fro, looked with discomposure in her visage, and, I remember, catched at my girdle when I kneeled to her, and swore, 'By God's Son, I am no queen! That man is above me. Who gave him command to come here so soon? I did send him on other business.' She bid me go home. I did not stay to be bidden twice. If all the Irish rebels had been at my heels, I should not have made better speed."† On the next day the lords sat in council, and called Essex before them. It was said that never man answered with more temper, more gravity, or discretion.‡ Three days after he was delivered to the lord keeper to be kept in "free custody." The great and little Bacon, who had had many obligations to Essex, but who was now making his way to power through intricate mazes, was consulted by the earl. "It is but a mist," said Bacon, "but it is as mists are—if it go upwards it may cause a shower; if downwards it will clear up:" by which periphrasis he meant that all must depend on the queen's humour. This humour seemed to be fixed in spite and revenge. She said that she sought his amendment not his destruction; but she consulted with the judges whether he might not be charged with high treason; she denied him the society of his wife, the attendance of his physician, even when Essex lay dangerously ill." "In his letters and discourses," says Camden, "he declared that he had discarded all the gaities of life, and drowned his ambition in tears; and that he had but one request to make, viz., that she would let her servant depart in peace." There were few men of the day more fitted by an ardent love of literature, and a cultivated taste, to enjoy a rural retirement, and he told his friends that all he wished for was to be restored to his quiet home in the country, to his wife, and his books. In the month of May, 1600, when he had been nearly eight months under restraint, he made a touching appeal to his sovereign, telling her how he had languished in four months' sickness, felt the very pangs of death upon him, and his poor reputation not suffered to die with him, but buried and he alive; that the length of his troubles, and the increase of her majesty's indignation, had made all men shy of him, and had ruined his estate, so that his kind friends and faithful servants were likely to die in prison. He then alluded to his rivals and enemies, who at first envied him for his happiness in her favour, and now hated out of custom, he being thrown into a corner like a dead carcase and gnawed on and torn by the vilest and basest creatures on earth. Then after an explosion of indignation, he concluded with a most humble and penitential prayer. On the 26th of August he was released from custody, being told that he was not to appear at court. A few days after his release a valuable patent for the monopoly of sweet wines, which he had held for some years, expired: he petitioned for a renewal of it as an aid to his shattered fortunes; but the queen, saying that, "in order to manage an ungovernable beast, he must be stinted in his provender," positively refused.

Essex now became desperate, and there was one at his elbow to prompt the most desperate deeds. This was Cuffe, his secretary; "a man smothered under the habit of a scholar, and slubbered over with a certain rude and clownish fashion that had the semblance of integrity."* The secretary suggested that he might easily recover his former ascendancy by forcibly removing Sir Robert Cecil, Raleigh, and others from court. Essex knew that he had been the darling of the Londoners, who, with as much boldness as was consistent with prudence, had defended even his strange conduct

* Sidney Papers. † Nugæ Antiquæ. ‡ Sidney Papers.

* Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.

ESSEX HOUSE, STRAND, LONDON. From Hollar's View of London, 1647.

in Ireland, had laid the blame of his failures and his crosses on the malice of his enemies, and had compassionated his misfortunes. Some of the preachers had, indeed, been bolder than this—defending him in the pulpit, and praying for him by name. Nor had the press been idle; pamphlets were put forth in his favour; and Heywood, a civilian, published a curious history of the deposition of Richard II., and dedicated it to the earl, with lavish commendations of his character. Other daring men joined in the advice given by Cuffe; and Essex finally adopted their perilous plan. He threw open the gates of his house in London, and thither flocked Catholic priests, Puritan preachers, soldiers and sailors, young citizens and needy adventurers. A strong party of military men, officers who had served under him, took up lodgings in his immediate neighbourhood, and formed themselves into a council. Essex, moreover, wrote to the King of Scots, representing the court party as engaged in a conspiracy against his title to the succession, in favour of the Infanta of Spain, Donna Isabella Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II., and married to the Archduke Albert, and urging James to send ambassadors to London forthwith, in order to insist upon an open declaration of his title by Elizabeth. It was impossible that these proceedings should be kept secret: the court soon heard all, and summoned Essex to appear before the privy council. At that moment a note, from an unknown writer, warning him to provide for his safety, was put into his hand; and he was told, soon after, that the guard had been doubled at the palace. He saw that he must either fly, be arrested where he was, or strike his blow; and on the following morning, being Sunday, the 8th of February, in conjunction with the earls of Rutland and Southampton, Lord Sandys, Lord Mounteagle, and about three hundred gentlemen, many of whom had joined him the preceding night on notice sent to them by him that his life was threatened by Cobham and Raleigh, he resolved to enter the city during sermon time at Paul's Cross, to call upon the people to join him against his enemies, and with their help to force his way to the queen. As the company was about to set forth, the lord keeper Egerton, Sir William Knollys, the lord chief justice Popham, and the Earl of Worcester, arrived at Essex House to inquire the cause of that tumultuous assembly. They were admitted into the house by the wicket-gate, but their attendants were excluded. When Egerton and Popham asked what all this meant, Essex replied, in a loud and passionate voice,—"There is a plot laid for my life—letters have been forged in my name—men have been hired to murder me in my bed—mine enemies cannot be satisfied unless they suck my blood!" The lord chief justice said that he ought to explain his case, and that the queen would do impartial justice. While this conversation was going on a tumult arose in the assembly, and some voices exclaimed,—"They abuse you, my lord,—they betray you,—you are losing time." The lord keeper, putting on his cap, and turning to the assembly, commanded them, in the queen's name, to lay down their arms and depart. Upon this there was a louder cry—"Kill them! kill them!—keep them for hostages!—away with the great seal!" The Earl of Essex took them to an inner apartment, where, bidding them have patience for half an hour, he bolted the door upon them, and placed over them a guard of musqueteers. Then, drawing his sword, he rushed out of his house, followed by the earls of Rutland and Southampton, Lord Sandys, Lord Mounteagle, and most of the gentlemen. On reaching the city he found that the streets were empty, that there was no preaching at Paul's Cross, and that the people remained quiet within their houses. The

queen had procured this great quiet by sending orders to the lord mayor and aldermen. The earl shouted—"For the queen, my mistress!—a plot is laid for my life!"—and he entreated the citizens to arm themselves. But though the common people cried "God bless your honour," not one man, from the chiefest citizen to the meanest artificer or prentice, armed with him. The citizens were not without their discontents and desire of change, particularly on the grounds of religion,—for London swarmed with Puritans,—but their wealth made them cautious and loyal.* Essex went into the house of Smith, one of the sheriffs, and remained there some time, not knowing what to do. About two o'clock in the afternoon he again went forth, and having passed to and fro through divers streets, and being forsaken by many of his followers, he resolved to make the nearest way to his own house. He found the streets barricaded in many places with empty carts, and, coming into Ludgate, he was strongly resisted by several companies of well armed men, levied and placed there by the Lord Bishop of London. A sharp skirmish ensued; several were wounded; the earl himself was twice shot through the hat; and Sir Christopher Blount, his stepfather, was sore wounded in the head, and taken prisoner. Essex then turned, and retreated into Friday-street; and, being faint, he desired drink, which was given him by the citizens. He made his way to Queenhithe, where he took boat, and so gained Essex House. To his increased dismay he found that all the imprisoned lords had been liberated and conveyed to court by his own esteemed trusty friend and servant, Sir Ferdinando Gorge, who, by this act, sought to provide for his own safety. He then fortified his house, with full purpose to die in his own defence,—hoping, however, it is said, that the citizens would yet join him. But the house was presently hemmed in on all sides by a very great force, and not a man came to his relief. Some great pieces of artillery were planted against the building. His case was hopeless, but still he hesitated. One of his faithful followers, Captain Owen Salisbury, seeing all hopes were gone, stood openly in a window, bare-headed, on purpose to be slain; and one in the street hit him in the side of the head with a musket bullet. "Oh, that thou hadst been so much my friend as to have shot but a little lower," exclaimed Salisbury. But the wound was serious enough to save him from the horrid death of a traitor, and he died the next morning. At length, about ten o'clock at night, Essex held a parley, and then surrendered to the lord-admiral, upon a promise of a fair hearing and a speedy trial. Essex and the Earl of Southampton were committed to the Tower, the other prisoners were lodged in various goals in London and Westminster. Two or three days after this mad affray, Thomas Lee, a soldier of fortune, was heard to say, that if the friends of Essex meant to save him from the block, they should petition the queen in a body, and not depart till they had their prayer granted. On that same evening Lee was seen in the crowd at the door of the presence-chamber as the queen sat at her supper: he was seized, and on the very next day arraigned on a charge of intending to murder her majesty, and with a most flagrant disregard to law and justice, was condemned to die the horrible death of a traitor, it being deemed expedient to give a high colouring to the case of Essex, and to impress the people with a notion of their sovereign's danger. On the 17th of February the victim was drawn to Tyburn, where he died declaring his innocence.* On the 19th the Earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned before twenty-five peers, with the Lord Buckhurst as lord steward. Among the peers were Cobham and Grey, and others the personal enemies of Essex, the very men whom he had accused of seeking his life. With his eye fixed on these men, Essex touched his companion in misfortune, Southampton, on the sleeve, and smiled. He then asked the lord chief justice whether the privilege which was permitted to every private person on his trial, might be granted to them—namely, to make challenge of any of the peers against whom they might have just cause of exception. The chief justice made a distinction between peers and jurors, saying, "That verily the law did allow no challenge of any of the peers; for such was the credit and estimation of the peers of England, that they are neither compelled to an oath on arraignment, nor are subject to any exception." Whereupon the Earl said he was satisfied, and desired them to go on. When they were called upon to hold up their right hands, Essex said that he had before that time done it often at her majesty's command for a better purpose. The indictment charged them with having imagined to deprive and depose the queen's majesty, to procure her death and destruction, and also a cruel slaughter of her majesty's subjects, with *alteration of the religion* established, and total change of government.

Essex, in pleading not guilty, called God to witness that he had done nothing but that which the law of nature commanded him to do in his own defence. The indictment was supported with the usual vehemence by the crown lawyers, Yelverton, Coke, and Francis Bacon. The latter, by his conduct on this occasion, laid some of the dark spots on his fame which no genius can or ought ever to erase. It appears, however, that his tone was less virulent than that of either Coke or Yelverton; but Coke and Yelverton were not bound to the Earl of Essex, as Bacon was, by the strongest obligations. Yelverton compared Essex to Catiline; for as Catiline entertained the most seditious persons about all Rome to join with him in his conspiracy, so had the Earl of Essex entertained none but papists, recusants, and atheists for his rebellion in London; but he hoped that God, of his mercy, would not suffer any hurt; and he prayed God long to preserve the queen. Essex and Southampton said "Amen! and God confound their souls who ever wished otherwise." Coke, as

* Camden.

* Camden.—Stow.

attorney-general, defined the crime, and set forth the acts of treason proved by witnesses of the insurrection, and by the confessions of accomplices, whom the queen, "out of overmuch clemency to others, and overmuch cruelty to herself, had spared the rack and torture:" and he ended a long speech, in which he called the prisoners papist and dissolute, desperate and atheistical, by saying "The earl would have called a parliament; and a bloody parliament would that have been, where my Lord of Essex, that now stands all in black, would have worn a bloody robe; but now, in God's just judgment, he of his earldom shall be Robert the last, that of a kingdom thought to be Robert the first." Essex begged that he might not be judged by the atrocity of Coke's words, but by the facts; declaring that he resorted to arms in self-defence, and to remove evil counsellors, naming Cobham and Raleigh; that he had never the remotest thought of violence to the queen. Cobham, who was sitting among the peers, rose in his place, and said that he bore no malice, but only hated the ambition of Essex. Essex swore that he would submit to have his right hand cut off if it might remove from the queen's person such a tale-bearing, vile calumniator. The Earl of Southampton pleaded that many things, indeed, were propounded, but nothing performed, or even resolved upon; that it had, indeed, been advised among them that they should surprise the court, and take the Tower at once: but, as neither of these two things had been done, there could be no treason. It is true, he said, they had consulted at Drury House how they should secure the queen or get free access to her; but this was only that they might prostrate themselves at her feet, and lay forth their grievances, which were concealed from her by those who constantly surrounded her. "I confess," he added, "that I could have been well content to have ventured my life in my Lord of Essex's quarrel against his private enemies: this was the whole scope and drift of all our meetings; and that this was not with any treasonable thought I take God to witness." After some interruption from attorney-general Coke, Southampton put it to the candour of that great lawyer to say what he thought they would have done with her majesty if they had reached the court. "I protest upon my soul, and in my conscience, that I do believe she should not have lived long after she had been in your power. Note but the precedents of former ages: how long lived King Richard the Second after he was surprised in the same manner?"—was the cold-blooded reply of Coke, who could not possibly have believed what he insinuated. Bacon had to perform the task of taking to pieces and exposing the "weak defence" of his former friend and patron Essex. "And this I must needs say," said he, "it is quite evident that my Lord of Essex had design in his heart against the government, and now, under colour of excuse, he lays the cause upon his private enemies. My Lord of Essex, I cannot compare your proceedings more rightly than to those of Pisistratus in Athens. My Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, if you rightly understood them, are your best friends, honourable and faithful counsellors." Here Essex reminded Bacon that he himself, "who was a daily courtier, and had free access to her majesty," pretending to be his friend, and grieved at his misfortunes, had undertaken to go to the queen in his behalf, and had drawn up in his own hand a letter, from which it would appear what conceit he, Mr. Bacon, had of those two men (Cobham and Raleigh) and of him. Coke came in to the aid of Bacon, who was somewhat abashed by this reference to his own doings and free speaking about Cecil, Cobham, and Raleigh. Essex was accused of saying, in London, that the crown of England was sold to the Spaniards. "I spake it not of myself," said Essex, "for it was told me that Mr. Secretary Cecil did say to one of his fellow-counsellors that the infanta's title, comparatively, was as good in succession as any other." Upon this Sir Robert Cecil, who had been present in the court, but unseen, started up from his hiding-place, and then humbly prayed the lord high steward, upon his knees, to give him leave to answer to so false and foul a report. Having obtained permission, he fell upon the prisoner in this sort—"My Lord of Essex, the difference between you and me is great. For wit I give you the pre-eminence—you have it abundantly; for nobility also I give you place—I am not noble, yet a gentleman; I am no swordsman—there, also, you have the odds; but I have innocence, conscience, truth, and honesty, to defend me against the scandal and sting of slanderous tongues; and in this court I stand as an upright man, and your lordship as a delinquent. . . . You have a wolf's heart in a sheep's garment: in appearance humble and religious, but in this position not so. God be thanked we now know you; your religion appears by those Papists who were your chief counsellors, and to whom and others you had promised liberty of conscience hereafter. . . . I humbly thank God that you did not take me for a fit companion for you and your humour, for if you had, you would have driven me to betray my sovereign. But I challenge you to name the counsellor to whom I spoke these words about the infanta's title. Name him if you dare; if you do not name him, it must be believed to be a fiction." The Earl of Essex, turning to Southampton, said that *he* was the honourable person that had heard it all. Cecil then conjured Sonthampton, by their former friendship, to name the counsellor who had said that he (Cecil) had spoken those words. Southampton appealed to the court whether it were consistent with honour that he should betray the secret; "and," added he, "if you say upon your honour it be fit, I will name him." The court said that it was fit and honourable; and Southampton thereupon said, "It was told my Lord of Essex and myself that you should speak such words about the infanta to Mr. Comptroller, Sir William Knollys." A serjeant-at-arms was

despatched for Knollys; and, in the interval, Coke pressed the accusations of hypocrisy and irreligion upon Essex—"forasmuch as, having in his house continual preaching, he yet was content to have Sir Christopher Blount, a notorious Papist, in his house, and to promise toleration of religion." Blount, it must be remembered, was Essex's stepfather.* The earl said he knew him to be a Papist, and had often sought his conversion; and that, being in speech together about matters of religion, Blount had told him that he was too passionate against those of his profession: "Whereto," said Essex, "I replied thus—'Did you ever know that at such times as I had power in the state, I was willing that any one should be troubled for his conscience?' And this, my lords, is the whole ground and substance of my promise for toleration of religion." It was very unnecessary for him to defend himself against what ought to have tended to his glory! When Sir William Knollys arrived in court, he deposed that he merely heard Cecil say that the title of the infanta was maintained in a printed book.† It was not likely that Knollys should commit himself in a question between a fallen favourite and a minister of state, like Sir Robert Cecil, daily rising in favour and power: on the other hand, the charge against Cecil wears little appearance of probability. None of the witnesses were produced on the trial, with the exception of Gorge, who had liberated the ministers from Essex's house, and this man was confused and pale when cross-questioned by Essex. After another speech by Bacon, who now compared Essex to the Duke of Guise, and called his *defence* a silly defence, and his *offence* treason, the Lord High Steward directed the peers to withdraw, and ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to remove the two prisoners from the bar.

When the lords had got together in a private place, fairly hung with tapestry, the two Chief Justices and the Lord Chief Baron went to them to deliver their opinions in law, and to show that every rebellion, or intended rebellion—any attempt to force and compel the sovereign to govern otherwise than according to his own royal authority and discretion—was manifest treason, and that the proofs adduced against Essex and Southampton were all-sufficient. In half an hour the peers came forth again with an unanimous sentence of guilty against both the earls. When the clerk of the crown asked the mournful question of form, what he could say for himself why judgment of death should not be pronounced against him, Essex answered like a man tired of life, but he begged earnestly for mercy to his friend Southampton. The Lord Steward advised him to submit, and implore the queen's mercy by acknowledging and confessing all his offences. Essex begged him not to think him too proud, but he could not ask for mercy in that way, though with all humility he prayed her majesty's forgiveness; he would rather die than live in misery; he had cleared his accounts, had forgiven all the world, and was ready and willing to be out of it.* Immediately after his arrival at the Tower, he was visited by the Dean of Norwich, who was to endeavour to obtain from him the names of all such as had been engaged with him in any way in the enterprise. The dean met with no success; but it was otherwise when the earl was attended by his own chaplain, Mr. Ashton—"a base, fearful, and mercenary man," who had obtained a great ascendancy over him, and who, to all appearance, had now sold himself to the Cecil party at court. The day after Ashton's visit, Essex made an ample confession, implicating several individuals, and, it is said, among others, the King of Scotland. His confession filled four sheets of paper; but many doubts are entertained as to its accuracy. We believe that the story of the queen's vacillation and agony, with the romantic incident of the ring, rests upon no good foundation. Her personal regard for Essex had been extinguished for some time; and it is proved, by letters and documents in the State Paper Office, that, as soon as his confession was obtained, his execution was prepared, without serious objection on the part of the queen. One of the strangest things attending the case was the resolution to make this execution a private one, and to declare that the earl himself had been an exceeding earnest suitor to be executed privately in the Tower, whither no friend, not even his wife or mother, had been admitted to see him since his first committal! It was evidently an object with government to bury the real voice of the earl, that he might not retrieve his character for honour and faithfulness to his friends, or question or contradict the alleged confession. The day before this close execution, the Lord Keeper Egerton, Lord Buckhurst, and Sir Robert Cecil wrote to Lord Thomas Howard, constable of the Tower, warning him that none must be admitted without an order. "Her majesty," says the letter, "will have some seven or eight noblemen named by herself to be there, who shall bring our warrants to you; and, therefore, it is fit you should leave some officer at the gate early to let them in, as also to let in some couple of divines, which also shall come with our letters, or the Archbishop of Canterbury's." In the course of the same day they wrote another letter to the constable and the lieutenant of the Tower jointly, telling them that the Lord of Canterbury's grace would send two discreet and learned divines to be at the Tower by six o'clock in the morning at the latest (*which in the month of February would be before daylight*), that they must admit the two divines into the Tower, and signify her majesty's pleasure unto them that they should be both present at the execution of the *late* Earl of Essex, as well for the purpose of giving

* He had married Essex's mother on the death of her second husband, the favourite Leicester.

† "A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England." This book, which bears the assumed name of Doleman, is supposed to have been written by the celebrated English Jesuit, Father Parsons.

* Jardine, Crim. Trials.

comfort to his soul, which her majesty infinitely desired, as also that both they (the two discreet divines) and the constable and lieutenants should, with all care and circumspection, take heed that the said late earl, at the time of his execution, should especially contain his speeches within limits, such as confession of his great treasons and of his sins towards God, his hearty repentance for the same, and prayers to God for pardon. If the earl should break from that course, and say other kind of things upon the scaffold, they were to stop him at once, having a great and vigilant care thereunto; for it was nowise safe to let him at that time enter into any such course. And if the earl were to say again that he had had no ill meaning except against his private enemies, they were to divert him utterly from that course. Where precautions like these were taken—when things are witnessed by a few picked courtiers and discreet divines, we can have no reliance on the descriptions of executions and last words.*

On Ash Wednesday, the 25th of February, at about eight o'clock in the morning, the head of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, was severed from his body in an inner court of the Tower. Sir Walter Raleigh, according to his own account, witnessed his death from the Armoury. His body and head were placed in a coffin and carried into the Tower chapel, where they were buried near to the remains of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Arundel. He was only thirty-three years old! "He was a most accomplished person," says Camden, "and had all those good qualities in perfection that become a nobleman. The queen had a particular value for him, because he was a brave soldier, and, indeed, was made for a camp... Indeed, he was a person not rightly calculated for a court, as being not easily brought to any mean compliances. He was of a temper that would readily kindle an injury, but would not so easily forget one; and so far was he from being capable of dissembling a resentment, that he carried his passions in his forehead, and the friend or the enemy was easily read in his face." But, though impetuous and rash, Essex was far indeed from being the hair-brained shallow man that he has been represented. His acquirements were very considerable; and "all his letters," as it has been observed, "whether in Latin or English, of an earlier or later date, public or private, partake uniformly of the same clearness and elegance of manner."* Bacon admitted that his style was far better than his own; and to beauty of style and a refined and elegant taste Essex united occasionally great and noble thoughts. His name, also, ought to be revered as that of a friend to religious toleration in a most intolerant age. He was acceptable, says Carte, to the Catholics, for his extreme aversion to the putting of anybody to death on account of religion. "The Irish," said Essex himself, "are alienated from the English as well for religion as government.... I would achieve pacification there by compositon rather than by the sword." The earl of Southampton was not sent to the block, but he remained a close prisoner in the Tower until the accession of James I., when he was immediately released, restored to his title and estates, and taken into that sovereign's favour. There were many things which rendered the close of this long reign gloomy and altogether different from its beginning. In spite of the pulpit and the press, Essex continued the darling of the people, and a strong current of unpopularity set in against the government. When the old queen appeared abroad the people no longer hailed her as they had been wont to do; and her ministers and counsellors were insulted and hooted. And yet they went on to shed more blood about this wild business, which ought to have been forgotten as soon as over. On the last day of February a young man named Woodhouse was hanged for speaking against the queen's proclamation and apprehending of the Earl of Essex. On the 13th of March, Cuffe, the secretary, and Merrick, the steward of Essex, were drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, both of them dying very resolutely. On the 18th of March Sir Charles Davers, or Danvers, a close friend of the Earl of Southampton, was publicly beheaded upon Tower Hill, where he ascended the scaffold wonderously cheerful, and died like a brave man, saying, that he had always had reasons to love my Lord of Southampton, and inculpating no one. On the same day, and as soon as the body of this victim was removed from the scaffold, Sir Christopher Blount, the step-father of the Earl of Essex, was stretched over the same block, and died with equal firmness, protesting that he had been and was a true Catholic, Sir Walter Raleigh stood near the scaffold all the time, not foreseeing the day when he should be there as a sufferer, not as a spectator. Sir John Davies, Sir Edward Baynam, and Mr. Littleton, were also condemned as traitors; but Davies, after a year's confinement, obtained a pardon; Baynam bought a pardon by giving large sums of money to Sir Walter Raleigh; and Littleton, having surrendered a great estate, and paid a fine of 10,000*l.*, was removed to the King's Bench, where he died three months after.

If at this moment Elizabeth had had the neck of the sapient James of Scotland under the protection of her laws, it would scarcely have had a better chance than his mother's; for Elizabeth,

* Some said that Essex was executed so privately only for fear that he mi[illegible] say something unfavourable to the queen's virtue. Cecil was [illegible] commonly earnest in declaring in the French court, where Ess[illegible] was much admired, that the earl had petitioned to die in private. Nay, replied Henry IV., rather the clean contrary, for he desired nothing more than to die in public. That part of the clergy, however, that were in the habit of receiving court orders, declared that the earl had asked for a private execution, in order that he might not have his religious thoughts disturbed. Previously to his execution the pulpits were very actively employed against Essex, who was called that hateful earl, that wicked earl—that arch traitor, &c. &c. In the State Paper Office there is a curious paper of this date, entitled, "Directions to the Preachers." We have seen already, on several occasions, that the pulpit was made a state engine. Francis Bacon drew up an ingenious declaration, a copy of which was forwarded to foreign courts, and made public at home.

* Ellis, Orig. Letters.

no doubt, knew of that prince's correspondence with the Earl of Essex. There is some reason, indeed, for suspecting that the English queen was not unconcerned in an extraordinary affair which happened in Scotland only a few months before Essex's wild outbreak. The Gowrie conspiracy, as it is called, is perhaps the most perplexing puzzle in history—for not only is the evidence as to the facts defective and contradictory, which is a common case, but we are scarcely any nearer a satisfactory solution of the mystery, let us select any version of the story we please. According to an account drawn up by James himself, and published by authority immediately after the event,* "his majesty having his residence at Falkland, and being daily at the buck-hunting (as his use is in that season), upon the 5th day of August, being Tuesday, he rode out to the park, between six and seven of the clock in the morning, the weather being wonderful pleasant and seasonable. But before his majesty could leap on horseback, his highness being now come down by the equery, all the huntsmen, with the hounds, attending his majesty on the green, and the court making to their horses, as his highness self was, Master Alexander Ruthven, second brother to the late Earl of Gowrie, being then lighted in the town of Falkland, hasted him fast down to overtake his majesty before his on-leaping, as he did." John Earl of Gowrie and his brother Alexander were the sons of William Earl of Gowrie, beheaded in 1584 for his share in the Raid of Ruthven, and the grandsons of Patrick Lord Ruthven, the old murderer of Rizzio. Between the royal house and them, therefore, there was a hereditary enmity—though, as matters stood at the present moment, James may perhaps be supposed to have had a stronger inducement to seek their destruction than they had to attempt his. The two brothers had taken little or no part in the political contests of their time, but they had always been regarded as belonging to the Presbyterian or English party, and as such in opposition to James's government. Both had travelled in their youth, and had improved great natural advantages of mind and person by all manly accomplishments, and even by considerable literary and scientific acquirements; so that they were perhaps the two individuals of greatest cultivation and refinement among the Scottish nobility of their day, and the least likely to engage in any scheme of lawless violence.

On the other hand it must be admitted that such an adventure as the present was not one into which James was very likely to throw himself of his own accord. On Alexander Ruthven coming up to the king, "after a very low courtesy," the royal narrative proceeds, "bowing his head unto his majesty's knee (although he was never wont to make so low courtesy), drawing his majesty apart, he begins to discourse unto him, but with a very dejected countenance, his eyes ever fixed upon the earth." He told a story about having the evening before found a countryman near the town of St. Johnston (or Perth), having concealed under his cloak "a wide pot, all full of coined gold in great pieces," whom he had apprehended and placed in security; and what he wanted of the king was, that his majesty should immediately come along with him to see this man and his pot of gold.

This strange statement of course rests wholly on the authority of James, who, as he tells us, though he at first refused, and rode away after the hounds, yet, "notwithstanding the pleasant beginning of the chase, could not stay from musing and wondering upon the news," and in a little time, calling Ruthven back to him, informed him that he would accompany him to Perth as soon as the chase was ended. "The chase lasted from about seven of the clock in the morning until eleven and more, being one of the greatest and sorest chases that ever his majesty was at." At the death of the buck the king and Ruthven rode away together towards Perth, several of his Majesty's attendants following at some distance. James's suspicions of some treasonable device were, he informs us, strongly excited on the road; and, indeed, he seems to have been thrown into such a state of perturbation by the apprehensions his imagination conjured up, that we are scarcely entitled to wonder at any misconception, however unfounded or extravagant, that may have afterwards entered his head. Nor did the reception he met with when they reached the Earl of Gowrie's house, adjoining to the town, tend to restore his composure. The earl, it should appear, had not been advertised of his coming till a few minutes before he made his appearance; on which, rising in haste from the midst of his dinner, he called together his servants and friends, and proceeded to meet his majesty with a train of about fourscore persons, those with the king not being above fifteen in number, and all unarmed. This put James into a state of greater fright than ever. Then came another annoyance; it was a full hour before dinner was brought in, and it was a very poor entertainment when it was at last set on the table; "the lonesomeness of preparing the same, and badness of the cheer, being excused upon the sudden coming of his majesty unlooked for there." After dinner, during which the behaviour of the earl occasioned James some new alarms, which he seems to have tried to wash away by copious potations, he and Alexander proceeded together to a distant part of the building, where, as the latter professed, they were to see the man with the pot of gold. As they passed from room to room James says that Ruthven carefully locked every door behind him, till at last "his majesty entered a little study, where he saw standing, with a very abased countenance, not a bond man, but a free man, with a dagger at his girdle. But his majesty had no sooner entered into that little study, and Master Alexander

* "A Discourse of the Unnatural and Vile Conspiracy attempted by John Earl of Gowrie and his Brother against his Majesty's Person;" printed in the Harleian Miscellany, in Cogan's Tracts, in the Memoirs of David Moyses, and with Annotations by Lord Hailes, Edin. 1757, and with his Annals, Edin. 1819.

with him, but Master Alexander locked to the study door behind him; and at that instant, changing his countenance, putting his hat on his head, and drawing the dagger from that other man's girdle, held the point of it to the king's breast, avowing now that the king behoved to be in his will and used as he list; swearing many bloody oaths, that, if the king cried one word, or opened a window to look out, that dagger should presently go to his heart; affirming that he was sure that how the king's conscience was burthened for murdering his father."

The king replied in many words, pointing out the enormity of the offence, and concluding by a promise, "that if he would spare his life, and suffer him to go out again, he would never reveal to any living flesh what was betwixt them at the time." "At his majesty's persuasive language," continues the account, "he appeared to be somewhat amazed:" taking off his hat, he promised that the king's life should be safe; and then went out to bring in the earl, leaving James in charge of the servant-man, who had stood all the while "trembling and quaking, like one condemned," and who declared that, as the Lord should judge him, he had not been made acquainted with any purpose his master might have, but had been put in the closet and the door locked upon him only a little space before his majesty's coming. In the mean time, it is said, the earl had endeavoured to rid himself of James's attendants, by falsely informing them that the king was gone by a back gate. Alexander Ruthven soon returned; and now, according to this narrative, he distinctly told James that he must die, and was proceeding with a garter to bind his hands, when the king, suddenly releasing himself from his gripe, seized the hand which Ruthven already had upon his sword, while the two at the same time clasped each other's throats, Ruthven having "two or three of his fingers in his majesty's mouth, to have stayed him from crying." The king, however, dragging him to the window, called out "murder!"—at which sound his attendants, who chanced at the very moment to be passing under the window, rushed in a body up the stairs, at the top of which they found the two still struggling, James having now forced Ruthven out of the study, and, if we may believe his own statement, being just about to throw "his sword out of his hand, thinking to have stricken him therewith, and then to have shot him over the stair." The end of the strange affair was, that both Ruthven and his brother the earl, who eventually also took part in the fray, were overpowered and slain, but James escaped without hurt. When the news of this adventure of James's was first published it was very generally received by his own subjects with suspicion or incredulity. The clergy, in particular, for some time refused to obey the order issued to them to read his "Discourse of the Unnatural and Vile Conspiracy" from their pulpits; and one of the most distinguished of their number, Mr. Robert Bruce, could not be prevailed upon by all the king's persuasions to say more than that he *respected* his majesty's account of the affair, but would not answer for *believing* it. For this Bruce was deprived and banished. So long as nine years after, however, some evidence accidentally turned up, which proved that the Ruthvens had made vague communications, to some persons who were in their confidence, of certain designs they had against the king; and it is also important to mention that, at the time, Andrew Henderson, the Earl of Gowrie's steward, confessed, on a promise of pardon, that he was the man stationed in the closet with a dagger, and confirmed, in most points, the king's narrative, so far as he could speak on the subject. But nothing was ever discovered to clear up the mystery as to the motives of the Ruthvens, supposing the conspiracy to be admitted. Among many different theories which the ingenuity of modern inquirers has suggested, one, proposed by an eminent historian, would trace the attempt to the contrivance of Elizabeth; in support of which view it is alleged that, besides the Earl of Gowrie's known attachment to the English interest, he had, during his residence in Paris, contracted an intimate friendship with Sir Henry Neville, the queen's ambassador there, and was recommended by him to his court as a person of whom great use might be made; that he had been received by Elizabeth, as he returned home through England with distinguished marks of respect and favour; that Elizabeth's participation in the affair was matter of general suspicion at the time; that for some months before an English ship was observed hovering in the mouth of the Frith of Forth; that after the failure of the conspiracy the earl's two younger brothers fled into England, and were protected by Elizabeth; and, finally, that James, though he prudently concealed what he felt, is well known to have at this time taken great umbrage at the behaviour of the English queen. The object of the conspiracy, it is assumed on this supposition, was only to coerce James, and control the government, as had been the object of the authors of the Raid of Ruthven sixteen years before—an enterprise which was in like manner instigated and supported by Elizabeth.*

James, on receiving news of Essex's failure, sent up to London especial ambassadors, the Earl of Marr and Mr. Edward Bruce, of Kinloss, to exculpate himself, to remove the impediments which had been raised against his succession, and to walk securely between the two precipices of the queen and the people. If they found that the queen had lost the love of her subjects—if there was a great hatred, not merely against the present rulers in the court, but also against the queen personally,—then the Scottish ambassadors were to inquire as to what means the people possessed of overthrowing both the queen and her ministry, and James would reflect and determine what should be done; but if,

* Robertson, Hist. Scot.

on the contrary, the popular discontents were not of a very desperate kind, then they were to keep in good terms with the queen, and "dally with the present guiders." James, who wrote these previous instructions himself, further told the two envoys that they must be careful to take the time right; not to be too precipitate, and yet not to mar all for lack of good backing, as it would be very unwise to give the English people a ground of excuse against him; that, by suffering them to be overthrown through his not declaring himself in time, "they were forced to sue to other saints." "But," continues this high professor of king-craft, "in this last point have a care with the facility of the people, and the craft of the council; for I know that they concluded, before that ever they saw you, to deny you whatever you craved, thereby to force me to appear in my own colours, as they call it." What James *craved* was, that Elizabeth would believe that he had had no secret correspondence with any of her subjects; that she would receive his honour's pledge that he would never give her any cause of grief during her lifetime; that she would relieve all such as were kept in prison for merely speaking with him; that she would give out a plain declaration that he was untouched in any action or practice that ever had been intended against her, especially in this last; that she would liberally consider of his necessities, and give him the lands of his fraternal grandmother, the Countess of Lennox; and that she would remember her old promise, that nothing should be done by her, in her time, in prejudice of his future right to the English crown—"excepted always," adds James, "if she be not to endure as long as the sun and the moon." But at the same time the Earl of Marr and Mr. Edward Bruce were to set forward their *private* negociations with the country, to obtain all the certainty they could of the town of London that in the due time it would favour the right, to renew and confirm their acquaintance with the lieutenant of the Tower, to obtain as great a certainty as they could of the fleet, to secure the hearts of as many noblemen and knights as they could get dealing with, and settle what every one of their parts should be at the great day (the day of Elizabeth's death), to foresee anent armour for every shire, that, against that day, his enemies should not have the whole command of the army, and his friends only be unarmed; and to do as they had written, and distribute good sowers in every shire, that should never leave working till the day of reaping came. They were instructed to behave to her majesty with all honour, respect, and love to her person; but if she gave them flat denials they were to tell her that the day might come when the base instruments about her, that abused her ear, would be left to themselves, when there would be no bar between him and them, and when he would crave account of them, and of their presumption. And they were also to tell Mr. Secretary Cecil, and his followers, that, if they would thus continue to misknow him, when the chance should turn, he, the king, would cast a deaf ear to all their requests. "And," continues James, "whereas now I would have been content to have given them, by your means, a pre-assurance of my favour, if, at this time, they had pressed; so now they, contemning it, may be assured never hereafter to be heard, but all the queen's hard usage of me to be hereafter craved at their hands."* Cecil, who never loved or hated a man except with a direct reference to what he might get or lose, was convinced at once by these arguments, which every day acquired more weight from the declining health and spirits of the queen. Three or four years before this she had had a very dangerous attack. Soothsayers had said that she would live to be seventy-five; but, if she went off suddenly, what would be the fate of the enemies of a king, who would inevitably be brought in on the strong shoulders of hereditary right? Cecil immediately engaged to smooth all difficulties, and he forthwith entered into a secret correspondence, by ciphers, with King James—a correspondence which would have cost him his head, if it had been discovered by Elizabeth. The Lord Henry Howard undertook the dangerous office of conducting the chief part of this correspondence—a most rich fund of amusement, if not of instruction. James got, for the present, an addition of 2000*l.* to his pension, and Cecil cajoled the queen, and looked cheerfully beyond her grave.† In these transactions Sir Walter Raleigh lost the chart, and "those wicked villains," Cobham and Raleigh (as they were called by my Lord Henry Howard), were both set down on the wrong side of King James's account-book. In the month of October, 1601, Elizabeth met her parliament for the last time, sick and failing, but dressed more gaily and gorgeously than ever. She was in great straits for money in order to carry on the war in Ireland. The houses voted her much more than had ever been voted at a time, viz., four subsidies, and eight tenths and fifteenths; but the commons were as free of their complaints as they were of their money, and they called loudly and boldly for a redress of grievances. The most notorious of the abuses which disgraced the civil government of Elizabeth were an endless string of monopolies, which had been for the most part bestowed by the queen on her favourites. All kinds of wine, oil, salt, starch, tin, steel, coals, and numerous other commodities, were monopolised by men who had the exclusive right of vending them, and fixing their own prices. The Commons' complaints were not new; they had pressed them many years before, but they had been then silenced by authority, and told that no one must speak against licences and monopolies lest the queen and council should be angry thereat.

* Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI. King of Scotland.

† In May, 1602, when advised to send a special ambassador to Elizabeth, James says, "I have daily large experience, that no resident sent from me could accomplish the hundredth part of that service, which, by the means of my worthy Cecil, is performed unto me there except, as a fool, I would ever be desirous of change."—See *Correspondence.*

Of course, in the interval, they had gone on increasing. When the list of them was now read over in the House, a member asked whether bread was not among the number? The House seemed amazed. Nay, said he, if no remedy is found for these, bread will be there before the next parliament. The ministers and courtiers could not withstand the impetuous attacks which ensued. Raleigh, who dealt largely in tin, and had his fingers in other profitable monopolies, offered to give them all up: Cecil and Bacon talked loudly of the prerogative, and endeavoured to persuade the House that it would be fitter to proceed by petition than by bill; but it was properly answered that nothing had been gained by petitioning in the last parliament. After four days of such debate as the House had not heard before, Elizabeth sent down a message that she would revoke all grants that should be found injurious by fair trial at law; and Cecil, seeing that the Commons were not satisfied with the ambiguous generality of this expression, gave an assurance that the existing patents should all be repealed and no more be granted. The Commons hailed their victory with exceeding great joy, though in effect her majesty did not revoke all of the detestable monopolies. Elizabeth now employed an oblique irony at some of the movers in the debate, but the imperious tone, the harsh schooling, of former years were gone. Her resolute will was now struggling in vain against the infirmities of her body, and she saw that there was a growing spirit among the representatives of the people.

In the mean time the Lord Mountjoy, the successor to Essex in the command of Ireland, had to maintain a tremendous struggle, for Don Juan D'Aguilar landed at Kinsale with four thousand Spanish troops, fortified himself skilfully in that position, and gave fresh life to the Catholic insurgents. But Mountjoy acted with vigour and decision; he collected all the forces he possibly could, and shut up the Spaniards within their lines at Kinsale. On Christmas Eve (1601) the Earl of Tyrone advanced to the assistance of his friends with six thousand native Irish and four hundred foreigners. His project was to attack the English besiegers by surprise before daylight, but Mountjoy, who was awake and ready, repulsed him from all points of his camp, and finally defeated him with great loss. Thereupon D'Aguilar capitulated, and was permitted to return to Spain with arms, baggage, and ammunition. His departure and the destructive ravages of famine brought the Irish to extremities, and Tyrone, after flying from place to place, capitulated, and, upon promise of life and lands, surrendered to Mountjoy at the end of 1602.* Some naval conflicts on the coast of Spain and in the British Channel closed the warlike operations of this long reign, in which the English sailors had learnt to consider themselves equal or superior to any enemy. Mountjoy's great victory at Kinsale somewhat revived the spirits of Elizabeth, who found further consolation in a tall Irish favourite. "Her eye," writes Beaumont, the French ambassador, is still lively; she has good spirits, and is fond of life, for which reason she takes great care of herself: to which may be added an inclination for the Earl of Clancarty, a brave, handsome Irish nobleman. This makes her cheerful, full of hope and confidence respecting her age; this inclination is, besides, promoted by the whole court with so much art that I cannot sufficiently wonder at it. . . . The flatterers about the court say this Irish earl resembles the Earl of Essex; the queen, on the other hand, with equal dissimulation, declares that she cannot like him because he too strongly revives her sorrow for that earl; and this contest employs the whole court." A few months afterwards, on the 19th of March, 1603, Beaumont informed his court that Elizabeth was sinking, and that disease, and not, as she alleged, her grief at the recent death of the Countess of Nottingham, had prevented her from showing herself abroad,—that she had scarcely any sleep, and ate much less than usual, —that she had so great a heat of the mouth and stomach that she was obliged to cool herself every instant in order that the burning phlegm, with which she was often oppressed, might not stifle her. Some people, he said, were of opinion that her illness had been brought on by her displeasure touching the succession; some, that it had been caused by the Irish affairs, her council having constrained her (against her nature and inclination) to grant a pardon to the Earl of Tyrone; while others affirm that she was possessed with grief for the death of the Earl of Essex. "It is certain," adds the ambassador, "that a deep melancholy is visible in her countenance and actions. It is, however, much more probable that the sufferings incident to her age, and the fear of death, are the chief causes of all." In his next dispatch he says that the queen, who would take no medicine whatever, was given up by the physicians. She would not take to her bed, for fear, as some supposed, of a prophecy she should die in that bed. "For the last two days," he adds, "she has been sitting on cushions on the floor, neither rising nor lying down, her finger almost always in her mouth, her eyes open and fixed on the ground. . . . Yet, as this morning the queen's band has gone to her, I believe she means to die as cheerfully as she has lived." On the 21st of March she was put to bed, partly by force, and

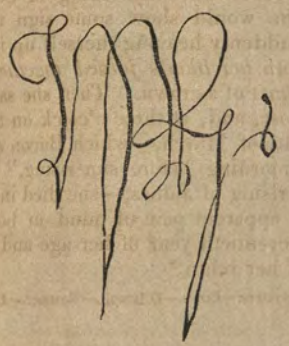
* "Thus," says Camden, "was Tir Oen's rebellion happily extinguished through the queen's better fortune and the good conduct of the Lord Mountjoy, lord deputy. It commenced at first upon personal disgusts, with a little touch of ambition at the bottom; it was fomented and kept up by the neglect and stinginess of England; it ran all over Ireland on the pretence of restoring popery, and the prospect of unbounded liberty; it got strength by the weakness and credulity of some, and the private countenance of others that were in place, and gained more ground by one or two fortunate successes, backed by the Spaniard's gold and forces and the pope's indulgences; it was protracted and spun out by the ill-timed emulation of the English, the lodging of the government in two hands, and the avarice of the old soldiers, who made the war a kind of trade; to which we may add the subtle stratagems of Tir Oen, his feigned submissions and treacherous capitulations, the protections granted to offenders, the difficulty and straitness of the roads and passages, and, in the last place, the desperate temper of the Irish, who trusted more to the swiftness of their heels than the strength of their hands."

listened attentively to the prayers and discourses of the Bishop of Chichester, the Bishop of London, but chiefly to Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury. It is scarcely necessary to put the reader on his guard against an over-positive belief in any of the accounts of what passed in these moments of mystery and awe, when the people about her were determined to make her say the things that made most for their interest and plans. The narrative more generally received is, that, on the 22nd of March, Secretary Cecil, with the Lord Admiral and the Lord Keeper, approached the dying queen and begged her to name her successor; she started, and then said, "I told you my seat has been the seat of kings;—I will have no *rascal* to succeed me!" The lords, not understanding this dark speech, looked the one on the other; but, at length, Cecil boldly asked her what she meant by those words,—no rascal? She replied that a king should succeed her, and who could that be but her cousin of Scotland? They then asked her whether that was her absolute resolution? whereupon she begged them to trouble her no more. Notwithstanding, some hours after, when the Archbishop of Canterbury and other divines had been with her, and had left her in a manner speechless, the three lords repaired to her again, and Cecil besought her, if she would have the King of Scots to succeed her, she would show some sign unto them. Whereat, suddenly heaving herself up in her bed, she held both her hands joined together over her head in manner of a crown. Then she sank down, fell into a dose, and, at three o'clock on the morning of the 24th of March,—which Bacon accounted "as a fine morning before sun-rising," meaning thereby the rising of James,—she died in a stupor, without any apparent pain of mind or body. She was in the seventieth year of her age and the forty-fifth year of her reign.*

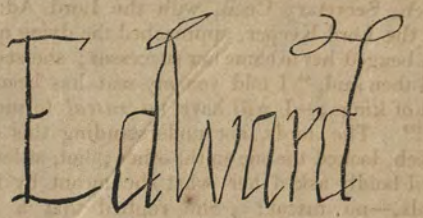
* Camden.—Somers.—Birch.—D'Israeli.—Raumer.—Lodge.

Tomb of Queen Elizabeth, in the north aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey.

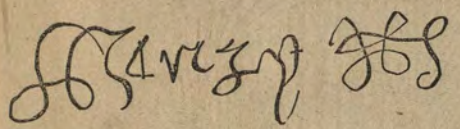
SERIES OF AUTOGRAPHS OF ENGLISH KINGS AND QUEENS.



HENRY VII. Cotton MS. Caligula, B. 6.

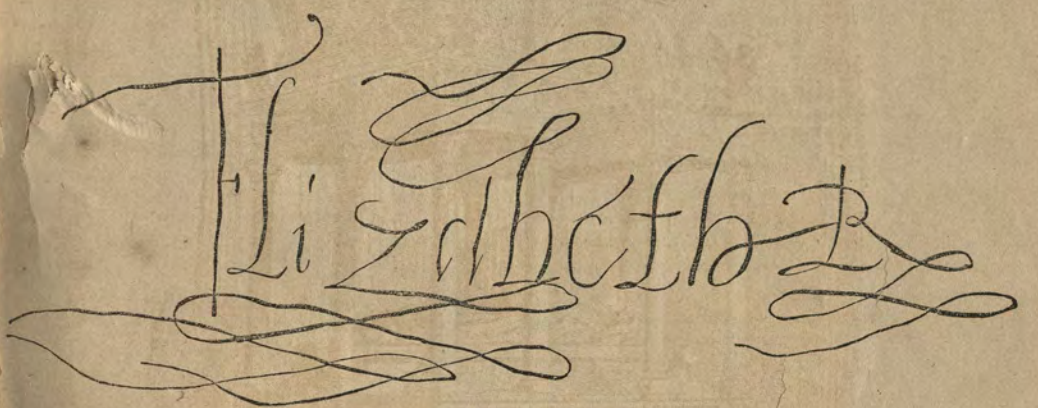


EDWARD VI. Cotton MS. Vespasian, F. 13.



HENRY VIII. Cotton MS. Vespasian, F. 13.

MARY. Cotton MS. Vespasian, F. 13.



ELIZABETH Harleian MS. No. 285.

Wolsey, after a Picture by Holbein.
Gardiner, after a Picture by Holbein.
Cranmer, after an Old Painting at Lambeth Palace.
Latimer, from an Old Painting at Thuneaston.
Ridley, from an Old Painting by Vanderwerff.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

THE history both of the changes that took place during this period in the constitution of the national church, and also, to some extent, of the new opinions, the controversies, and the persecutions out of which they arose, or by which they were accompanied, has necessarily been given in the preceding Chapter, along with the general history of the kingdom, of which it forms for a considerable space of time, the principal part. The task that remains to us here is little more than to fill up the outline that has been already drawn with a few details illustrative of the affairs of the church as distinguished from those of the state.

Throughout the reign of Henry VII., however, and the first half of that of his son and successor —that is to say, for rather more than a third of the present period,—the ancient Roman faith was still both the all but universal belief of the people, and the yet unmodified and omnipotent religion of the law. As often happens with institutions in the

last stage of their existence, the power and glory of the church of Rome, in England, seemed to blaze out to a new and unprecedented height immediately before its downfall. It is enough to remark that this was the age of Wolsey, the most gorgeous and puissant prelate that had arisen since Becket;—indeed, Becket, with all his ambition, and the ascendancy he gained by his wonderful force of character, never possessed anything like the large and unresisted political power that was long wielded by Wolsey. In a darker age the spiritual despotism of the priesthood might be more complete than it was in the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the general advance of civilization had somewhat shaken the empire of ignorance, and the laws had perhaps, in certain respects, extended their authority over the clergy further than in the times of the first Plantagenets, and the eastern sky was already streaked with the dawnings of that new light of religious opinion which was soon to awaken all Christendom; but, in England at least, perhaps in no period was the church enthroned on a seat of such ample and distinctly recognised temporal authority as it now enjoyed. All the highest and most influential offices of the state were still, for the most part, in the hands of churchmen: while they monopolised, of course, the management of ecclesiastical affairs, the civil affairs of the kingdom were also, to a large extent, under their conduct and direction;—they were generally both the ministers of the crown at home, and its ambassadors and most trusted agents abroad. This preference, which they had formerly demanded and struggled for so obstinately as their right, was now more fully accorded to them on the more reasonable ground of their superior qualifications, a ground which the ablest and wisest kings—those from whom they would have experienced the most determined resistance to their pretensions of a more absolute kind—were the readiest to admit. Thus, the politic, circumspect, and acquisitive character of Henry VII.—always looking around him for whatever he might pick up and have a chance of turning to account either in this world or the next—made him a favourer both of the church and of religion, without being either really religious or superstitious. "As he could see clear, for those times, through superstition," says Bacon, "so he would be blinded, now and then, by human policy. He advanced churchmen; he was tender in the privilege of sanctuaries, though they did him much mischief; he built and endowed many religious foundations, besides his memorable hospital of the Savoy; and yet he was a great almsgiver in secret, which showed that his works in public were dedicated rather to God's glory than his own." But, in truth, he probably did not care much for either: glory of any kind was not his taste: he preferred mere security, which he sought to obtain here chiefly by money-hoarding, hereafter by accumulating in like manner a store of what was understood to be the current coin of the other world. This great king was a distinguished upholder of the authority of the laws in ordinary cases: to quote again the words of his illustrious

HENRY VII. delivering to JOHN ISLIP, Abbot of Westminster, the Book of Indenture, or Agreement, specifying the number of Masses Collects, &c., to be said for the repose of the soul of the King's father, wife, and other relations; the provision to be made for thirteen Beadsmen, &c. From an Illumination in the Harleian MS. 1498, the original book so presented.

Burning Place in Smithfield.—Fox's Acts and Monuments.
The Martyrdom of Anne Ashew, John Adams, John Lacels, and Nicholas Beleman.

historian, "he did much maintain and countenance his laws; . . . . justice was well administered in his time, save where the king was party; save, also, that the council table intermeddled too much with *meum* and *tuum*." Among his other legal improvements, Henry attempted at one time "to pare a little," as Bacon expresses it, "the privilege of clergy, ordaining that clerks convict should be burned in the hand, both because they might taste of some corporal punishment, and that they might carry a brand of infamy." But all his known favour for, and patronage of, the church, did not prevent this innovation from being denounced as a daring infringement of the rights of the ecclesiastical order: "for this good act's sake," adds Bacon, quaintly, "the king himself was after branded by Perkin's proclamation for an execrable breaker of the rites of holy church." So high did the clergy still carry the notion of their independence of the civil courts. The very circumstances of the time that in reality and in their ultimate result tended to bring down the ancient church, had the effect for the present of raising it to greater authority and seeming honour. The unaccustomed murmurs of irreverence and opposition with which it was assailed afforded a pretext for suffering it to exercise its recognised rights with a high hand, and even for endowing it with some new powers:—the laws against heresy, for instance, were now stretched to a degree of severity never before known, and the church added to its ancient assumptions that of holding men's lives in its hands, and actually putting to death those of whose opinions it disapproved. An addition of legal authority or jurisdiction, however, is sometimes very far from being an addition of real strength: in wielding this new weapon in the manner it did, the church most probably only helped to hasten its own destruction: the obnoxious opinions could not be burned to ashes along with the bodies of those who held them: the death of the heretic, on the contrary, was often new life to the heresy, and it was well avenged for the bloody judgment passed on it, by the shape of flame, caught from the flames in which he had been consumed, wherewithal it was now given to it to penetrate the hearts and touch the lips of men. These fires of martyrdom were more easily lighted than quenched.

It was in 1494, the ninth year of Henry VII., that the first English female martyr suffered. This was a widow named Joan Boughton, a woman of above eighty years of age. "She was," says Fox, "a disciple of Wycliffe, whom she accounted for a saint, and held so fast and firmly eight of his ten opinions, that all the doctors of London could not turn her from one of them; and when it was told her that she should be burned for her obstinacy and false belief, she set nothing by their menacing words, but defied them, for she said she was so beloved of God and his holy angels, that she passed not for the fire; and in the midst thereof she cried to God to take her soul into his holy hands." She was burned in Smithfield on the 28th of April; and the night following "the most part of her ashes were had away of such as had a love unto the doctrine that she died for."* Mrs. Boughton was mother to the Lady Young, who was also suspected of holding the same opinions, and who afterwards suffered the same death. In the course of

* Fox, Acts and Monuments, p. 671 (edit. of 1570).

the next two or three years a few old men and priests went with like heroism to the stake; but in general the persons charged with heresy at this time, when there was as yet little general excitement to animate and sustain them, shrunk from that dreadful death on a mere view of it, and purchased, by a recantation, the privilege of satisfying the law by an exposure to the fagots without the fire. The venerable historian of our martyrs has some curious notices of the fashion in which this ceremony was performed. On the 17th of January, 1497, "being Sunday, two men," he writes, "the one called Richard Milderale and the other James Sturdy, bare fagots before the procession of Paul's, and after stood before the preacher in the time of his sermon. And upon the Sunday following stood other two men at Paul's Cross all the sermon time, the one garnished with painted and written papers, the other having a fagot on his neck. After that, in Lent season, upon Passion Sunday, one Hugh Glover bare a fagot before the procession of Paul's, and after, with the fagot, stood before the preacher all the sermon—while at Paul's Cross. And on the Sunday next following four men stood, and did there open penance at Paul's, as is aforesaid, in the sermon time: many of their books were burnt before them at the Cross."* On other occasions, however, the commuted punishment was not so entirely formal. In 1506, at the same time that William Tylsworth was burned in Amersham,—his only daughter being compelled to set fire to him with her own hands,—this daughter, with her husband, and, according to one account, more than sixty persons besides, all bore fagots, and were afterwards not only sent from town to town over the county of Buckingham to do penance with certain badges affixed to them, but were several of them burned in the cheek, and otherwise severely treated. "Divers of them," says Fox, "were enjoined to bear and wear fagots at Lincoln the space of seven years, some at one time, some at another. In which number was also one Robert Bartlet, a rich man, who, for his profession's sake, was put out of his farm and goods, and was condemned to be kept in the monastery of Ashridge, where he wore on his right sleeve a square piece of cloth the space of seven years together."† The manner in which the burning in the cheek was performed is thus described:—"Their necks were tied fast to a post or stay with towels, and their hands holden that they might not stir, and so the iron being hot was put to their cheeks, and thus bare they the prints and marks of the Lord Jesus about them."

These barbarities were likely to have any effect rather than that of attaching the people to the church, and moving them to a horror of the new opinions. The horror excited would be rather against those who inflicted than those who endured the revolting punishment. The circumstances of some of the other executions, as well as those of the women, old and young, were well calculated to touch the more generous feelings of the spectators, and of all who might hear the story. Among others who suffered in this reign was one Laurence Ghest, "who was burned in Salisbury for the matter of the Sacrament. He was of a comely and tall personage, and otherwise, as appeareth, not unfriended, for the which the bishop and the close (that is, the canons) were the more loth to burn him, but kept him in prison the space of two years. This Laurence had a wife and seven children. Wherefore, they thinking to expugn and persuade his mind by stirring of his fatherly affection toward his children, when the time came which they appointed for his burning, as he was at the stake they brought before him his wife and his foresaid seven children. At the sight whereof, although nature is commonly wont to work in other, yet in him religion, overcoming nature, made his constancy to remain unmoveable; in such sort, as when his wife began to exhort and desire him to favour himself, he again desired her to be content, and not to be a block to his way, for he was in a good course, running toward the mark of his salvation; and so, fire being put to him, he finished his life, renouncing not only wife and children, but also himself, to follow Christ. As he was in burning, one of the bishop's men threw a firebrand at his face; whereat the brother of Laurence, standing by, ran at him with his dagger, and would have slain him had he not been otherwise staid."*

Some notion of the peculiar opinions which were commonly held by the English heretics of this age may be gathered from the charges against some of those apprehended and examined by John Arundel, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, from 1496 to 1502, as recorded in the registers of that diocese. They were for the most part the same with the leading doctrines soon after proclaimed by Luther and the other Protestant reformers, embracing a denial of the merit of good works, of the warrantableness of the worship of images, of the efficacy of penance and pilgrimage, of the duty of praying to the saints or the Virgin, of the claims of the pope as successor of St. Peter, of purgatory, and of the transformation of the bread and wine in the sacrament. In some cases, however, we find, as might be expected, the contempt for the old belief breaking out with a curious acerbity or irreverence of expression in the enunciation of the new. Thus, John Blomstone is charged, among other things, with having said "that there was as much virtue in an herb as in the image of the Virgin Mary," and "that it was foolishness to go on pilgrimage to the image of our Lady of Doncaster, Walsingham, or of the Tower of the city of Coventry; for a man might as well worship the blessed Virgin by the fireside in the kitchen as in the foresaid places, and as well when he seeth his mother or sister as in visiting the images, because they be no more but dead stocks and stones." There were of course varieties of faith, or want of faith, among the dis-

* Fox, Acts and Monuments, p. 671.
† Ibid. p. 710.

* Fox, Acts and Monuments, p. 711.

senters from the church; some went farther than others; and Blomstone seems to have stopped at the rejection of image-worship, without advancing so far as to question the worshipping of the Virgin. Another Coventry heretic, Richard Hegham, is accused of having said "that if the image of Our Lady of Tower were put into the fire, it would make a good fire." Another, John Falkes, "was accused to be a very heretic because he did affirm that it was a foolish thing to offer to the image of Our Lady, saying—'Her head shall be hoar or (ere) I offer to her that is but a block: if it could speak to me, I would give it an halfpennyworth of ale.'"

The internal history of the established church in the period immediately preceding the downfall of the ancient religion is marked by few events requiring to be here detailed. The successive archbishops of Canterbury during the reign of Henry VII. were, Cardinal Bourchier, whose long primacy of thirty-two years terminated in 1486; John Morton, the active and useful friend of Henry before he came to the crown, who was also invested with a cardinal's hat, and who survived till 1502; Henry Deane, who was archbishop only for a few months; and, lastly, William Warham, whose translation from London appears not to have taken place till towards the close of the year 1504, more than two years after the death of Deane.* The admonitory murmur of the coming storm of Reformation now made itself heard, among other ways, in the louder popular outcry that arose against the dissolute lives of many of the clergy; and the church authorities were led to make some efforts both to put down the outcry and to correct the evil. At a synod or council of the province of Canterbury, held in St. Paul's in February, 1487, complaints having been made that the preachers of the order of St. John of Jerusalem were accustomed in their sermons at Paul's Cross to inveigh against their secular brethren in the hearing of the laity,—who, it was affirmed, all hated the clergy, and delighted to hear their vices exposed,—the Prior of St. John was, on the one hand, directed to prevent this great abuse for the future, and, on the other, a severe reprimand was administered to certain of the London clergy, who were accused of not only spending their whole time in taverns and alehouses, but even imitating the laity in their dress, and allowing their hair to grow long, so as to conceal their tonsure. The censure of the convocation was followed by a pastoral letter of the primate, in which the clergy were solemnly charged not to wear liripoops, or hoods, of silk, nor gowns open in front, nor embroidered girdles, *nor daggers*, and to keep their hair always so short that everybody might see their ears.† A few words were added in recommendation of residence; but the burthen of the exhortation was spent upon these matters of mere show and profession,—not perhaps unwisely, in a worldly sense, for it is certain that no other kind of irregularity in its members could have more surely undermined the church establishment, or more alarmingly indicated the loosening and crumbling of the cement that held it together, than their showing themselves indifferent about or ashamed of even the formal distinctions that separated them from the laity and held them out visibly to all men as a peculiar class. A privileged order in a state, if based upon any broad foundation of natural or legal authority, will long resist the external pressure of feelings or opinions adverse to its existence; its moment of real danger is arrived when the new ideas have become fashionable among its members themselves, and they have, from whatever motive, turned recreants to their own cause. Considerable alarm, however, was also excited at this time in the heads of the church by either the actual increase of immorality among the clergy, or the sharper eyes and more earnest inquisition with which the people now began to look into what had long existed, although it had not usually drawn any inconvenient attention. The monks, or regular clergy, were to the full as much as their secular brethren, the parish priests, the objects of this popular outcry. A bull was issued by Pope Innocent VIII. in 1490, in which his holiness, after setting forth—apparently without any doubt of its truth—the information he had received respecting the reprobate lives led by all the English monastic orders, directed Archbishop Morton to admonish the heads of all the convents in his province to reform themselves and those under them, and gave him authority, if his admonitions were neglected, to proceed to more decided measures. The dissoluteness in question was of course spoken of as of recent growth; and it is probable that, in the security produced by long use and wont, it had come to be at least less cautiously concealed than in earlier times. The increase of the wealth of the monastic establishments, too, and, above all, the spread among the clergy of the liberal notions that have just been noticed, by which they were led to affect in everything the ways of people living in the world, would no doubt operate to relax the rigour of their ancient manners, and in many cases, probably, to replace that primitive austerity by something of a very opposite description. In consequence of the papal edict Morton appears to have sent letters to the superiors of all the religious houses in his province, of which one that has been preserved, addressed to the Abbot of St. Albans, describes the monks of that abbey as notoriously guilty, not only of libertinism in all its forms, but of almost every other kind of enormity. The abbot individually is reproached with having filled two neighbouring nunneries, over which he pretended to have a jurisdiction, with women of infamous character, after having turned out their proper inmates; and he and his monks, besides openly keeping concubines, are accused of being in the habit of frequenting these convenient establishments in the most shameless manner. Some

* Nicholas, Synopsis of Peerage, p. 820.
† Wilkins, Concilia.

of the women and their particular gallants are mentioned by name. Nor is even such profligacy as this the darkest of the imputations which the primate brings against these monks of St. Albans, and in regard to which he states they had been repeatedly before admonished to no purpose. In addition to their general dissoluteness, also, they are charged with simony, usury, waste of the possessions of the monastery, and actual spoliation committed in cutting down woods, in appropriating the plate and other valuable ornaments of the church, and in picking the jewels out of the very shrine of their patron saint* There may possibly be some over-colouring in this remarkable picture, but it is impossible to believe that the archbishop would have written in such terms without having good grounds for the general correctness of his representation; and although it is not to be presumed that all the religious houses throughout the kingdom, especially those whose scanty revenues precluded them from any very luxurious way of life, had arrived at the same height of corruption with the wealthy abbey of St. Alban's, there can be no doubt that it was far from being the only English monastery in which a great relaxation of morals now prevailed.

There is no reason to suppose that either papal or episcopal admonitions produced any amendment of this state of things during the reign of Henry VII., or so long as the ancient church lasted. The date of the accession of Henry VIII. was marked in the history of the church by the termination of a fierce controversy, which had long raged between two great bodies of ecclesiastics, on a very delicate point of doctrine. The Franciscans, or Grey Friars, maintained that the Virgin Mary had been conceived and born wholly without original sin; their rivals, the Dominicans, or Black Friars, on the contrary, held that she had been conceived in the same manner with every other child of Adam, although they admitted that while still in her mother's womb she had been sanctified and cleansed from all original sin, in the same manner as, they said, John the Baptist and certain other privileged persons had been. "This frivolous question," says old Fox, "kindling and gendering betwixt these two sects of friars, brast out in such a flame of parts and sides taking, that it occupied the heads and wits, schools and universities, almost through the whole church, some holding one part with Scotus, some the other part with Thomas Aquinas. The Minorites (another name for the Franciscans), holding with Scotus their master, disputed and concluded that she was conceived without all spot or note of original sin, and thereupon caused the feast and service of the Conception of St. Mary the Virgin to be celebrated and solemnized in the church. Contrary, the Dominic Friars, taking side with Aquinas, preached that it was heresy to affirm that the Blessed Virgin was conceived without the guilt of original sin, and that they which did celebrate the feast of her conception, or said any masses thereof, did sin grievously and mortally." Pope Sixtus IV., in 1476, had indeed settled the point, as far as an apostolic decree could do it, by declaring in favour of the Franciscan opinion, and commanding the Feast of the Conception to be solemnly observed by the church in all time coming; but this authoritative determination had been far from either convincing or silencing the Dominicans and their partizans. Another bull was therefore issued by the same pope in 1483, by which the denial of the immaculate conception was condemned as heresy and made punishable with the pains of excommunication. This made it necessary for the Dominicans to proceed with caution, but, as may be supposed, it had not the effect of making them feel that they were in the wrong, even although the people, frightened by the sounds of heresy and anathema, had now for the most part sided with their adversaries. "The Dominic Friars," continues Fox, "with authority oppressed, were driven to two inconveniences: the one was, to keep silence; the other was, to give place to their adversaries the Franciscans. Albeit, where the mouth durst not speak yet the heart would work; and though the tongue were tied, yet their goodwill was ready by all means possible to maintain their quarrel and their estimation." A bold stratagem, however, upon which they at last ventured with the view of regaining their lost reputation, had a very unfortunate termination for its contrivers. In the year 1509, at Berne in Switzerland, if we are to believe the martyrologist and his Protestant authorities, "certain of the Dominics, thinking by subtile sleight to work in the people's heads that which they durst not achieve with open preaching, devised a certain image of the Virgin, so artificially wrought that the friars, by privy gins, made it to stir and to make gestures, to lament, to complain, to weep, to groan, and to give answers to them that asked, insomuch that the people therewith were brought in a marvellous persuasion." From other accounts it appears that one of the friars had previously pretended that the Virgin had appeared to him in a vision, and after giving him a red host, consecrated with the blood of Christ, had directed him to go to the senators of Berne and declare to them, as from her own mouth, that she had really been conceived in sin, like every other human being, "and that the Franciscan friars were not to be credited nor suffered in the city, which were not yet reformed from the erroneous opinion of her conception." The magistrates and the people were furthermore directed by this friar to repair to the image, and there to do their worship and make their oblations. "This feigned device," proceeds the story, "was not so soon forged by the friars, but it was as soon believed of the people; so that a great while the red-coloured host was taken undoubtedly for the true body and blood of Christ, and certain coloured drops thereof sent abroad to divers noble personages and estates for a great relique, and that not without great

* Wilkins, Concilia.

recompence. Thus the deceived people in great number came flocking to the image, and to the red host and coloured blood, with manifold gifts and oblations. In brief, the Dominic friars so had wrought the matter, and had so swept all the fat to their own beards, from the order of the Franciscans, that all the alms came to their box. The Franciscans, seeing their estimation to decay, and their kitchen to wax cold, and their paunches to be pinched, not able to abide that contumely, and being not ignorant or unacquainted with such counterfeited doings (for, as the proverb sayeth, 'It is ill halting before a cripple'), eftsoons espied their crafty juggling, and detected their fraudulent miracles." On this four of the Dominicans, who had been the chief managers of the business, the provincial of the order being one, were apprehended and delivered over to the flames.*

Exposures such as this could not take place without injuring the clergy generally in the popular estimation, and telling almost as much against the detectors as the detected, for it would scarcely be believed that what the Dominicans had been found out in, the Franciscans were incapable of. The fair inference was that the members of the one order were probably as great rogues as those of the other. But besides these scandalous rivalries and quarrels among themselves, the clergy were imprudent or unfortunate enough about this time to get involved in some other contests, both with the civil authorities and with public opinion and the spirit of the age, out of which they did not come without still further damage to their reputations and their interests. Ever since the abrogation of the constitutions of Clarendon in the latter part of the reign of Henry II.,† the old clerical claim of immunity from the jurisdiction of the civil courts had been considered as settled in favour of ecclesiastical persons, notwithstanding several attempts that had been made by the crown from time to time to repel an encroachment which was probably regarded with greater aversion as a usurpation on the royal prerogative than as a mischievous interference with the due course of law. But in the latter respect it was deservedly the subject of great and universal complaint; "for," as Burnet remarks, "it was ordinary for persons, after the greatest crimes, to get into orders; and then not only what was past must be forgiven them, but they were not to be questioned for any crime after holy orders given till they were first degraded; and till that was done, they were the bishop's prisoners." In fact, the difficulties which were thus interposed in the way of the conviction and punishment of ecclesiastical persons were such, as to enable them, to a great extent, to commit crimes of all sorts, either with complete impunity or without incurring the risk of any penalty at all adequate to the offence. In 1487, the fourth year of Henry VII., a statute had been passed enacting that, "whereas upon trust of the privilege of the church, divers persons lettered have been the more bold to commit murder, rape, robbery, theft, and all other mischievous deeds, because they have been continually admitted to the benefit of the clergy as oft as they did offend in any of the premises,"—a startling enough exposition, it must be admitted, of the state to which things had been brought,—for the future, to persons not actually in holy orders, clergy should be allowed but once, and those convicted of murder should be marked with an M upon the brawn of the left thumb, and those convicted of any other felony with a T.* In this state the law remained till the fourth year of Henry VIII., when a bill was brought into parliament, carrying out the principle of the late act so far as to ordain that the benefit of clergy should be wholly denied to all murderers and robbers. "But though this seemed a very just law," says Burnet, "yet, to make it pass through the House of Lords they added two provisions to it; the one, for excepting all such as were within the holy orders of bishop, priest, or deacon; the other, that the act should only be in force till the next parliament. With these provisoes it was unanimously assented to by the Lords on the 26th of January, 1513, and being agreed to by the Commons, the royal assent made it a law; pursuant to which many murderers and felons were denied their clergy, and the law passed on them to the great satisfaction of the whole nation." Neither the general popularity of the new statute, however, nor its manifest equity and reasonableness sufficed to mitigate the aversion with which it was regarded by the clergy; they saw in it only an encroachment upon the privileges of holy church, to which no consideration should induce them to submit. It was an injury and an insult neither to be endured nor forgiven. Accordingly, not satisfied with preventing the renewal of the act at the expiration of the short term to which their influence had caused it in the first instance to be limited, they set themselves to fix such a mark of reprobation upon it as should, they hoped, put down any similar attempt for ever after. Among its denouncers the Abbot of Winchelcomb, in Gloucestershire, made himself especially conspicuous for his boldness and violence; in a sermon at Paul's Cross preached during the session of parliament which met in November, 1515, this zealot characterised the act as contrary not only to the franchises of the church but to the laws of God, and affirmed that all who had assented to it, as well spiritual as temporal persons, had, by so doing, subjected themselves to ecclesiastical censure. Having thus taken his ground he followed up his sermon by the publication of a book, in which he boldly argued that all clerks, whether of the higher or lower degrees, were sacred personages, and exempted from all

* Fox, p. 734.

† See ante, i. 557.

* Burnet incorrectly represents this act as ordaining that the clergy, as well as others convicted of felony, should be burned in the hand, a mistake which has been noticed by Barrington (Observ. on Statutes, p. 349): who adds, "The Bishop is, however, generally very accurate with regard to points of law; and it is not improbable that his history was revised by his great patron, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, who was Master of the Rolls."

punishment by the secular courts, whatever crimes they might commit. This frank avowal brought matters to a crisis. All the temporal lords assembled in the parliament, with the concurrence of the Commons, having addressed the king, humbly requesting him to suppress the growing insolence of the clergy, Henry resolved to have the question debated before himself, assisted by the judges and those of his privy councillors or ministers who were not churchmen. The discussion was conducted by the Abbot of Winchelcomb, as champion for the clergy, and by Dr. Henry Standish, guardian of the Mendicant Friars in London, and chief of the king's spiritual council (afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph), as defender of the claims of the civil courts. A summary of the reasoning on both sides is given by Burnet, which it is unnecessary to transfer to these pages; it is sufficient to state that both parties, instead of being convinced or shaken by what was objected to them, were only thereby, as usually happens, the more confirmed in their former opinions. The laity who were present, however, according to Burnet, went away generally satisfied that the abbot had fairly lost the day, and upon this the bishops were moved to order him to renounce his doctrines and recant his sermon at Paul's Cross. But this they flatly refused to do, declaring, on the contrary, that they considered themselves bound to maintain the opinion of the abbot in every point of it. The affair was now brought before both the parliament and the convocation, and occasioned, as it is stated in the entry in the Journals, the most alarming contentions between the secular power and the church. And now a circumstance happened which still more embroiled the fray, and threw heat and bitterness into it greater than ever. In the preceding year, 1514, a citizen of London, named Richard Hunne, a merchant tailor, had fallen into a dispute with the parson of a country parish in Middlesex, about a gift of a bearing-sheet, which the clergyman demanded as a mortuary, in consequence of an infant child of Hunne's having died in his parish, where it had been sent to be nursed. Hunne made some objection to the legality of the demand, but it is probable that he was secretly inclined to the new doctrines in religion, and that this was the true cause of his refusal. Being sued in the spiritual court by the parson, by the advice of his council he took out a writ of premunire against his pursuer for bringing the king's subjects before a foreign jurisdiction, the spiritual court sitting under the authority of the pope's legate. This daring procedure of the London citizen threw the clergy into a fury of indignation, and, as the most effectual way of crushing him, recourse was had to the terrible charge of heresy, upon which Hunne accordingly was apprehended and consigned to close imprisonment in the Lollards' Tower at St. Paul's. After a short time, being brought before Fitzjames bishop of London, at his manor of Fulham, he was there interrogated respecting certain articles alleged against him, which imputed to him, in substance, that he had denied the obligation of paying tithes, —that he had read and spoken generally against bishops and priests, and in favour of heretics,— and, lastly, that he had "in his keeping divers English books prohibited and damned by the law, as the Apocalypse in English, epistles and gospels in English, Wycliffe's damnable works, and other books containing infinite errors, in the which he hath been long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily."* It appears that Hunne was frightened into a qualified admission of the truth of these charges; he confessed that although he had not said exactly what was asserted, yet he had "unadvisedly spoken words somewhat sounding to the same; for the which," he added, in the acknowledgment written and signed with his own hand, "I am sorry, and ask God mercy, and submit me unto my Lord's charitable and favourable correction."† He ought upon this, according to the usual course, to have been enjoined penance and set at liberty; but, as he still persisted in his suit against the parson, he was the same day sent back to his prison, where, two days after, namely, on the 4th of December, he was found suspended from a hook in the ceiling, and dead. The persons in charge of the prison gave out that he had hanged himself; but a coroner's inquest came to a different conclusion. According to the account in Burnet, when the jury came to inspect the dead body, "they found him hanging so loose, and in a silk girdle, that they clearly perceived he was killed; they also found his neck had been broken, as they judged, with an iron chain, for the skin was all fretted and cut; they saw some streams of blood about his body, besides several other evidences, which made it clear he had not murdered himself; whereupon they did acquit the dead body, and laid the murder on the officers that had the charge of that prison; and, by other proofs, they found the bishop's sumner‡ and the bell-ringer guilty of it; and, by the deposition of the sumner himself, it did appear that the chancellor, and he, and the bell-ringer, did murder him, and then hang him up."§ It may be suspected that the excited feelings and strong prejudices of the coroner's jury had perhaps as much share as the weight of circumstantial evidence in winning them to the belief of this not very probable story; but, be that as it may, the violence and indecency shown on the other side were fully equal to any they can be thought to

* Fox, p. 737.

† Fox will have it that "this answer smelleth of forging and crafty packing," and that the rest of the story makes it improbable that it really proceeded from the prisoner. But this judgment seems to be dictated by strong prejudice. Burnet intimates no doubt as to the authenticity of the confession.

‡ Or summoner, the officer employed to cite parties before the ecclesiastical courts, more commonly called the apparitor.

§ See the depositions of the witnesses and the verdict at length, in Fox, 740, &c. The record, however, as there given, does not bear out the statement of Burnet, as to the confession of the sumner, who is represented as obstinately denying that he had any hand in the matter. But a letter from the Bishop of London to Cardinal Wolsey, protesting his innocence, and soliciting the cardinal's interference and protection, states that his chancellor was charged with the death of Hunne "upon the only accusation of Charles Joseph (the sumner), made by pain and durance."—*Fox*, p. 741.

have displayed. While the inquest was still going on, the Bishop of London and his clergy began a new process of heresy *against Hunne's dead body*, "minding," says Fox, "by some subtile show of justice to stop the mouths of the people," and "supposing, most like, that, if the party were once condemned of heresy, the inquest durst not then but find him guilty of his own death, and so clearly acquit them from all the former suspicion of privy murder." The new charges alleged against Hunne were comprised in thirteen articles, the matter of which was collected from the prologue or preface by Wycliffe to the English Bible that had been found in his possession. The only evidence of the man's guilt, indeed, was the fact of his possession of the book; but, upon that, he, or rather his dead body, was condemned of heresy by sentence of the Bishop of London, assisted by the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln, and by many doctors of divinity and the canon law; and the senseless carcase was actually, on the 20th of December, committed to the flames in Smithfield. This piece of barbarity, however, shocked instead of overawing the public sentiment—"so that, after that day," according to Burnet, "the city of London was never well affected to the Popish clergy, but inclined to follow anybody who spoke against them, and every one looked on it as a cause of common concern." The affair now came before the parliament, and a bill, which had originated in the Commons, was passed, restoring to Hunne's children the goods of their father, which had been forfeited by his conviction.* This, however, did not put an end to the contest. When the Bishop of London's chancellor and sumner had been charged on the finding of the coroner's jury as both principals in the murder, the convocation, in the hope probably of drawing off attention to another part of the case, called before them Dr. Standish, who had asserted the claims of the civil power in the debate before the king, and put him upon his defence for what he had said on that occasion. It was pretended, indeed, when he complained to the king, that he was not to be questioned for anything he had spoken as the king's spiritual council, but for certain lectures he had read at St. Paul's and elsewhere, which appear to have been to the same effect, or of the same tendency, with what he had said in the royal presence; and an appeal was made to the conscience of Henry, that he would not interpose to shield the delinquent from justice, as he regarded his coronation oath, and would himself escape the censures of holy church. Henry's headstrong and despotic character had scarcely yet begun to develop itself; his pride as a true son of the church had received no check from coming into collision with any of his other selfish and overmastering passions: when the convocation, therefore, assailed him in this manner on the one hand, and the parliament on the other likewise addressed him "to maintain the temporal jurisdiction, according to his coronation oath, and to protect Standish from the malice of his enemies," he was thrown, as Burnet tells us, into great perplexity. So, to free his conscience, he commanded all the judges, and the members both of his temporal and his spiritual councils, together with certain persons from both houses of parliament, to meet at Blackfriars, and to hear the matter argued. This was done accordingly; and the discussion was terminated by the unanimous declaration of the judges, that all those of the convocation who had awarded the citation against Standish had made themselves liable to a premunire. Soon after, the whole body of the lords spiritual and temporal, with all the judges and the king's council, and many members also of the House of Commons, having been called before the king at Bayard's Castle, Cardinal Wolsey, in the name of the clergy, humbly begged that the matter should be referred to the final decision of the pope at Rome. To this request, however, Henry, after having listened to a few words from Fineux, the lord chief justice, made answer, with much spirit, "By the permission and ordinance of God, we are king of England; and the kings of England in times past had never any superior, but God only. Therefore, know you well that we will maintain the right of our crown, and of our temporal jurisdiction, as well in this as in all other points, in as ample a manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time. And as for your decrees, we are well assured that you of the spiritualty go expressly against the words of divers of them, as hath been showed you by some of our council; and you interpret your decrees at your pleasure; but we will not agree to them, more than our progenitors have done in former times." The renewed solicitations of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the matter might at least be respited till a communication could be had with the court of Rome had no effect in moving the king from his resolution; and Dr. Horsey, the Bishop of London's chancellor, against whom warrants were out, on the finding of the inquest, for his trial as one of the murderers of Hunne, seemed to be left to his fate. At this point, however, the clergy, or perhaps both parties, saw fit to make advances towards an accommodation: it was agreed that Horsey should surrender to take his trial; that he should not stand upon his benefit of clergy, but plead not guilty; and that, satisfied with this concession, the attorney-general should admit the plea, and the prisoner be discharged. This form was gone through, and Horsey immediately left London, where, it is said, he never again showed his face. Dr. Standish, however, was also, by the king's command, dismissed from his place in the court of convocation, so that the issue of the business by no means went altogether against the clergy. But, besides the augmented popular odium to which they were exposed, from the strong suspicion that was entertained that Hunne had been murdered, a heavy blow had been undoubtedly

* Fox states that the said goods "came to the sum of 1500*l.* sterling, besides his plate and other jewels."

dealt at their favourite pretension of exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil courts in criminal cases. The citizens of London, according to Burnet, were not at all satisfied with the proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, though we may doubt if more substantial justice would have been done had the case of Horsey come before a jury, there being probably a good deal of truth in Fitzjames's representation in his letter to Wolsey, in which he told the cardinal he felt assured that if his chancellor should be tried by any twelve men in London, they were so maliciously set in favour of heresy, that they would cast and condemn any clerk, though he were as innocent as Abel. At any rate, it will be generally admitted that the popular opinion was right which ascribed to Henry, throughout his conduct in this affair, much less of an anxiety about the interests of justice than about the maintenance of his own prerogative. "This," observes Burnet, in winding up his narrative, "was the only thing in the first eighteen years of the king's reign that seemed to lessen the greatness of the clergy, but in all other matters he was a most faithful son of the see of Rome."

In the unsettled and wavering state of men's minds, at this time, upon the subject of religion, or rather with the strong tendencies that were every where at work loosening the bonds that held them to their hereditary faith, the part taken by any king, and especially by a king of Henry's temper, could not fail to act with powerful effect either in steadying for a space the tremulous mass of the popular thought and feeling, or in swaying it in the direction of his own passions and convictions. Yet the planet that so far ruled the tides of this great moral ocean was for many years undoubtedly influenced to a great extent in its own movements by another more lordly spirit, that drew it along, perhaps without suffering it to feel its bondage, but not on that account with the less potent control. For nearly the whole of the first half of Henry's reign the real king of England was his minister Wolsey, a man whose greatness was linked to the ascendancy of the ancient church. The story of the magnificent cardinal has necessarily been told in the preceding chapter, along with the national transactions of which he was so long the manager and director; we shall here, therefore, only recapitulate the chronology of his rapid rise, his long tenure of the highest place, and his fall, still more sudden than his rise, and more terrible from the height to which he had ascended, and the protracted splendour of that blaze of power from which he was in an instant withdrawn. Thomas Wolsey, born the son of a butcher of Ipswich, had already been employed at court, when about the year 1512, being now in the forty-first year of his age, he attracted the especial favour of Henry VIII., and immediately began to mount that ladder of promotion which speedily removed him beyond the reach and ken of all other aspirants. Having been previously admitted into the privy council, in October, 1513, he was made Bishop of Tournay; in February, 1514, Bishop of Lincoln; in August, the same year, Archbishop of York; in 1515 the pope made him a cardinal; in 1516, having been previously the King's Almoner, he became Lord High Chancellor of England; in 1518 he received from the pope the high appointment of Legate à latere; the same year the bishopric of Bath and Wells was given him to hold in *commendam*, along with his archbishopric; the abbacy of St. Alban's was added in 1521; in 1523 he exchanged Bath and Wells for the richer see of Durham; in 1529 he gave up Durham, and received Winchester in exchange. In addition to all this, he enjoyed pensions from the King of France, from the emperor, from the pope, and other foreign princes; and he is further affirmed to have fully doubled his revenues by the mere sale of ecclesiastical benefices, all of which belonging to the crown throughout the kingdom were left by Henry at the disposal of this engrossing favourite. So long as Wolsey's favour lasted, his royal master was wholly in his hands. "In him," says his biographer Cavendish, "the king conceived such a loving fancy, especially for that he was most earnest and readiest in all the council to advance the king's only will and pleasure, having no respect to the case; and whereas the ancient counsellors would, according to the office of good counsellors, divers times persuade the king to have sometime a recourse unto the council, there to hear what was done in weighty affairs, the king was nothing at all pleased therewith; for he loved nothing worse than to be constrained to do anything contrary to his pleasure; and that knew the almoner very well, having secret insinuations of the king's intentions; and so fast as the others counselled the king to leave his pleasures, and to attend to his affairs, so busily did the almoner persuade him to the contrary, which delighted him much, and caused him to have the greater affection and love to the almoner." With one at the head of affairs personally interested to so deep an extent in its support, the church was secure from any attack—from any abridgment of its wealth or power, by the king or the government. Yet even the greatness of Wolsey, while it thus threw a temporary protection over the church, perhaps contributed also to hasten its downfall. The ruin of this magnificent ecclesiastic himself was in part brought about by the arrogance and rapacity to which he gave way in the giddiness of his towering fortunes. "For," says Strype, "he disobliged not only the inferior sort by his pride and haughty behaviour, but by laying his hands upon the rights, privileges, and profits of the gentry and clergy, he made them his implacable enemies too. . . . . He took upon him to bestow benefices, though the real right of patronage lay in others. He called all offending persons before him, whether of the laity or clergy, and compelled them to compound as his officers thought fit." But if by these and other oppressive proceedings he made all men his enemies, and when the support of the royal favour was withdrawn,

left himself, after all his opportunities of fencing his position round about with the gratitude both of individuals and of the public, without either any foundation of popularity on which to stand, or almost even a friendly arm or bosom to break his fall, we may be satisfied that so odious an exhibition of priestly insolence and pride could not but also have its effect in widening the general alienation from the whole order to which he belonged.

The Reformation was very far from being completed under Henry VIII.—indeed, the English church, as he left it, was scarcely reformed at all except in regard to a few points of its external or political constitution—but still the work, in being merely begun, was already more than half finished. In such an enterprise the first step was emphatically the most difficult and the most important; that having been taken, all the rest followed naturally and of course. Henry, therefore, in having thus set as it were the wheel of change in motion, is justly esteemed the true author of the whole mighty result—of that part of it which he resisted or did not contemplate at all, as well as of that which he urged on and actually saw realised. The Reformation in England was his doing, infinitely more than that of any other person who in any way took part in the work—of his successors Edward and Elizabeth, for instance, who built upon the ground that he had cleared and the foundation that he had laid—or even of such men as Wycliff, who helped, by their preachings and writings, to draw men away from the old church, or as Cranmer and his fellow-labourers, who, by the like exertions, endeavoured to bring them over and attach them to the new; for the history of all other great and sudden national revolutions as well as of this attests that the force of opinion in such cases is the mere oil that facilitates the movement of the social machine, and that a force of altogether another kind is necessary both to set it in motion and to keep it moving. Yet in all that Henry did, and all that he would not do, in the matter of religion, throughout his reign, it is curious to observe how he was acted upon by the changing circumstances of his own personal position,—how the despot, so potent alike to destroy and, for the moment at least, to preserve from destruction, was driven along the whole of his furious and contradictory course by the pettiest of private interests, vanities, and passions. The history of the English Reformation is the history of this king's fits of temper; of his likings and dislikings; of the flatteries addressed to him from one quarter, and the provocations he received from another; of his pecuniary difficulties; of his amours, jealousies, and suspicions; of the swellings and ebbings of his pedantry and self-conceit; of the very fluctuations of his bodily distempers and sores. It will be convenient, for the sake of clearness, to recapitulate here the order of the chief incidents in this great moral as well as political revolution.

Eight years after Henry came to the throne the first movement was made, unconsciously, by Martin Luther, in that great rebellion against the ancient church which has made his name immortal. The illustrious German reformer was an Augustinian monk, and professor of philosophy in the newly founded University of Wittemberg, when, in 1517, the Dominican friar Tetzel appeared in that city as retailer, under commission from Albert, Elector of Mentz and Archbishop of Magdeburg, of the indulgences recently issued for sale over all Christendom by the reigning pope Leo X. Luther, at this time in the prime of his manhood (he was about thirty-four years of age), had already not only established a high reputation for learning and eloquence, which made him the chief ornament of his university, and the pride of its founder and protector, the Elector Frederick of Saxony, but, what was something more rare in that age, he had for some years been a diligent student of the Scriptures, and was distinguished for the ardour of his religious feelings as much as for his intellectual powers and acquirements. It does not appear that Luther, at the commencement of his career, had any acquaintance with the writings of Wycliff, Huss, Jerome of Prague, and the other remarkable men by whom the Roman church had been assailed in the two preceding centuries; indeed, at this stage he would have felt little sympathy with the greater part of those writings, for he was as yet a good Catholic, and had not for a moment doubted either the authority of the pope or any of the commonly received doctrines of the church. He was a believer in the real presence, in purgatory, in the efficacy of penances, of pilgrimages, of prayers for the dead, of prayers to the saints, in the warrantableness of the adoration of the Virgin, of the crucifix, and of images, in the virtue of relics, in the authority of tradition, in the duty of auricular confession, and in all those other distinguishing dogmas of the ancient faith which at a later period he rejected and denounced. The one article of the common belief which startled him, and against which he raised his voice in the first instance, was this doctrine of indulgences; and even as to this matter he continued for some years to cling to the notion that his dispute was merely with certain individuals, and by no means either with the pope or the general body of the church, to both of which authorities he professed himself ready to bow with the most entire submission, provided only they would not decide until the case should be fully before them. These indulgences professed to convey, to whosoever purchased them, a release from the pains of purgatory; and the very denial of their efficacy implied a belief in the existence of purgatory. A modern Protestant would have no difficulty in admitting that the purchaser of an indulgence got for his money all that was promised him; for exemption from pains which were purely imaginary might very easily be insured to everybody by the pope or any one else. This, however, was not the view that Luther took. Not disputing the reality of purgatory, he denied that it was competent for men, by the mere payment of a sum of

money, to obtain a quittance from any part of the punishment to which they had made themselves liable by their sins. He had become convinced, from his study of the Scriptures, that their fundamental doctrine was, that the remission of sin, and of the penalty incurred by it, could only be obtained by justification through faith in the sacrifice of Christ; and upon this one great principle he took his stand. When Tetzel and his associates, in their eagerness to dispose of their wares, cried them up even in terms going far beyond the professions of the document itself, Luther first exposed the delusion they were practising upon the people from the pulpit; and then published ninety-five theses or propositions directed against the whole doctrine of indulgences, which he engaged to maintain at a public disputation, on a day which he named, against any one who should oppose them by writing or word of mouth. The disputation did not take place: on the appointed day no defender of the denounced indulgences appeared: but Luther's ninety-five propositions were read with avidity over all Germany; and from that hour the spirit was awakened which never again slumbered or slept till it had set up and established a new and mighty rival empire of opinion by the side of that which had stood for a thousand years supreme and alone in Christendom. For some time the controversy between the German monk and his opponents attracted no notice from the court of Rome; at length, however, in July, 1518, Leo summoned him to appear at Rome within sixty days, that an authoritative decision might be pronounced upon his novel doctrines. His Holiness was afterwards prevailed upon, by the representations not only of Luther himself, but of his colleagues in the University of Wittemberg and of the Elector of Saxony, to appoint the hearing of the case to take place in Germany; and Luther accordingly made his appearance at Augsburg before the papal legate Cardinal Cajetano, who began with an attempt to carry his point by dint of logic, but, finding that of no avail, soon had recourse to a more summary method of procedure, and commanded Luther at once to recant his heresy simply out of deference to the apostolic see. The intrepid monk refused compliance; but even yet he made no movement towards throwing off the authority of the pope. Apprehensive of being arrested, by the advice of his friends he withdrew secretly from Augsburg; but, before he went, he drew up an appeal from the pope, imperfectly informed as he then was, to the pope, after he should have been fully instructed in the merits of the cause. It was impossible, however, that, having advanced so far, he should stop long at this point. Protected by the Elector Frederick, he soon after, abandoning the expectation of a fair hearing from the pope, made his appeal to a general council, avowing at the same time his adoption of the opinion, by no means new in the church, that such a tribunal was superior in authority to the successor of St. Peter. It was not long before he followed up this declaration by openly questioning even the supremacy assumed by the pope over other bishops,—in other words, all the peculiar pretensions of the Roman see. This was in 1519. On the 15th of June of the following year, 1520, was issued the memorable papal bull, declaring forty-one propositions extracted out of Luther's works to be heretical and scandalous; forbidding all persons to read his writings upon pain of excommunication; commanding those who had any of them in their possession to commit them to the flames; and pronouncing against their author the sentence of excommunication, with all its terrible penalties, spiritual and temporal, unless he should publicly recant his errors and burn his books within the space of sixty days. This at once placed the two parties, the followers of the German reformer and the adherents to the ancient church, in hostile array. Luther, now fairly cast forth from the Roman communion, kept no measures with the power which he opposed; in reply to the pope's bull of excommunication, he boldly declared that personage to be anti-Christ, the man of sin, and called upon all Christian princes to cast off his tyrannical and degrading yoke. When his own books were burnt at Rome, he retaliated by burning the volumes of the canon law at Wittemberg, in presence of the professors and students of the university and a throng of other spectators, who eagerly applauded the courageous defyer of the haughtiest despotism that then bestrode the earth; disciples armed with learning, and talent, and courage worthy to second his own, started up one after another in his native land and in other countries; and soon powers and principalities prepared to take part in the strife with other arms, and the rivalry of the two religions threatened to become for a time the great moving principle of the politics of Europe. One of the first acts of the new emperor, Charles V., was to appoint a diet of the empire to meet at Worms on the 6th of January, 1521, expressly for the purpose of putting down the new opinions. On the summons of this assembly Luther presented himself before them to defend his doctrines and his conduct; the diet, however, declared him to be deprived, as an excommunicated heretic, of all his rights as a subject of the empire, and forbade any prince to harbour or protect him after the expiration of the term specified in the safe-conduct upon which he had come up. From the dangers to which he was exposed by this edict he was saved by the interposition of his friend the Elector Frederick, who caused him to be intercepted in Thuringia, on his way home, and carried off to the fortress of Wartburg, in which retreat he remained concealed for nine months. But the winged words and opinions that had already gone forth from his lips and his pen were not to be recalled or chained down; their infection spread throughout Germany and other countries with the common air that men breathed; nor, though hidden alike from his followers and his opponents, was Luther's animating voice even

now unheard in the great battle he had awakened: by the aid of the press, to which he from time to time resorted while thus withdrawn from other converse with his fellow-men, he still made the fervid eloquence of his reasonings and his denouncements ring throughout Christendom.

It was at this crisis that Henry VIII. first adventured to break a lance in the contest in which he was ere long to act a part of which he now little dreamed. Throughout the earlier part of his reign the king of England, as we have seen, was the most zealous and devoted son of the church. During three years his devotion to the holy see was not only secured by the ascendancy of Wolsey, but was besides fed and inflamed by other influences. His pedantry and vanity were engaged in the same cause with his deference for his great minister and favourite. "About the year 1521," to quote the curiously precise statement of Strype, "did King Henry show himself a man of letters, as well as arms, by a book which he owned himself the author of; wherein both his learning and his zeal for the pope's cause and religion appeared; being written in confutation of Martin Luther's late books against indulgences granted by popes, and other errors of the church of Rome. This book the king, by the cardinal's advice, thought fit to have presented to Pope Leo; which was done by Dr. Clark, then the king's ambassador at Rome, and was delivered by him into his own hands, in a solemn assembly of cardinals; and at the same time he made a speech to the pope. To whom the pope presently made an answer, showing his most grateful acceptance of it. And in testimony thereof he gave him the title of Defender of the Faith; and so always to be styled whensoever he was named. And the book thus presented, richly bound, was laid up in the Vatican, as a rarity, where the Lord Herbert of Cherbury saith he afterwards saw it. This was brought about by the means of Cardinal Wolsey, who procured some copies of the book to be written in a very fair and beautiful character, and one of them to be bound up splendidly, namely, that that was to be sent to the pope; and the said cardinal sent that especially to the king, for his liking of it, before it went."* The work was printed in a quarto volume the same year at London, with the title, "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martyn Luther, &c." (Defence of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther.) Henry was amazingly delighted with the title with which the pope rewarded his learned labours—"affecting it," says Burnet, "always beyond all his other titles, though several of the former kings of England had carried the same title, as Spelman informs us."† The whole matter, according to Strype, was contrived by Wolsey, to engage Henry the more firmly against Lutheranism, and in the putting down of the heretical books which were now brought over from the continent in great numbers, and dispersed through the kingdom. "And being backed with the title granted to the king, the cardinal used his diligence effectually to suppress the same, by a strict commission from himself, invested with the legantine power, to all the bishops in England, by a general visitation, to take order, that any books, written or printed, of Martin Luther's errors and heresies, should be brought in to the bishop of each respective diocese; and that every such bishop receiving such books should send them up to him. And in order to this, notice was to be given in every church at mass-time, before the people present, that whosoever had such books in their houses or possession should forthwith deliver them up to the bishop, or his commissary or other officer, within fifteen days; and this, upon pain of incurring the greater excommunication, and being esteemed concealers and favourers of heretical pravity, and so reputed and judged as heretics, and liable to be punished as such; and that all abbots, priors, and governors of religious houses, all deans, presidents, &c., of cathedral churches, all rectors, vicars, curates, &c., of parochial churches, be by the bishop admonished and enjoined to bring in and deliver up to him any such books, composed or set forth by the said Martin, under his name; and to do the same under the penalties abovesaid."* On repeated occasions before this, however, strict inquisition had been made by particular bishops of their own accord after heretical books; and, as the reader may remember from instances already quoted, many persons had been imprisoned and punished, some even sent to the stake, for the crime of reading or possessing such works, or at least for that of holding the doctrines contained in them, of which the mere possession of the books was sometimes all the evidence. The foreign heretical treatises that were at this time brought over to England were for the most part translated into the language of the country, and so fitted for the perusal of the great body of the people. It would appear that liberty to peruse the forbidden books had to be expressly obtained from the heads of the church, even by learned men whose object was merely to acquire a knowledge of the heresies as a matter of information, or to read the defence of them for the purpose of refuting it—as, indeed, according to the strict law of the church, is the case in Catholic countries at the present day.

Henry's book was immediately answered by Luther, and that in a fashion calculated to cure kings of the ambition of controversy. Not only did the sturdy reformer throw aside all deference for the rank of his royal opponent in disposing of his arguments, but he even denied him the credit of being really the author of the book of which he was so vain. This was an injury which Henry

* Eccles. Memor. i. 52.

† "By a singular felicity in the wording of the title," observes a more recent writer, "it suited Henry equally well, when he burned Papists or Protestants; it suited each of his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth; it fitted the martyr Charles and the profligate Charles; the Romish James and the Calvinist William; and at last seemed peculiarly adapted to the weak head of high church Anne."—*Walpole, Royal and Noble Authors.*

* Strype, i, 56.

never forgot or forgave. A few years afterwards Luther hoped to soften him by an apology and explanation couched in the most submissive and self-abasing terms. In a letter sent from Wirtemberg, in September, 1525, he assured Henry that his reason for having written against his book at all was, "because, from good witnesses, he had learned that that book, sent forth against him under the king's name, was not indeed the king of England's book, as cunning sophisters would pretend, abusing the name of his majesty. But he was now ashamed, he said, to lift up his eyes to his majesty; who had suffered himself by that credulity to be moved against so great a king, by means of those evil-workers; especially since he himself was but *fæx et vermis*, *i. e.* dregs and a worm, in comparison to so great a king."* But Luther, though, as he says, he might not believe Henry to be the real author of the book, could not be ignorant that he claimed the authorship of it: besides, it was small satisfaction to Henry's wounded vanity, that the book which had been treated as so contemptible should now be admitted to be really of his penning. It is no wonder, therefore, that Luther's soothing epistle failed of its intended effect. Henry immediately published it along with an answer, the two pieces being prefaced by an address "to the pious reader," in which it was stated, "that when Luther began so foolishly to get himself into the king's favour (by his letter to him), whereby he might abuse his name, the better to commend his faction, the king thought it necessary to signify to all men that he was not so light to be enslaved by the flatteries of a foolish friar, nor so inconstant to be driven away by any means from that which he knew to be right, and what had been writ by him; and, therefore, he had answered to all the parts of Luther's letter, that he might show Luther, not only to Luther himself, but to every one else."

But, after the lapse of three or four years more, the symptoms of a great change begin to appear. In 1527 Henry fell in love with Anne Boleyn, began to feel scruples about the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine, who had now been eighteen years his wife, and, urged by the said scruples and his passion together, proceeded to take steps for getting rid of Catherine and making Anne queen. For two years he plied every effort to get the court of Rome to go along with him in this scheme, and during that interval he confined himself, in regard to the church and religion, to threats, that if he were not allowed to have his way in the matter of the divorce, England should no longer remain a Popish country. At length, in the summer of 1529, the accident of Cranmer having suggested the bold expedient of having the marriage dissolved without asking leave of the pope, at once transferred the affections and confidence of the king from Wolsey to this new adviser, causing the ruin of the one and the elevation of the other, and transformed him in principle and conduct from a most submissive son of the Roman church to a determined opponent of all those of its pretensions which he could dispute without becoming an open rebel against its authority. In the following year he put forth a proclamation prohibiting the introduction into, or the publication in, the kingdom of any bull from Rome, under pain of incurring his indignation, in addition to imprisonment and the other punishments awarded to the offence by the ancient statutes of provisors and premunire. The established clergy now found the crown, hitherto their steady friend and protector, changed into a hostile power: in the beginning of the year 1531, they were indicted in a body in the Court of King's Bench for breaking the statutes against provisors, by having recognised the legantine authority of the fallen cardinal; and they were not released from the premunire into which they were adjudged to have fallen till they had agreed not only to pay a heavy fine, but to acknowledge the king to be the supreme head of the church in England, at least in so far as the word of God allowed,—a concession, even thus qualified, by far the most important that had yet been wrung from the ecclesiastical order in any country in Christendom. In 1532 these preliminary demonstrations were followed up by the passing of an act of parliament abolishing the payment of annates, or first-fruits, to the court of Rome,—a memorable statute, from which we may properly date the beginning of the Reformation. From this point the course of Henry's ecclesiastical innovations went on at an accelerated rate. Anne Boleyn, notoriously disposed in favour of the opinions of the innovators in religion,—already distinguished by the name of Protestants, which was first given to them on their protest against the proceedings of the Diet of Spires, 19th April, 1530,—was now Queen of England; Cranmer, the head of the English Lutherans, was Archbishop of Canterbury; he and Cromwell, another decided favourer of the new doctrines, were the king's chief ministers. In this the height of the new tide that had set in upon the stream of affairs, all that remained of the authority of Rome was soon swept away. Acts were passed in 1533-4 for amending the law on the subject of heresy, by which it was declared that speaking against the Bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope, or his decrees, was not heresy; for the submission of the clergy to the king's majesty, which prohibited all appeals to Rome under penalty of a premunire; for abolishing the presentment of archbishops and bishops to the see of Rome, and their consecration by authority of the pope, and ordaining that they should be elected by the chapters under the king's license and letters missive naming the person to be chosen; and for the abolition of Peter pence and all other taxes heretofore paid to Rome. In the next session, which commenced in November, 1534, the king was formally declared—what, it was stated, he had already been recognised as being by the clergy in convocation—"the only Supreme Head in earth of the

* Translation, in Strype, i. 93.

Church of England," with the sole right to reform and correct all heresies by his own authority; and the first-fruits, and also a yearly tenth of all spiritual livings, were made over to the crown. The year 1535 witnessed the executions of divers persons for denying the king's supremacy,—among others, of the two illustrious victims, Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More.

"And these," says Strype, "were some of the resolute steps King Henry made towards the obtaining again this long struggled for and almost lost right and prerogative of kings, in their own dominions, of being supreme against the encroachments of the bishops of Rome. Secretary Cromwell had the great stroke in all this; and all these counsels and methods were struck out of his head." To Cromwell especially belongs the credit of having been Henry's chief instrument in his next undertaking as an ecclesiastical reformer—his attack upon the monastic institutions. According to Strype it was "the refractoriness of those of the Benedictine order to the king's proceedings" that "made him think it convenient to look a little more narrowly into their behaviour, and to animadvert upon their irregularities, of which there were reports enough: and this being resolved upon, he thought good to make one work of it, and to have all convents and religious societies besides visited also." The measure, Burnet tells us, was chiefly advised by a Dr. Leighton, who had been in the service of Wolsey along with Cromwell, and had then been taken notice of by the latter "as a dexterous and diligent man, and therefore was now made use of on this occasion." The visitation began in October, 1535, and comprehended not only all monasteries, but all collegiate churches, hospitals, and cathedrals, and also the houses of the order of the Knights of Jerusalem. The object professed, of course, was the reformation of the irregular lives of the monks; but the real motives appear to have been different. Concurring with the scandals that were abroad as to the relaxed discipline of the several orders, "their secret practices against the king," says Burnet, "both in the matter of his divorce and supremacy, made him more willing to examine the truth of these reports; that if they were found guilty of such scandals, they might lose their credit with the people, and occasions be ministered to the king to justify the suppression of them." And the historian goes on to observe that, among other motives which inclined the king to the project, one was that he was apprehensive of a war with the emperor, on which account he "judged it necessary to fortify his ports; and seeing the great advantages of trade, which began then to rise much, was resolved to encourage it, for which end he intended to build many havens and harbours. This was a matter of great charge, and as his own revenue could not defray it, so he had no mind to lay heavy taxes on his subjects: therefore the suppression of monasteries was thought the easiest way of raising money." The only immediate result of this first visitation was the voluntary surrender of six or seven of the smaller and poorer houses to the crown, on the ground, as was affirmed, of their revenues being so encumbered that they must otherwise very speedily have come to ruin, both in their spiritual and temporal concerns. "It was thought," says Strype, "that it was the king's mind and intention to take them all, with their lands and revenues, into his own hand, and to turn out all the monks and friars to shift for themselves; and so it was given out. But the king meant no such thing, and showed himself displeased with such as reported it, and ordered them to be taken up and committed to custody, and pacified and quieted these religious persons with assurance to the contrary, in case they lived in due order, and showed themselves true to him, and acknowledged his supremacy." Henry's intentions may be best judged from his acts. Within a few months after this assurance had been given an act was passed by parliament suppressing all religious houses whose annual revenue was less than 200*l.*, and giving their lands, rents, cattle, plate, jewels, and all other property to the king. By this act 376 monasteries were at once swept away, and Henry was enriched by lands computed to be worth 32,000*l.* per annum, and other spoils of the estimated value of 100,000*l.*, but in reality amounting to these sums several times over, "for many houses," as Burnet observes, "then rated at 200*l.* were worth many thousands," the practice being for them to raise heavy fines on their leases and to keep their rents nominally low. "It is generally said, also," the same historian elsewhere adds, "and not improbably, that the commissioners were as careful to enrich themselves as to increase the king's revenue."

In the following year, 1537, a new visitation was begun of all the remaining monasteries, with the design, which could no longer be disavowed, of subjecting as many of them as possible to the same fate with those that had been already confiscated. This was so clearly perceived that, in a great many instances, voluntary surrenders were now made by the abbots and other heads of houses. "There were great complaints," Burnet relates, "made of the visitors, as if they had practised with the abbots and priors to make these surrenders, and that they had conspired with them to cheat the king, and had privately embezzled most of the plate and furniture. The Abbess of Chepstow complained, in particular, of Dr. London, one of the visitors, that he had been corrupting her nuns; and generally it was cried out that underhand and ill practices were used. Therefore, to quiet these reports, and to give some colour to justify what they were about, all the foul stories that could be found out were published to defame these houses." In most cases, it would seem, where the house was not recommended for total suppression, a fine or annual tax was laid upon it; and even where it was not pretended that the inmates were chargeable with any irregularities, the real object

of the visitation, the extraction of money, was equally kept in view. Thus we find the nuns of the convent of Styxwold, against whom nothing appears to have been alleged, fined to the amount of 200 marks, besides an annual pension or tax of 34*l.* "Good Mr. Heneage," they say, in a representation addressed to one of the visitors, "we most humbly pray and desire you, in the way of charity, and for God's sake, to be mean (a medium of intercession) to my lord privy seal (Cromwell) that he will of his goodness be suitor to the king's majesty for to remit and forgive the said pension of 34*l.* by year, or else we shall never be able to live and pay the king the aforesaid money. We be eighteen nuns and a sister in our house, besides officers and servants, to the number of fifty persons in all; and our stock and cattle being delivered up this year past, which was our chief hope and living. And if by my lord privy seal's goodness and yours we may obtain redemption of the said pension, we shall take pains, and live poorly, and serve God, and pray daily for the king's majesty, my lord privy seal, and you, during our lives." If their prayer be refused they intimate that they will be obliged to "give up the house into the king's highness' hand;" and this case may enable us to understand how such surrenders, designated voluntary, were probably in most instances brought about. But besides the fines imposed in the name of the king, there is every reason to believe that another customary mode of composition was by bribing the visitors or their master, Cromwell. We find the evidence of this in a curious letter, which has been printed by Strype, addressed to Cromwell by Latimer, in behalf of the head of one of the houses in his diocese of Worcester, the prior of Great Malvern: "This man," writes Latimer, "both heareth and feareth, as he saith, the suppression of his house. Which, though he will be conformable in all points to the king's highness' pleasure, and yours, once known —as both I advertised him, as also his bounden duty is to be—yet nevertheless, if he thought the enterprise should not be mistaken, nor turn to any displeasure, he would be an humble suitor to your lordship, and by the same to the king's good grace, for the upstanding of his foresaid house, of the continuance of the same to many good purposes; not in monkery, he meaneth; not so, God forbid; but any other ways, as should be thought and seen good to the king's majesty; as to maintain, touching preaching, study with praying, and (to the which he is much given) good housekeeping. For to the virtue of hospitality he hath been greatly inclined from his beginning, and is very much commended in these parts for the same. *So that, if five hundred mark to the king's majesty, with two hundred mark to yourself for your good will,* might occasion the promotion of his intent, at leastwise for the time of his life, he doubteth not to make his friends for the same, if so little could bring as much to pass. The man is old, a good housekeeper, feedeth many, and that daily." The qualifications of the prior of Great Malvern, it is plain, were rather those of an innkeeper than a spiritual father; but Latimer was very desirous that, were it merely for the purposes of hospitality, a few of the monastic houses should be preserved from destruction. "For the country," he goes on to say, "is poor, and full of penury; and, alas! my good lord, shall we not see two or three in every shire changed to such remedy?" But Henry's rapacity would submit to no such deduction from its plunder. The visitation of the monasteries, which was, in effect, a forcing of them one after another to surrender, was continued for some years, until the greater number of them had been thus given up into the king's hands; and then, in 1539, the parliament passed an act confirming to the king and his successors for ever both all those that had been thus already resigned, and all that should be suppressed, forfeited, or given up thereafter. The effect of this act was immediately to put down all the still existing monasteries in England. Altogether, by its operation, the possessions of 644 convents, 90 colleges, 2374 chantries and free chapels, and 110 hospitals, were annexed to the crown. The clear yearly value of all the houses thus suppressed was, at the rents actually paid, only about 130,000*l.*; but Burnet affirms that their real value was at least ten times as much. Besides this, plate, jewels, and goods of all kinds to a vast amount must have been obtained from this wholesale confiscation. To enlist the popular feeling in favour of the measure, it was given out that its effect would be to relieve the king's subjects for the future from all services and taxes; and that in place of the abbots, monks, friars, and nuns, there would be raised and maintained forty new earls, sixty barons, three thousand knights, and forty thousand soldiers, commanded by skilful officers, out of the revenues of the abolished establishments. It was also promised both that there should be a better provision made for the poor, and that preachers should be handsomely paid to go about everywhere, and preach the true religion. "But," says Strype, "nothing of this came to pass; for neither was there provision made for the poor, nor yet order set for preaching the gospel; and, in fine, a great part of it was turned to the upholding of dice-playing, masking, and banqueting."* Of the whole of the immense revenue that accrued to the crown from the abolition of the monasteries, a fraction of about eight thousand pounds per annum only was bestowed upon the endowment of the six new bishoprics of Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester, and the substitution of canons for the disbanded monks in several of the old cathedral churches.

Henry may be regarded as having continued to move, in the main, in a Protestant direction throughout the period of his three Protestant marriages with Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, and Anne of

* These last words are from Bishop Bale's "Image of Both Churches," first published in 1550.

Cleves,—neither of the catastrophes by which the two first of these connexions were so suddenly terminated interrupting his onward career. During this space several minor reforms were carried into effect besides the great work of the confiscation of the monasteries. Among these one of the most memorable was the communication to the people, under the royal authority, of the Scriptures in their mother tongue. Wycliffe, as was formerly mentioned,* had translated both the Old and the New Testament before the end of the fifteenth century; and even long before his day the whole Bible, according to a statement of Sir Thomas More, had been, "by virtuous and well-learned men, translated into the English tongue, and by good and godly people, with devotion and soberness, well and reverently read." Cranmer also asserts that, when the Saxon tongue, in which the first version was made, "waned old and out of common usage," the Scripture was again translated into the newer language, "whereof," he adds, "yet also many copies be found." But the first English translation of any part of the Scriptures that was printed was the translation of the New Testament, by William Tyndal (otherwise called Hotchin), assisted by a friar named Roy and others, which appeared in an octavo volume at Antwerp in 1526. The edition consisted of fifteen hundred copies, nearly all of which that were disposed of appear to have been sent over to England. Here they were purchased and read with wonderful eagerness by the people, and not the less so for the prohibition that was issued by Wolsey, and published by every bishop in his diocese, setting forth "that some of Luther's followers had erroneously translated the New Testament, and had corrupted the word of God, both by a false translation and by heretical glosses;" and requiring all incumbents to charge the people of their parishes who might have any of the books to bring them in to the vicar-general within thirty days, under pain of excommunication. Some curious particulars respecting the spread of Tyndal's New Testament are given in the examinations which Strype has printed of persons apprehended and questioned under the search that was thus set on foot. One, for example, John Pykas, of Colchester, confessed "that about five years last past, at a certain time, his mother, then dwelling in Bury, sent for him, and moved him that he should not believe in the sacraments of the church, for that was not the right way. And then she delivered to this respondent one book of Paul's Epistles in English, and bid him live after the manner and way of the said Epistles and Gospels, and not after the way that the church doth teach. And about a two years last past† he bought in Colchester, of a Lombard of London, a New Testament in English, and paid for it four shillings; which New Testament he kept, and read it thoroughly many times. And afterward, when he heard that the said New Testaments were forbidden, that no man should keep them, he delivered it and the book of Paul's Epistles to his mother again. And so, in continuance of time, by the instruction of his mother, and by reading of the said books, he fell into these errors and heresies against the sacrament of the altar." Burnet tells the following good story respecting Tyndal's New Testament:—"Tunstall, then Bishop of London, being a man of invincible moderation, would do nobody hurt, yet endeavoured as he could to get their books into his hands; so, being at Antwerp in the year 1529, as he returned from his embassy at the treaty of Cambray, he sent for one Packington, an English merchant there, and desired him to see how many New Testaments of Tyndal's translation he might have for money. Packington, who was a secret favourer of Tyndal, told him what the bishop proposed. Tyndal was very glad of it; for, being convinced of some faults in his work, he was designing a new and more correct edition; but he was poor, and the former impression not being sold off, he could not go about it: so he gave Packington all the copies that lay in his hands, for which the bishop paid the price, and brought them over, and burnt them publicly in Cheapside. This had such an hateful appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the word of God, that people from thence concluded there must be a visible contrariety between that book and the doctrines of those who so handled it, by which both their prejudice against the clergy and their desire of reading the New Testament was increased. So that next year, when the second edition was finished, many more were brought over; and Constantine (one of Tyndal's associates) being taken in England, the lord chancellor, in a private examination, promised him that no hurt should be done him if he would reveal who encouraged and supported them at Antwerp; which he accepted of, and told that the greatest encouragement they had was from the Bishop of London, who had bought up half the impression. This made all that heard it laugh heartily, though more judicious persons discerned the great temper of that learned bishop in it." At one time the clergy sought to repress the curiosity of the people about Tyndal's Testament by giving out that they intended immediately to put forth a translation of their own; but this project, if it ever was seriously entertained, was soon thrown aside; and at length, about the end of May, 1530, a paper was drawn up by Warham, More, Tunstall, and other eminent canonists and divines, which every incumbent was commanded to read to his congregation, intimating that, the king having consulted certain prelates and learned men of both universities as to various treatises on doctrinal subjects lately set out in the English tongue, they had agreed in condemning them as containing several things that were heretical; and

* See vol. i. p. 808.

† The deposition is dated 7th March, 1527; so that either the deponent must have been mistaken as to the length of time, or Tyndal's Testaments must have been produced and imported into England a year earlier than the date on the book would lead us to suppose. But what was the English translation of the Epistles of St. Paul,—apparently also a printed book,—which the deponent says he got from his mother "*five* years last past?"

that, upon the question as to the necessity or expediency of a translation of the Bible, "they were of opinion that, though it had been sometimes done, yet it was not necessary, and that the king did well not to set it out at that time in the English tongue."

The course, however, in which all things were now moving, and especially that which affairs at court had taken, made it impossible that what may almost be called the fundamental principle of Protestantism, the free circulation of the Scriptures among the people, could be much longer resisted. The convocation of 1536, accordingly, at the same time that the parliament passed the first act for the dissolution of the monasteries, agreed by a majority, on the motion of Cranmer, to petition the king that he would give orders for the preparation of an English translation of the Bible. The project was at first opposed by a powerful party at court, and Henry for some time hesitated; but it was represented to him, on the other side, that nothing would make the pope and the monks so hateful to the nation, or his own supremacy so acceptable, as giving the people the free use of the word of God; and "these arguments," says Burnet, "joined with the power that the queen had in his affections, were so much considered by the king that he gave order for setting about it immediately." Already, however, in the preceding year there had been produced on the continent a complete English translation of the Bible, by Miles Coverdale, who is supposed to have been one of Tyndal's assistants in translating the New Testament. Coverdale's Bible, which is conjectured, from the form of the types, to have been printed at Zurich, was dedicated to the King of England. It was probably soon after this work was put into Henry's hands that a circumstance occurred which is mentioned by Burnet in the Supplement to his History of the Reformation, but the date of which he professes himself unable to assign. When various opinions were expressed about Coverdale's Bible, "Henry ordered divers bishops to peruse it. After they had had it long in their hands, he asked their judgment of it: they said there were many faults in it: but he asked, upon that, if there were any heresies in it: they said they found none: then, said the king, in God's name, let it go abroad among my people." This anecdote, it seems, Coverdale afterwards related himself in a sermon he preached at Paul's Cross. Coverdale's Bible, which was in folio, appears to have been the volume which in 1536, immediately after the above-mentioned order had been issued for the preparation of a new translation to be set forth by authority, Cromwell, as the king's vicar-general and vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, commanded to be procured by every parish, and chained to a pillar or desk in the choir of the church, for all to read at their pleasure. This was done, that the resolution taken in favour of laying open the word of God to the people might not remain inoperative while the new translation was in hand. To whom that work was committed, or how the persons engaged proceeded in it, Burnet says he had not been able to ascertain; the direction was probably left with Cranmer, with whom the proposal had originated, and it is believed that Coverdale was one of the principal persons employed. When the translation was at last finished, it was sent to be printed at Paris, by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch; but, although the printers had previously obtained the French king's license to undertake the work, their operations were interrupted before their completion by the clamours of the clergy, and they were obliged to withdraw to London, where the volume was at last finished in April, 1539. This first

HENRY VIII. DELIVERING THE BIBLE TO CRANMER AND CROMWELL.
Being a portion of the Engraved Title-page of Cranmer's, or The Great Bible.)

authorised English Bible, which is known by the name of Cranmer's, or the Great Bible, is a folio, like Coverdale's, and the text, in the main, is little more than a corrected edition of his. Its title-page is embellished by a wood engraving of remarkable beauty, generally supposed to be taken from a design by Hans Holbein, the principal division of which represents Henry delivering copies of the book to Archbishop Cranmer and Cromwell, the former standing on the right, the latter on the left hand of the throne or chair of state, while other groups exhibit the general distribution of the Scriptures to the clergy and laity, the crowding of the people around their preachers, and other scenes characteristic of the religious ferment of the time. Besides its merit as a work of art, the whole delineation is of high interest, as illustrative both of the great national awakening it is especially intended to commemorate, and of the various costume and aspect of English society three centuries ago.

A set of injunctions was now issued to the clergy by Cromwell, in his quality of ecclesiastical vicegerent, one of which directed each incumbent to provide before a certain day a copy of the new Great Bible, and to set up the same in some convenient place within the church, where the parishioners might most commodiously resort to it and read it; the charge to be borne one-half by the parson, and the other by the parishioners. If, as Burnet tells us, the whole of Grafton's impression amounted only to fifteen hundred copies, this order could scarcely, in fact, have been complied with, although all parties had been ever so anxious to yield obedience to it, by more than a tenth of the parishes in the kingdom. "Item," Cromwell goes on, "you shall discourage no man privily or openly from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every Christian man is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if he look to be saved; admonishing them, nevertheless, to avoid all contentious altercation therein, and to use an honest sobriety in the inquisition of the true sense of the same, and refer the explication of the obscure places to men of higher judgment in Scripture." But hardly had the fountain of divine truth been thus unsealed, when Henry deemed it necessary to interfere to check the unregulated eagerness with which the popular appetite rushed to drink of the long-imprisoned waters. Some curious traits of the first excitement produced by the new charter of intellectual freedom are preserved in a royal proclamation which was set forth in the beginning of May, 1539, and which is further remarkable as the first that was issued under the statute giving to the proclamations of the king in council the force of acts of parliament. It is here alleged that, while on the one hand some persons craftily sought, by their preachings and teachings, to restore in the realm "the old devotion to the usurped power of the Bishop

Bible Chained at the Porch of a Church.

of Rome, the hypocrite's religion, superstition, pilgrimages, idolatry, and other evil and naughty ceremonies and dreams, justly and lawfully abolished and taken away by authority of God's word," others wrested the Holy Scriptures so as "to subvert and overturn as well the sacraments of holy church as the power and authority of princes and magistrates, and in effect generally all laws and common justice, and the good and laudable ordinances and ceremonies necessary and convenient to be used and continued; some of them also using the Scripture permitted to them by the king's goodness, in the English tongue, at such times and places, and after such fashions and sorts, as it is not convenient to be suffered." Both parties, it is affirmed, were accustomed to dispute respecting their opinions with excessive heat and arrogance both in the churches and in alehouses and taverns; "one part of them calling the other papist, and the other part calling the other heretic." The use of either of these epithets is thereupon strictly forbidden, unless the person applying it can justly and lawfully prove the truth of his charge. And then it is commanded that "no person except such as be curates or graduates in any of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, or such as be or shall be admitted to preach by the king's license, or by his vicegerent, or by any bishop of the realm, shall teach or preach the Bible or New Testament, nor expound the mysteries thereof to any other; nor that any person or persons shall openly read the Bible or New Testament in the English tongue in any churches, or chapels, or elsewhere, with any loud or high voice, and especially during the time of divine service, or of celebrating and saying of masses; but virtually and devoutly to hear their divine services and masses, and use that time in reading and praying with peace and stillness, as

good Christian men use to do." "Notwithstanding," it is added, "the king is still pleased to permit that such as can and will in the English tongue, shall and may quietly and reverently read the Bible and New Testament by themselves secretly at all times and places convenient for their own instruction and edification." They are warned, however, to beware of their own presumptuous and arrogant expositions, and to resort humbly to such as were learned in holy Scripture for their instruction as to all doubtful points. Most of the stronger and more restrictive expressions in this proclamation, it deserves to be noted, were inserted by Henry himself,* who, in truth, was never cordially reconciled to the great innovation in regard to the use of the Scriptures which Cranmer and Cromwell had induced him to sanction, but seems to have had strong apprehensions of its producing more evil than good, even while the ascendancy of these ministers was still unimpaired. He was soon after this, indeed, prevailed upon to grant letters patent prohibiting all persons from printing the Bible in the English tongue in any manner of volume for five years, except such as Cromwell should depute and assign; and Burnet represents this as a new permission, obtained at the intercession of Cranmer, for private persons to buy Bibles and keep them in their houses—all that had been previously allowed being, that they should be set up in churches and read there. But for this statement there appears to be no foundation. It may be presumed, that when the English Bible was first printed by authority, it was allowed to be sold to all who chose to buy it, like any other book. Various expressions in the proclamation we have just quoted prove that it was accustomed to be read elsewhere as well as in the churches from the first—indeed, it is expressly enjoined to be so read; nor is there a word in the present letters patent about the liberty of purchasing it, which Burnet says was now first granted to private persons. The intention of the monopoly—for that is really what is granted—is stated to be the securing of uniformity in the editions of the sacred text, and the avoidance of the manifold inconveniences that might arise from "wilful and heady folk," conferring upon a diversity of translations.

In May, 1541, a year after the fall of Cromwell, another proclamation was issued, on occasion of a new impression of the Bible being finished, enforcing the order formerly made by that minister, that a copy of the book should be fixed and set up openly in every parish church, which it was now discovered had been neglected by "divers and many towns and parishes." A penalty was imposed upon all who should not comply with the order before the Feast of All Saints next ensuing, and, to the intent that the king's loving subjects might have "the said Bibles of the greatest volume at equal and reasonable prices," it was ordained that the sellers thereof should "not take for any of the said Bibles unbound above the price of ten shillings, and for every of the said Bibles well and sufficiently bound, trimmed, and clasped, not above twelve shillings." Care was taken at the same time to reiterate the admonition that the people should read the Bibles in the churches "humbly, meekly, reverently, and obediently," and that none of them "should read the said Bibles with high and loud voices; or in time of the celebration of the holy mass, and other divine services used in the church;" and that none of the laity "reading the same should presume to take upon them any common disputation, argument, or exposition, of the mysteries therein contained." In obedience to the proclamation, Bonner, now Bishop of London, ordered six of the great Bibles to be set up in different places in his cathedral of St. Paul's, with a short admonition to the same effect suspended upon each of the pillars to which the books were chained; but the irregularities objected to by no means ceased; persons who could read, and who had clear voices, still read aloud to the rest who crowded around them, and frequent arguments and disputations were unavoidable. On this Bonner put forth a new advertisement, in which he threatened that if the abuses continued he would remove the Bibles from the church altogether. In the following year, 1542, a direct attack was made upon the English Bible in the convocation: the translation was complained of as full of faults, and an attempt was made to get it condemned till a new and more correct one should be made by the bishops, who, probably, if the task had been committed to them, would have been in no hurry to finish it. It was upon this occasion that Gardiner is said to have come forward with his strange proposal that certain words, wherever they occurred, should be left in Latin, on the pretence that they were untranslateable into English: the terms particularised do not appear to have any occult or peculiarly difficult meaning; and it is plausibly inferred by Protestant writers that the bishop's real design was to make the translation unintelligible to the people. The scheme of a new translation, however, was defeated by the management of Cranmer, who induced the king to take the middle course of referring the existing translation to the perusal of the two universities. The great majority of the bishops protested against this decision; but the convocation was soon after dissolved, and nothing more was done for the present. Soon after, as we shall find, measures were adopted which had the effect of making the reading of the Scriptures in any translation illegal and punishable in the great body of the people; but it may be questioned if this prohibition ever proved much more than a dead letter.

In the mean time the rejection of the papal supremacy, and the concession to the people of the Scriptures in their mother tongue, amounted in effect to the substitution of Protestantism for Romanism as

* See it as printed by Strype, with the king's deletions and other alterations, in Eccles. Mem., Append. No. cx.

the national religion; the change, if not yet made in form, was made in spirit and in substance, or at least the preparation was made—the first move was taken—which was to assure its coming; but the individual whom accident had placed for the moment in the position of chief control over the movement, and whose personal interests and passions, as we have seen, did more than anything else to give it its first great impulse, was far from perceiving this. Henry himself, the founder of English Protestantism, never at any time was, or professed to be, a Protestant; but in regard to all the main points of religious doctrine continued opposed to Protestantism and attached to the common Catholic belief to the end of his days. His course, however, was marked by some fluctuation and variety of opinion, if not by anything that could be called progress; and as his religion was, so long as he occupied the throne, the religion of the state, the legally established faith of the kingdom, we shall wind up our history of ecclesiastical affairs during this reign by shortly noting the different attitudes which he assumed from time to time in his character of Supreme Head of the Church, and dictator of the national creed. This review will afford us opportunities of adverting, as we pass along, to all the ecclesiastical changes made in the course of this stage of the Reformation, which have not yet been noticed.

In the year 1532 was reprinted, probably for the last time without alteration, the old Church-book, or directory for public worship, entitled the Festival, consisting chiefly of extracts from the Golden Legend, or book of the biography of the saints. It was of course a thoroughly Popish manual, inculcating all the common doctrines of the Romish church with as little reserve or qualification as if nobody had ever yet ventured to call any of them in question. In what is called the Bedes, or instructions to the people what and whom they are to pray for, the pope and his college of cardinals are set down in the first place after the good estate and peace of holy church; and in the sequel are enumerated "all abbots, priors, monks, canons, friars, and all men and women of religion, in what order, estate, or degree that they stand in, from the highest estate unto the lowest degree;" all they "that find any light in the church, or give any behests, book, bell, chalice, or vestment, surplice, altar-cloth, or towel, lands, rents, lamp, or light, or any other ornaments, whereby God's service is the better served, sustained, and maintained, in reading and singing;" and "all true pilgrims and palmers that have taken their way to Rome, to Jerusalem, to St. Catherine's, or St. James, or to any other place." "Furthermore," it is added, "ye shall also pray for your father's soul, for your mother's soul, for your godfather's soul, for your godmother's soul, for your brethren and sisters' souls, and for the souls of all your kinsfolk, and for your friends' souls, and for all the souls that we be bound to pray for; and for all the souls that be in the pains of purgatory, there abiding the mercy of Almighty God." The seven sacraments, the seven deeds of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the nine manners of horrible pains, and the nine manners of people that shall be tormented therewith, are all faithfully set forth and expounded. Images are commended as signs or means whereby men should learn "whom they should worship and follow in living," although to do God's worship to them is forbidden. The benefits of hearing mass are extolled in some singular expressions: "that day," it is declared, among other things, "thou shalt not lose thine eyesight, nor die sudden death; nor in the time of the mass thou shalt not wax aged."

Strype conceives that this book was not wholly laid aside till after the close of the reign of Henry VIII. Some corrections, however, were of necessity made in it immediately after Henry's breach with the pope, and some more as he proceeded with his further reforms. In the course of the very next year, 1533, before the pope's authority was cast off by the parliament, Henry himself wrote and published a treatise in Latin against the tyranny and horrible impiety of the Bishop of Rome (De Potestate Christianorum Regum in suis ecclesiis, contra Pontificis tyrannidem et horribilem impietatem). In the same session of parliament in which an end was put to the authority of the pope, some relief from the severity of the old laws against heresy was obtained by the new act, formerly mentioned, which declared that speaking against the Bishop of Rome and his decrees should no longer be considered to constitute that offence, and, among other alleviations of the ancient process, ordained that the charge should be proved by two lawful witnesses at the least,—that the trial should be in public,—and that the accused person might be bailed at the discretion of two justices of the peace. This year also an order was issued by the king, in his capacity of supreme head of the church, which had the effect of doing away with the use of the form in the Festival called the General Sentence or Curse, which was wont to be read to the people four times every year in the course of the church service. This long and comprehensive denunciation was directed with especial vehemence against all who in any way injured or troubled the state of holy church, by withdrawing offerings, tithes, rents, or other ecclesiastical dues—by violating the rights of sanctuary,—by calling in the aid of the civil power in matters appertaining to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction,—by retaining possession of houses, manors, or other property belonging to the church,—by removing goods with fraud or violence out of any church or religious house,—or in any one of various other ways that were specified. The king's order to the bishops was to leave out in the General Sentence all such articles as tended to the glory and advancement of the Bishop of Rome; but the effect, as has been mentioned, was to cause the Curse to be soon laid aside altogether. Some of the above clauses would have sounded too awkwardly if they had been

allowed to be heard in the midst of certain of Henry's projected reforms. The catalogue of the objects of this quarterly fulmination, we may remark, was read in English; but the Curse itself, with which it concluded, was in Latin, and was a very singular formula. According to the description in the Festival, the bishop being clothed in white, and accompanied by the other priests belonging to the church, with uplifted cross and candles burning, stood up in the pulpit, and said, in that ancient tongue, "By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the saints, we excommunicate, anathematise, and deliver over to the devil all the aforesaid malefactors, that excommunicated, anathematised, and delivered over to the devil they may be; accursed be they in towns, in fields, in highways, in footpaths, under roof, out of doors, and in all other places, standing, sitting, lying down, rising up, walking, running, awake, asleep, eating, drinking, and doing whatsoever other thing; from the illumination and all other good things of the church we debar them; to the devil we condemn them; and in the pains of hell-fire we extinguish their souls—unless they repent and make satisfaction—even as this candle is extinguished." And, so having said, to strike the more terror, amidst the sounding of bells he put out the light.*

As yet, however, with the exception only of the single doctrine, if it could be so called, of the papal supremacy, no alteration was made in any part of the ancient national profession of faith. This very year, on the petition of the convocation, Henry issued a strict proclamation against the importation and possession of what were called heretical books. Among these, according to a list published a few years before, were Tyndal's New Testament, and the various treatises of Luther, Huss, Zuinglius, and the other continental reformers. In this and subsequent years many persons even suffered at the stake for the offence of importing and dispersing such books. One fact, however, is recorded in connexion with this matter, which shows how the mischief of heresy was at once neutralised in Henry's estimation by its admixture with anything that chanced to favour his schemes of personal gratification and aggrandisement. In the lists of the prohibited books for some years past, one that had always occupied a conspicuous place was 'The Supplication of Beggars,' the production of one Simon Fish, a gentleman of Gray's Inn, who had been obliged to retire beyond seas in consequence. Strype speaks of it as first printed in 1524. The tract is preserved in Fox's 'Acts and Monuments,' and consists of a complaint addressed to the king by the beggars against the clergy of all ranks and classes, but especially the mendicant friars, who, the writer calculates (though on rather loose grounds), collected in the way of alms above 430,000*l.* annually,—a sum, he says, which, added to the other possessions of the church, far exceeded half the entire annual produce of the kingdom, although the number of the ecclesiastics was not the four hundredth part of the whole population. The view, of course, that the beggars take is, that the alms intercepted by the godly mendicants, the members of an order abundantly well provided for otherwise, is all so much drawn away from what ought of right to come to their share. This book being sent to Anne Boleyn about the year 1528, was by her soon after put into the hands of the king, who was so well pleased with it that he sent for Fish's wife, whom he desired to fetch her husband home immediately, assuring her that no man should do him any harm. Some time after, when the book was read to him, pretending not to have seen it before, he made a long pause, and then remarked significantly, "If a man in pulling down an old stone wall should begin at the lower part, the upper part might chance to fall upon his head." He seems to have meant to intimate that the prudent course would be to begin with the pope and then to fall upon the friars.

The latter, it is well known, early drew upon themselves the determined hostility of the king by their almost universal opposition to him, and advocacy of the cause of Catherine, in the affair of the divorce. But the best handle which they gave him for the execution of his designs for their destruction, arose out of the business of the Holy Maid of Kent, of whose prophecies their zeal and credulity made them very generally either the dupes, or at least the pretended believers and upholders.* Although it is hardly to be admitted, as Burnet affirms, that "this did first provoke the king against the regular clergy, and drew after it all the severities that were done in the rest of his reign," there is probably a good deal of truth in what the historian adds:—"The foulness and the wicked designs of this imposture did much alienate people from the interest of Rome, and made the other acts both pass more easily and be better received by the people. It was also generally believed that what was now discovered was no new practice, but that many of the visions and miracles, by which religious orders had raised their credit so high, were of the same nature; and it made way for the destroying of all the monasteries in England, though all the severity which at this time followed on it was, that the observant friars of Richmond, Greenwich, Canterbury, Newark, and Newcastle, were removed out of their houses, and put with the other Grey friars; and Augustin friars were put in their houses."

The Nun of Kent and her confederates, or rather those who made use of her as their instrument, were put to death in 1534. At this time, under the ascendancy of Cranmer and Cromwell, and the still unimpaired influence of his young and beautiful queen, Henry showed perhaps more of an inclination towards Protestantism than at any

* See the extract from the Festival, in Strype, Eccles. Mem. v. 510–515.

* See ante, pp. 384, 385.

Court-a-street Chapel, in the Parish of Aldington, Kent; where the Holy Maid of Kent uttered her Prophecies, in presence of the Image of the Virgin, through which she pretended to receive her Inspirations. From an Original Drawing.

other period of his life. It was now that, among other evidences which he gave of a somewhat favourable disposition towards even the doctrinal views of the reformers, he made the famous Latimer one of his chaplains, on the recommendation, it is said, of Cromwell and of his physician, Dr. Butts. The next year, Latimer, whose attachment to the doctrines of the Reformation was undoubted, although his dexterity and ready wit had always rescued him from conviction on the charge of heresy, was promoted to the bishopric of Worcester. Burnet attributes both these preferments to Anne Boleyn, who, he says, "reigned in the king's heart as absolutely as he did over his subjects."

Some notion of the mixed religion patronised at this date by the authorities in England may be gathered from a work entitled 'King Henry's Primer;' a second edition of which appeared, in a quarto volume, in 1535, put forth professedly by Dr. Marshal, archdeacon of Nottingham. Strype is of opinion, however, that Cranmer, in all probability, had a great hand in it. It consisted of a collection of tracts on the different parts of divine worship, most of which seem to have been published before at different times, but were now revised and accompanied by prefatory admonitions in the spirit of the prevailing system. On the whole, the work inculcated, though covertly, a sort of half-protestantism. In an exposition of the Ten Commandments, with which it commenced, what we call the second commandment was, after the common Popish fashion, treated as part of the first, but in others of the pieces the Protestant distinction between the two was recognised. The Ave Maria, or Angel's Salutation of our Lady, was prefaced with this caution: "Here first of all take heed, that no man put his sure trust and hope in the mother of God or her merits; for this sure confidence is due to God only. . . . . The grace and favour that was given her of God, giveth us an occasion to praise God, and give him thanks. We ought none otherwise to praise and love her, than one which hath received such goodness, without her own deserving, of the pure liberality and favour of God; even as she herself doth acknowledge in that song *Magnificat*." And at the end of the Salutation the reader is again called upon to remark, that no petition but only praises and honour are contained in the words: "therefore," it is added, "we cannot call this salutation a petition or prayer properly. . . . . Because it is not lawful for us to expound these words further than they sound, and than the Godhead did make them." The topic of the unwarrantableness of the worship of the Virgin and the saints is pressed with still less reserve in other places. In one place, indeed, the writer ventures to point out the great danger the people ran of falling into idolatry by the practice of such worship, and comes to this bold conclusion: "That it was not meet, comely, nor fitting, that in our prayers we should make a god or saviour of any saint in heaven; no, not of our blessed Lady." Still, however, the Litany, although given in English, and prefaced by an argument against praying to saints, was left with all the old addresses to the Virgin, to the angels, to the twelve apostles, the martyrs, confessors, and virgins, calling upon them for their intercession in behalf of the worshipper. The Matins, Even Song, and Seven Penitential Psalms, were all likewise given in English. In a "Devout and Fruitful Remembrance of Christ's Passion," an attack was made upon the superstition of think-

ing that any benefits could accrue from carrying about the person images, painted papers, or carved crosses, designed, as was pretended, to be helps towards beholding the passion of Christ—that by such means, for instance, safety could be secured from fire, water, or any other peril. Perhaps, however, the most daring instance of speaking out occurs in the admonition prefixed to the *Dirige*, popularly called the *Dirge*, which was the office that used to be said for the souls of the dead. There is no alteration in the old form, except that the words are translated into English; but in the prefatory observations the writer says, "Among other works of darkness and deep ignorance, wherein we have blindly wandered, following a sort of blind guides many days and years, I account this not one of the least, that we have rung and sung, mumbled, murmured, and piteously puled forth a certain sort of psalms, with responds, versicles, and lessons to the same, for the souls of our Christian brethren and sisters departed out of this world; which psalms and lessons, I beseech God I die if they make any more for any such use and purpose, that is to say, that they ought or may be used rather for them that be departed than for them that be in life and in good bodily health, than may *Te Deum* or *Gloria Excelsis*." "There is nothing," it is added, "in the *Dirige*, taken out of the Scripture, that makes any more mention of the souls departed, than doth the tale of *Robin Hood*." This direct attack upon prayers for the dead and the doctrine of purgatory, is in the highest strain of that spirit of hostility and scorn with which the ancient church was now assailed by her avowed enemies. These, indeed, were the parts of the Popish system against which perhaps the strongest and most general feeling had been excited, ever since Luther had been led directly to the denial of purgatory by his commencing movement—the attack upon indulgences.

In his present circumstances, threatened as he was with the vengeance of the emperor for his treatment of Catherine, the friendship of the Protestant princes of Germany was of the greatest importance to Henry; and he never, before or after, went so far in the direction of the new opinions in religion as he now did in his endeavours to secure that object. After some preliminary negotiation, in the beginning of the year 1536, the Elector of Saxony and the other chiefs of the Lutheran confederacy presented their proposals to him in a "petition and request," consisting of fourteen articles, his answer to which, printed by Burnet in his Supplement, from the original in the State Paper Office, exhibits him to us in the most Protestant character he ever assumed.

The first demand of the German princes was, that he would set forth the gospel of Christ and the sincere doctrine of the faith in the terms of the famous Augsburg Confession,—a summary of all the tenets taught by Luther, which they themselves had adopted and subscribed a few years before. To this Henry replied, that he had of long time minded to set forth the said gospel and true doctrine, which moreover he was most ready to defend both with life and goods; but still, he added, he could not bring himself, "being a king reckoned somewhat learned (though unworthy)," and having also so many excellent and learned men within his realm, "to accept at any creature's hands the observing of his and his realm's faith, the only ground whereof remaineth in Scripture." Instead of the Augsburg Confession, he desired "it would please his said confederates and friends to send hither some of their best learned men to confer and conclude with him and his learned men, to the intent to have a perfect concord and union in faith." In a second answer he went still farther in his general professions of regard and approval; he acknowledged not only their great constancy in the setting forth of the truth of the gospel, "that was darkened afore," but also their exhorting himself to the defence of the same, which was most acceptable to him, and he thanked them as well on his own account as on account of all Christendom, acknowledging the great goodness of God in giving the said princes such steadfastness and strength; "their wondrous virtues," he proceeded, rising to a yet more impassioned tone, "have so ravished and drawn his mind to their love that he was fully determined never to let pass without correspondence of love any occasion that he should think might conduce in anywise to their good minds and godly proceedings." Still he avoided committing himself to any specific adoption of their Lutheran doctrines. "This negotiation," says Burnet, "sunk to a great degree upon Queen Anne's tragical fall; and as the king thought they were no more necessary to him, so they saw his intractable humour, and had no hope of succeeding with him unless they would have allowed him a dictatorship in matters of religion." In another place the same historian, partial as he is on the whole to the memory of the author of the English Reformation, admits, in substance, that he now arrogated to himself, in matters of religion, an infallibility and authority as absolute as had ever been claimed by the most imperious or intolerant of the popes. He "was too ready," are his words, "upon slight grounds to bring his subjects to the bar, where, though the matter was always so ordered that according to law they were indicted and judged, yet, the severity of the law bordering somewhat on rigour and cruelty, he came to be called a cruel tyrant. Nor did his severity lie only on one side, but, being addicted to some tenets of the old religion, and impatient of contradiction,—or, perhaps, blown up either with the vanity of his new title of Head of the Church, or with the praises which flatterers bestowed on him,—he thought all persons were bound to regulate their belief by his dictates, which made him prosecute Protestants as well as Papists." The history of his reign, given in the preceding chapter, has already placed before the reader numerous examples of the impartial ferocity with which he went on to

the end of his life, making martyrs alike of Papists and Protestants,—both of those who, as he was pleased to think, believed too much, and of those who did not believe enough. This was an extension of the worst tyranny of the popish church, under which believing too much, at least, was not an error that ever exposed people to danger.

In the convocation which met in June this year, and in which Cromwell occupied the chief seat as the king's vicegerent, a great deal of debate took place touching the new opinions in religion. Sixty-seven of these opinions, embracing the principal tenets of the old Lollards and Wycliffites, of the Lutherans and other Protestant reformers of the day, and of the fanatical Anabaptists, were complained of by the lower house as prevalent errors that demanded correction. The representation also noticed many extravagant and indecorous expressions, and irreverent jests touching confession, praying to saints, holy-water, and the other ceremonies of the church, which were asserted to be current among the preachers of the said obnoxious doctrines and their followers, and called for their suppression, not without some oblique reflections on Cranmer and his few brethren on the bench of the same way of thinking with himself, as having neglected their duty in not putting down such abuses. Cromwell, however, still had influence enough with Henry to obtain from him a declaration rebuking, at least by implication, this officious zeal of the clergy, and rather intimating a favourable disposition towards some of the denounced opinions. It was stated to be the king's pleasure that the rites and ceremonies of the church should be reformed by the rules of Scripture, and that nothing should be maintained which did not rest on that authority, seeing it was absurd that if the Scripture, as was admitted, really contained the true laws of religion, recourse should be had rather to glosses and the decrees of popes than to that sure word of God. Afterwards many of the doctrinal points in dispute between the two parties were discussed at great length;—Lee, Archbishop of York, Stokesby Bishop of London, Tunstall of Durham, Gardiner of Winchester, Longland of Lincoln, Sherburn of Chichester, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carlisle, standing up, as far as they durst, for the unmitigated ancient faith; and Cranmer, Goodrich of Ely, Shaxton of Salisbury, Latimer of Worcester, Fox of Hereford, Hilsey of Rochester, and Barlow of St. David's maintaining the more Protestant views. In the end certain articles were agreed upon, which, after being in several places corrected and tempered by the king's own hand, were signed by Cromwell, Cranmer, and seventeen other bishops, forty abbots and priors, and fifty archdeacons and proctors of the lower house, and were finally confirmed by the king, and published, with a preface in his name. These articles, therefore, constituted for the present the confession of faith, or authoritative exposition of the doctrines of the English church; and they become in this way a very important and interesting historical monument. In general, the system which they established may be described as more Protestant in some of the principles laid down than in their practical development, as if a compromise had been made between the two parties on the somewhat odd understanding that the statement of fundamental principles should throughout be left to the one, and that of practical deductions and directions to the other.

The articles began with a distinct admission of the great Protestant principle of the supremacy of the Bible, qualified only by the addition, to which few Protestants would then object,—that the three ancient creeds, that of the Apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian, should be held to be of equal authority with the Scriptures; according to these standards, and in their words, it was declared all things should be interpreted, and all heresies contrary to them should be condemned, especially those condemned by the first four general councils. When particular controverted matters, however, came to be spoken of, the language employed was not always so explicit and decisive, or at least was not always perfectly consistent with this introductory announcement. In regard to Baptism the opinions of the Anabaptists and Pelagians were declared to be detestable heresies. Concerning penance it was affirmed that it was instituted by Christ, and was absolutely necessary to salvation—that it consisted of contrition, confession, and amendment of life, with exterior works of charity—that confession to a priest is necessary, if it may be had—that his absolution is spoken by an authority given to him by Christ in the gospel, and must be believed as if it were spoken by God himself—that therefore none were to condemn auricular confession, but to use it for the comfort of their consciences. In the article touching the sacrament of the altar the dogma of transubstantiation was laid down in the most unqualified terms; the people were to be instructed that, under the forms of bread and wine, there was truly and substantially given the very same body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary. In another article the necessity of good works to salvation was distinctly asserted, and so far there was a rejection of the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone; but on the other hand it was conceded that a sinner will not be justified by God for the merit or worthiness of any good work he may have done; and it was noted with especial prominence and emphasis that the good works necessary to salvation were not only external acts, but the inward motions and graces of God's holy spirit, such as dreading, fearing, and loving God, having firm confidence in him, calling upon him, having patience in all adversities, hating sin, and having purposes and wills not to sin again, with such other emotions and virtues as were consenting and agreeable to the law of God. The same struggle and intermixture of opposite opinions is to be discerned in what is said on the subject of images;

here, again, the old practice being retained, but guarded, and in some degree corrected and checked, by the modern principle. The people were to be instructed that the use of images was warranted by Scripture, and that, serving as they did to represent good examples and to stir up devotion, it was meet that they should stand in the churches; but in order to the avoidance of such superstition as it was thought had been fallen into in times past, it was agreed that while censing, kneeling, offering, and performing other acts of worship before images should still be allowed, the worshippers should be told that they must really do the worship not to the image, but to God and his honour. As for the estimation in which the saints were to be held, it was laid down, with the like ingenious indentation and dovetailing of the two colours of opinion, first, that people were not to think to obtain those things at the hands of the saints which were to be obtained only of God; secondly, nevertheless, that it was good to pray to them to pray with and for us; and thirdly, that all the days appointed by the church for the memories of the saints were to be kept, but yet that the king might at any time lessen the number of the said days, and must be obeyed if he did so. Another article sanctioned as good and laudable, and as having mystical significations in them, as well as being useful to lift up the mind to God, all the old customary ceremonies of religious worship—the vestments of the priest, the sprinkling of holy water, the distribution of holy bread, the bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, the giving of ashes on Ash Wednesday, the bearing of palms on Palm Sunday, the creeping to the Cross and kissing it on Good Friday, the hallowing the font, and other exorcisms and benedictions. Upon these points of mere external observance the forming party probably did not think it worth while to make a stand, nor indeed were they by any means all of one mind as to such matters. The last of the articles related to the much controverted questions of purgatory and prayers for the dead; and here, on the whole, the Protestant notions must be considered to have prevailed, although there was still something of the usual balancing and compounding together of adverse if not absolutely contradictory views and statements. To pray for the souls departed was declared to be a custom which had continued in the church from the beginning, and therefore the people were to be instructed that it was good and charitable to pray for them, and to make others pray for them, in masses and exequies, and to give alms to them for that end. But since, it was added, the place the souls of the dead were in, and the pains they suffered, were left by the Scripture uncertain, they ought to be wholly resigned to the mercy of God; and therefore all those abuses were to be put away which had arisen under the pretence of purgatory, such as that souls were to be delivered out of it either by the pope's pardons, or by masses said in certain places or before certain images. This may be described as the nearest approach to the denial of purgatory that could be made without absolutely denying it.

This mongrel religion, neither Romanism nor Protestantism, but an irregular patchwork or uncemented jumble of both, could not be expected, after it was manufactured and produced, to be perfectly acceptable to any part of the nation.* As soon as it was published, Burnet tells us, it "occasioned a great variety of censures;"—that is, of expressions of opinion respecting it. On the whole, however, it was generally regarded as a decided advance in a Protestant direction. The Protestants, with that reliance on the productive efficacy of speculative principles which their whole system tended to beget and foster, no doubt felt an assured confidence that the old superstitious practices which the articles tolerated would ere long give way before the sound doctrines, in the soil of which they were so inartificially stuck, in the vain attempt to make them there take root and flourish. The adherents of the ancient faith, on the other hand, with their opposite instinct, may have allowed themselves to take some consolation in the hope that the popular mind was too gross and uninstructed to be much affected by any mere doctrinal explanations, and that the old ceremonial observances, addressing their senses and passions, and moulding their habits from infancy, would be more than a match for cold, abstract dogmata and arguments, that appealed only to their understandings. Still recent experience was not in favour of this way of viewing the matter, nor, indeed, did it take in more than a part of the case. Burnet, therefore, is probably correct in describing the Romanists as "unspeakably troubled" by the publication of the articles. "Four sacraments," he observes, "were passed over, which would encourage ill-affected people to neglect them. The gainful trade by the belief of purgatory was put down; for though it was said to be good to give alms for praying for the dead, yet, since both the dreadful stories of the miseries of purgatory and the certainty of redeeming souls out of them by masses were made doubtful, the people's charity and bounty that way would soon abate; and, in a word, the bringing matters under dispute was a great mortification to them, for all concluded that this was but a preamble to what they might expect afterwards."

The publication of the articles was immediately followed by a royal proclamation, abolishing, in conformity with the authority given by one of them, a considerable number of holidays, including most of those in the harvest season,—a measure of policy which, however calculated to be ultimately beneficial, was, perhaps, not very wise in the temper of the popular mind at the moment, and is admitted to have had as great an effect as any of

* "It is yet but a mingle-mangle, a hotch-potch," said Latimer of the Reformation, in one of his sermons; "I cannot tell what; partly popery, and partly true religion mingled together. They say in my country, when they call their hogs to the swine-trough, 'Come to thy mingle-mangle,—come, pur, come!' Even so do they make a mingle-mangle of the gospel."

the sudden innovations that were now made in provoking the Pilgrimage of Grace and the other serious insurrectionary movements that took place in the close of this year. A set of injunctions to the clergy was also issued by Cromwell as vicegerent, in the king's name, "which," says Burnet, "was the first act of pure supremacy done by the king; for in all that went before he had the concurrence of the two convocations." The injunctions, which are supposed to have been penned by Cranmer, after exhorting the clergy to see, as far as in them lay, to the observance of the new articles, and of the laws and statutes made for the extirpation of the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, directed that all children and servants should be taught from their infancy to repeat and understand their Paternoster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in their mother tongue, for which purpose the curates were, in their sermons, deliberately and plainly to recite one clause or article of the said forms one day, and another another day, till they should be taught and learned by little, and were also to deliver the same in writing, or show where printed books containing them were to be sold, to those that could read and should desire to have such copies. In another paragraph it was thought necessary to order that parsons, vicars, curates, and other priests should in nowise, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cause than their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any taverns or ale-houses; and that after their dinner or supper they should not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idly, by day or by night, at tables or card-playing, or any other unlawful game, but at such times as they should have such leisure, should read or hear somewhat of holy scripture, or should occupy themselves with some other honest exercise.

In the following year, 1537, the war of reformation began to be carried on by Cromwell and his associates after a new fashion, by the destruction of images, relics, and shrines, which had long been the objects of popular veneration,—a measure which was rather facilitated than originally provoked by the discoveries that were made in the course of the visitation of the monasteries now commenced. One of the orders given to the visitors was to make a minute examination of all the relics and images in any of these houses to which pilgrimages were wont to be made. "In this," says Burnet, "Dr. London (the same who has already been mentioned for his alleged practices in corrupting the nuns of Chepstow) did great service. From Reading he writes that the chief relics of idolatry in the nation were there:—an angel with one wing, that brought over the spear's head that pierced our Saviour's side. To which he adds a long inventory of their other relics, and says there were as many more as would fill four sheets of paper. He also writes from other places that he had everywhere taken down their images and trinkets. At St. Edmundsbury, as John ap Rice informed, they found some of the coals that roasted St. Lawrence, the parings of St. Edmund's toes, St. Thomas Becket's penknife and boots, with as many pieces of the cross of our Saviour as would make a large whole cross. They had also relics against rain, and for hindering weeds to spring. But to pursue this further were endless, the relics were so innumerable. And the value which the people had of them may be gathered from this—that a piece of St. Andrew's finger, set in an ounce of silver, was laid to pledge by the house of Wastacre for forty pounds; but the visitors, when they suppressed that house, did not think fit to redeem it at so high a rate." Some of the images were brought to London, and, for the purpose of exposing the juggling impostures of the monks, were broken up at St. Paul's Cross in the sight of all the people. One in particular is mentioned,—a crucifix of enormous size, commonly called the Rood of Grace, which was kept at Boxley, in Kent. This image was no mere stock, but was endowed with the faculty of replying to the worship and oblations offered to it by various significant gestures, rolling its eyes, bending its brows, moving its lips, shaking its head, hands, and feet, courteously inclining its whole body when it was pleased with what was set before it, and by some other equally expressive piece of pantomime denoting its dissatisfaction and rejection of the supplicant's prayers. This must be admitted to have been an ingenious piece of mechanism, for an age in which the general ignorance of mechanical science was gross enough to allow of its being put forward as something supernatural. No wonder that so long as its pretensions were believed pilgrims came to it in crowds, and were lavish in their offerings to so accomplished an image. One Nicholas Partridge has the credit of having been the first to suspect the cheat, and of having followed up the conception of that brilliant original idea by an examination of the crucifix, which at once discovered to him the material springs and wheelwork by which its performances were set in motion. On this it was first brought to Maidstone, and shown to the people there; then it was sent up to London, and made to go through its various movements in presence of the king and the whole court; and, finally, it was carried to St. Paul's, and there publicly broken up and buried, after the delivery, by order of the council, of a sermon upon the subject by the Bishop of Rochester. Another famous miracle which was now detected was that of the crystal vial at Hales, in Gloucestershire, containing, as was pretended, the blood of Christ, which the people sometimes saw, and sometimes could not see, the cause of which latter "effect defective," they were told, was their being at the moment in mortal sin, which meant that they must make further offerings. The miraculous blood was found to be the blood of a duck, which was renewed every week, and was made visible or invisible, as the occasion called for, by a person placed behind it turning to the spectator the thin or thick side of the glass. Mention has been

made in the preceding chapter of the huge Welsh wooden image, called Darvel Gatheren, which was among those brought up to London at this time, and which was made to serve for fuel to burn Friar Forest.* According to an account of this image by the visitors of the diocese of St. Asaph, it was the general belief of the people of the country that it had the power to deliver from hell the souls of those who could secure its favour, in consequence of which notion so many as five or six hundred pilgrims would sometimes flock to it in a day, some bringing money, others oxen—all coming with something in their hands. The rich shrines of our Lady of Walsingham, of Ipswich, of Islington, and many others, were also now brought to London, and burned by order of Cromwell. The particulars of the demolition of Becket's shrine at Canterbury, the richest of all, have been already detailed.† "The riches of that," as Burnet expresses it, "together with his disloyal practices, made the king resolve both to unshrine and unsaint him at once." So, not only was his shrine broken down and carried away, but "the king also ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar, and the office for his festivity to be dashed out of all breviaries."

The abolition of images and pilgrimages occupied a principal place in a new set of instructions which Cromwell issued to the clergy in 1538. Every parish priest, once in the three months at the least, was now directed to preach a sermon exhorting his hearers "not to repose their trust or affiance in any other works devised by men's fantasies besides scripture; as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers to images or relics, or kissing or licking the same over, saying over a number of beads, not understanded or minded on, or in suchlike superstition." Further, continued the zealous vicegerent, "such feigned images as ye know in any of your cures to be so abused with pilgrimages or offerings of any thing made thereunto, ye shall, for avoiding of that most detestable offence of idolatry, forthwith take down, and without delay; and shall suffer from henceforth no candles, tapers, or images of wax to be set afore any image or picture, but only the light that commonly goeth across the church by the rood-loft, the light before the sacrament of the altar, and the light above the sepulchre, which, for the adorning of the church, and divine service, ye shall suffer to remain." The people were, moreover, to be admonished that images were of no other use except to serve as a sort of substitute for books to the unlearned, that knew no letters, whereby they might be reminded of the lives and conversation of the persons represented by the images. If the images were abused to any other purpose, it was idolatry; "and, therefore," it was added, "the king's highness, graciously tendering the weal of his subjects' souls, hath in part already, and more will hereafter, travail for the abolishing of such images as might be an occasion of so great an offence to God, and so great danger to the souls of his loving subjects." Another clause imposed rather an awkward office—ordering the clergyman, if he had ever in time past declared anything to his parishioners to the extolling or setting forth of pilgrimages, images, or feigned relics, now openly before them to recant and condemn the same; showing them, as was the truth, that in making the former statement he had proceeded upon no ground of Scripture, but as one led and seduced by a common error and abuse crept into the church through the avarice of those to whom it was a source of profit. One of the present injunctions also levelled a side-blow at the practice of praying to the saints: it was directed, that whereas, in times past, people in their processions had been used to say *Ora pro nobis* to so many of the saints that they had not time to sing the good suffrages addressed to God that followed, they should now be taught that it was better to omit the *Ora pro nobis*, and to sing the other suffrages.

At this point, however, the state of matters, as Burnet expresses it, "began to turn." The sequel of Henry's course in regard to doctrinal changes, was, with the exception perhaps of some momentary starts of caprice or passion, rather a going back than a going forward. Although he had thrown off the authority of the Roman pontiff, indeed, he had no notion that the English church should be left without a pope; his objection was not to the thing, but to the person; and his main object in displacing the Bishop of Rome evidently was, that, in so far at least as the religion of his own subjects was concerned, he might mount the same seat of absolute and not to be questioned authority himself. The ancient head of the Roman church never put forward greater pretensions to infallibility than were, if not distinctly advanced in words, yet constantly acted upon by the new head of the English church in his narrower empire of spiritual despotism. And, singularly enough, he found his account in thus setting up a rival pope, not only with the most violent opponents of the Roman supremacy, who were gratified by seeing that thrown down, but even with many of the Catholics themselves, who found that if they had lost the successor of St. Peter for their pope, they had yet not lost a pope altogether—that the thing remained, though the person was changed. The latter, seeing they could do no better in the state to which matters had been brought, were now contented even to affect a satisfaction with the changes that had been already made, in the hope of thereby preventing further innovations. After the trial and condemnation of Lambert, the Sacramentary, in November, 1538,* in which Henry took personally so conspicuous a part, "the party that opposed the Reformation," says Burnet, "persuaded the king that he had got so much reputation to himself by it, that it would effectually refute all aspersions which had been cast on him as if he intended to

* See ante, p. 403. † Ibid.

* See ante, p. 406.

Trial of Lambert before Henry VIII. in Westminster Hall. From a Drawing in the King's Library and some old Prints.

change the faith: neither did they forget to set on him in his weak side, and magnify all that he had said, as if the oracle had uttered it, by which they said it appeared he was indeed a defender of the faith, and the supreme head of the church." "The king," the historian elsewhere observes in writing of the same period, "seemed to think that his subjects owed an entire resignation of their reasons and consciences to him; and as he was highly offended with those who still adhered to the papal authority, so he could not bear the haste that some were making to a further reformation before or beyond his allowance." In this spirit he now issued a long proclamation, prohibiting generally the importing of all English books printed abroad, and also the printing of any books at home without license, any part of the Scripture not excepted, till it had been examined and approved by the king and his council, or by the bishop of the diocese; condemning all the books of the Anabaptists and Sacramentaries, or deniers of the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and denouncing punishment against all who should sell or otherwise publish them; forbidding all persons to argue against the doctrine of the real presence under pain of death and the loss of their goods; declaring that all should be punished who eschewed or neglected any rites or ceremonies not yet abolished; and ordering that all married priests should immediately be deprived, and those that should afterwards marry imprisoned or otherwise further punished at the king's pleasure. Cranmer's interest at court was now, from various causes, greatly diminished. His chief friend and ablest supporter

on the episcopal bench, Fox, Bishop of Hereford, had died in May of this year; and "for the other bishops that adhered to Cranmer," says Burnet, "they were rather clogs than helps to him. Latimer's simplicity and weakness made him be despised; Shaxton's proud and litigious humour drew hatred on him; Barlow was not very discreet; and many of the preachers whom they cherished, whether out of an unbridled forwardness of temper, or a true zeal that would not be managed and governed by politic and prudent measures, were flying at many things that were not yet abolished." To counteract these disturbers letters were sent to all the bishops, directing them to take care that the people should not be unwarily charged with too many novelties, the publication of which, if it were not tempered with great discretion, might be productive of very dangerous consequences. The only ally Cranmer had at court upon whom he could place any reliance was Cromwell, and he had enough to do to take care of himself; for, as the right reverend historian remarks, "there was not a queen now in the king's bosom to favour their motions." In these circumstances, as Henry "was observed to be much guided by his wives, as long as they kept their interest with him," Cromwell conceived the scheme of recovering his interest by bringing over Anne of Cleves. How disastrous this project proved in the issue to its contriver, and in some degree also to the party of which he was the main stay at court, has been already related. But, even before Henry's new marriage, Cromwell's influence had been greatly weakened by the growing ascendancy of the able and crafty Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who at this moment professed himself precisely as much a reformer and as much a follower of the old faith as his royal master, and in that way was easily enabled to guide Henry's course more and more back towards the latter, without suffering him to feel that he was either driven or drawn. In 1539 was passed by the parliament the famous act for abolishing diversity in opinions (31 Henry VIII. c. 14), popularly called the Statute of the Six Articles, or the Bloody Statute, confirming the resolutions which had already been carried in the convocation in favour of transubstantiation, against communion in both kinds, against the marriage of priests, and in favour of vows of chastity, of private masses, and of auricular confession.* The prime instigator of this new law was undoubtedly the Bishop of Winchester, now the king's chief counsellor. Yet Henry took himself a prominent part in carrying it through. The preamble of the statute records that "the king's most royal majesty, of his most excellent goodness, not only commanded that the said articles should deliberately and advisedly, by his said archbishops, bishops, and other learned men of his clergy, be debated, argued, and reasoned, and their opinions therein to be understood, declared, and known, but also most graciously vouchsafed in his own princely person to descend and come into his said high court of parliament and council, and there, like a prince of most high prudence, and no less learning, opened and declared many things of high learning and great knowledge touching the said articles, matters, and questions."

* See ante, p. 410.

The six articles of the Bloody Statute remained the established rule of faith of the English church, upon the several points to which they related, for the rest of Henry's reign—and a bloody faith they proved, as was shown by the many martyrdoms, already recounted, of subsequent years. At this point, therefore, the history of the changes in the national religion made by Henry comes to a close, in so far as it forms a continuous narrative; but there are still a few scattered incidents in the history of the church, and of the regulation of doctrine and worship during the last years of his reign, that require a short notice.

In 1541, Cranmer, the faults of whose own character did not incline to the side of ostentation or luxurious indulgence, attempted a small reform, in which, however, he showed more of good intention than of discretion or enlarged wisdom. The revenues of many of the bishoprics had been greatly reduced by the operation of certain of Henry's reforms, and were now in most cases insufficient to enable their possessors to keep up the old accustomed hospitality of their high station, which placed them among the nobles of the land, as well as at the head of the church. Cranmer's notion also probably was that, now the religious houses, by whose alms so many of the poor used to be fed, were swept away, it became the bishops to be more liberal even than formerly in their charities, and for that purpose to retrench the expenses of their tables. He therefore issued an order, in which it was laid down that an archbishop should never be served with more than six dishes of meat, and four of *bellaria*, or dessert; a bishop with five of meat, and three of dessert; a dean, or archdeacon, with four of meat, and two of dessert; and any other clergyman with two of meat, without any dessert. This regulation, of course, shared the fate of all sumptuary laws:—it is stated that no attention whatever was paid to it.

Some injunctions issued by Bonner to his clergy of the diocese of London, in 1542,—which Burnet thinks "have a strain in them so far different from the rest of his life, that it is more probable they were drawn by another pen, and imposed on Bonner by an order of the king,"—contain a few things worthy of notice. Among the duties imposed upon all parsons, vicars, curates, and other parish priests, one is, that they read over and diligently study, every day, one chapter of the Bible, with the ordinary gloss, or that of some other approved doctor or expositor; another is, that they shall instruct, teach, and bring up in learning, in the best way that they can, all such children of their parishioners as shall come to them for that purpose,—at least teaching them to read English,—for which they were to be moderately paid by such

as could afford it. Some of the paragraphs that follow are illustrative of the manners of the time. It is spoken of as "a detestable and abominable practice, universally reigning," that young people and others were accustomed on Sundays and holidays, during the time of divine service, to resort to alehouses, and there exercise unlawful games, with great swearing, blasphemy, drunkenness, and other enormities. It was even thought necessary to warn the clergy themselves that they should not in future use any unlawful games, or resort frequently to alehouses, taverns, or other places of evil repute, or haunted by light company; and they were also forbidden to array themselves in unseemly and unpriestly habits or apparel, or to have unlawful tonsures, or to carry armour and weapons about with them; all which things, the bishop says, he is credibly informed are done by certain priests of his diocese and jurisdiction. Another injunction forbids any manner of common plays, games, or interludes to be played, set forth, or declared, within churches or chapels. This was a singular practice, which, in the shape and spirit at least in which it now prevailed, had come in with the Reformation. The old miracle-plays, indeed, seem to have originated with the clergy, and were frequently exhibited in the monasteries, and perhaps also in the churches; but these were, in the main, serious and solemn performances, and were designed to excite the reverential and devotional feelings of the spectators, which were not at all disturbed even by the rude jocularity or buffoonery a good deal of which was usually mixed up with the representation. But the plays and interludes now acted in churches were expressly intended to turn things that had heretofore been held sacred into ridicule; they were universally satires upon the old religion, conceived in the highest vein of ludicrous distortion, and aiming at the excitement of no other feelings in the audience except those of merriment and contempt, in the pursuit of which end no stimulant was too coarse, no indecency even too outrageous, not to be freely resorted to by the pious contriver of the piece. Something is to be allowed both for the unfastidiousness and for the excited zeal of the times; but still the general favour and encouragement which these spectacles received is one of the most singular features of the Reformation. Burnet tells us that, although the clergy complained of them as an introduction to atheism and all sorts of impiety, and the more grave and learned reformers disliked and condemned them as unsuitable to the genius of true religion, yet "the political men of that party made great use of them, encouraging them all they could; for, they said, contempt being the most operative and lasting affection of the mind, nothing would more effectually drive out many of those abuses which yet remained, than to expose them to the contempt and scorn of the people." In fact, some of the Protestant clergy themselves, and those of the greatest repute for learning, did not disdain to employ their pens in the composition of these religious satirical dramas, as we find from the example of the famous John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, who is the avowed author of several pieces of this description that have been preserved.*

These indecent exhibitions at length attracted the attention of the government, and in 1543 an act of parliament (stat. 34 and 35, c. 1, entitled, An Act for the advancement of True Religion, and for the abolishment of the contrary) was passed for putting them down, along with divers other abuses, or conceived abuses, which had sprung up in the fertile hotbed of the licentious time. The preamble of this act recites that his majesty had perceived the ignorance and blindness of many of his people in abusing and neglecting the commandments of God and the true religion of Christ, for all the wholesome doctrines and documents he had caused to be set forth for their guidance, "besides the great liberty granted to them in having amongst them and in their hands the New and Old Testament;" notwithstanding which, it is added, many arrogant and ignorant persons, of whom some pretended to be learned in the Scripture, had taken upon them not only to propagate their perverse fancies in subversion of the true doctrine of the said Scripture by teaching and preaching, but also "by printed books, printed ballads, plays, rhymes, songs, and other fantasies," were wont subtilely and craftily to instruct the people, and especially the youth of the realm, "untruly and otherwise than the Scripture ought or should be taught, declared, or expounded," whereby diversities of opinion, disputations, tumults, and schisms had arisen, to the great inquietation of the people and displeasure of his majesty, as well as contrary to his true intention and most godly purpose in what he had done. For reformation of these evils the act then proceeds to prohibit "all manner of books of the Old and New Testament in English, being of the crafty, false, and untrue translation of Tyndal, and all other books and writings in the English tongue teaching or comprising any matters of Christian religion, articles of the faith, or Holy Scripture, or any part of them," contrary to the doctrine set forth by the king since the year 1540. The penalty of three months' imprisonment, with a fine for the first offence, and for the second of perpetual imprisonment with forfeiture of goods, is enacted against whosoever shall print, sell, or otherwise publish any of the books thus declared to be "clearly and utterly abolished, extinguished, and forbidden to be kept or used," and also against whosoever shall "play in interludes, sing, or rhyme any matter contrary to the said doctrine" of 1540

* A curious specimen of Bale's religio-dramatic vein has lately been printed by the Camden Society,—his play of "King John," edited by J. P. Collier, Esq. from the author's own manuscript in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. It is by no means free from the characteristic coarseness of the class of compositions to which it belongs. Others of Bale's dramas in support of the Reformation were printed in his lifetime. For some account of the religious plays and interludes of this period, see Mr. Collier's 'Annals of the Stage, i. 128, &c.

and subsequent years. "Bibles and New Testaments in English, not being of Tyndal's translations," are allowed, provided that, if they have any annotations or preambles other than the summaries at the heads of chapters, the possessors "shall cut out or blot the same in such wise as they cannot be perceived nor read;" and such songs, plays, and interludes are also excepted from the prohibition as meddle not with interpretations of Scripture. Another proviso is amusing: free liberty to use any part of the Bible or Holy Scripture as they have been wont, so always it be not contrary to the doctrine of 1540, is continued to the chancellor of England, to *captains of the wars*, justices of peace, and others, "which heretofore have been accustomed to declare or teach any good, virtuous, or godly exhortations in any assemblies." But the most important part of this law was the new regulations it established with regard to the reading of the Scriptures. Not only was it forbidden to any person not having the license of the king or the ordinary to read the English Bible aloud in any church or open assembly, under the penalty of a month's imprisonment, but great restrictions were laid even upon the private reading of it. Any nobleman or gentleman, being a householder, was still permitted "to read, or cause to be read by any of his family or servants, in his house, orchard, or garden, and to his own family, any text of the Bible or New Testament, so the same be done quietly and without disturbance of good order;" and any merchant, "being a householder, and occupying the feat of merchandise," might read to himself privately in the sacred volume. But that privilege was withdrawn from all women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men of the degree of yeomen or under, husbandmen, and labourers; and noblewomen and gentlewomen were only allowed to read to themselves alone, and not to others. While, however, the Scriptures were thus taken out of the hands of the great body of the people, it was declared to be lawful for all persons whatsoever "to read and teach in their houses, and in the houses of their husbands, parents, or masters, all such doctrine as had been set forth by the king's majesty since 1540, as well as the English Psalters, Primers, Pater Noster, Ave, and Creed. What was the doctrine, taking its beginning from the year 1540, which has been so often referred to, we will now shortly explain.

In 1537 had come out, under the title of 'The Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man,' the first edition of an explanation of all the leading doctrines of the church, compiled by a body of bishops and other divines commissioned for that purpose by the king, whence it popularly received the name of the Bishops' Book. A second edition of this work, revised and put into a new form under the direction of another commission, appeared in 1540, the title now given to it being 'The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man.' In this authoritative compendium there was certainly, on the whole, much less of Protestantism than of the ancient faith. The injunctions issued in Cromwell's time had generally avoided the mention of any other sacraments except those of baptism and the eucharist; but here all the seven were again distinctly recognised, and expounded one after another. In the explanation of the eucharist, transubstantiation was of course fully asserted, as was also the usefulness of hearing the mass. The censing of images, and the kneeling before them, were not condemned. Burnet, however, who has given a large abstract of this work, admits that it contains much excellent moral instruction; and that, after all the books of practical religion that had been produced in later times, he still found great edification in reading the 'Necessary Erudition' over and over again. "The style," he observes, "is strong, nervous, and well fitted for the weakest capacities." A third edition of the book, with many alterations and additions by another commission, came out in 1543, introduced by a prefatory epistle from Henry himself, whence it now came to be called 'The King's Book.' The most remarkable passage in this epistle related to the reading of the Scriptures, which it was admitted was necessary for those whose office it was to teach others; "but for the other part of the church," continues the king, "ordained to be taught, it ought to be deemed certainly that the reading of the Old and New Testament is not so necessary for all those folks, that of duty they ought and be bound to read it, but as the prince and the policy of the realm shall think convenient so to be tolerated or taken from it." Accordingly, he goes on to say, alluding to the act of parliament mentioned above, the politic law of England had now restrained a great many from the liberty of reading the Scripture, esteeming it sufficient for such persons to hear and truly bear away the doctrine of Scripture as taught by the preachers. Strype observes that the 'Erudition' was so much enlarged and otherwise altered from the 'Institution,' that they were rather to be accounted different books than different editions of the same book. He also maintains that with the exception only of the reading of the Scriptures not being permitted to the common people in the last edition, that edition exhibits a greater advance towards the reformed opinions than any of the preceding; but the grounds he states for this opinion are not very strong. Devotion to images, praying to the saints, masses for the dead, and various popish rites and ceremonies, that had been commended in the former editions, are, he thinks, spoken of more dubiously and warily in this; and the article on purgatory, he observes, is altogether left out. That article, however, in the original work did not affirm the existence of purgatory: the only positive assertion it contained was a declaration of the inefficacy of the pope's pardons and indulgences. It was omitted, also, in the second, as well as in the third edition.

It has been the fashion with the common class of Protestant writers to regard Henry VIII. as

having been much more of a Protestant at heart than he ever actually was, in their anxiety to believe and make it appear that, in his separation from the church of Rome, he was guided by conscientious motives, and not by those impulses of passion and considerations of mere personal interest or convenience, to which it seems impossible, on an impartial review of his proceedings in their commencement and whole course, to doubt that they must be attributed. Strype has given a quotation from a tract written in the latter part of Henry's reign, the writer of which, after descanting on the ignorance and blindness concerning all true and Christian knowledge that prevailed in the kingdom so long as the church was subject to the Bishop of Rome, goes on to declare that all these enormities and deformities are now utterly exiled and banished,—that the consciences of the people are restored to their old freedom,—the true and Christian faith received,—and all old things passed away, and new things entered into the same place instead of them. "I think," exclaims this satisfied rhapsodist, "there is no realm throughout Christendom that hath so many urgent and necessary causes to give God thanks as we Englishmen have at this present." And "all these things," he adds, "God hath brought to pass by his dearly beloved servant, Henry, our king."* All this, coming from an avowed and ardent Protestant, would seem to be very good evidence that Henry had adopted, almost in their whole extent, the principles and opinions of the Reformers, did we not know the contrary from the testimony of a thousand undisputed facts. To the proofs that have already been given of how slight were the innovations or changes in doctrine established in this reign, we may add the following statement which Burnet gives, and which is perfectly conclusive. A revival of the forms of public worship, and of the books therein used, was directed to be made by certain of the bishops in 1543. "The alterations they made," says the historian, "were inconsiderable, and so slight that there was no need of reprinting either the missals, breviaries, or other offices; for a few razures of those collects in which the pope was prayed for, of Thomas Becket's office, and the offices of other saints whose days were by the king's injunctions no more to be observed, with some other deletions, made that the old books did still serve. For whether it was that the change of the mass-books and other public offices would have been too great a charge to the nation, or whether they thought it would have possessed the people with an opinion that the religion was altered, since the books of the ancient worship were changed, which, remaining the same, they might be the more easily persuaded that the religion was still the same; there was no new impression of the breviaries, missals, and other rituals, during this king's reign."

* From 'The Right Pathway unto Prayer,' by Thomas Basil,—apparently a fictitious name. Strype describes the writer as "a learned and knowing man." He conceives the book to have been written in 1543.

It is difficult to understand what Burnet means by describing the act of 1543 as one that freed the people from the fears in which they were before on the subject of religion, inasmuch as it delivered the laity from the hazard of burning. By one of the clauses of this new act, which, throughout, is one of restriction and abridgment of former liberties, it is expressly declared that the bloody statute of the Six Articles shall still continue in the same force, strength, and effect as ever. The reformers, indeed, according to the historian, derived some consolation from another clause, which authorised Henry at any future time to change the present act, or any part of it, as to his most excellent wisdom should seem convenient: it brought them, he says, "to depend wholly on the king's mercy for their lives, since he could now chain up or let loose the act of the Six Articles upon them at his pleasure." What they were to look for from this dependence was very soon proved. Within a few months after the passing of this new law, three persons attached to the doctrines of the Reformation, Anthony Person, a priest, Robert Testwood, musician, and Henry Filmer, one of the churchwardens of Windsor, were burnt together in that town under the statute of the Six Articles. On the information of Dr. London, Cromwell's zealous visitor of the monasteries and nunneries, whose accommodating observance of the changes at court had now been rewarded by Cromwell's successor with a prebendal stall in St. George's Chapel, Gardiner had obtained from the king a warrant to make search in the houses of these unfortunate persons for forbidden books, some of which were found in their possession. They were brought to trial at Windsor on the 27th of July, 1544, along with a fourth, John Marbeck, another musician, who, although an illiterate man like the rest, had, it appears, made considerable progress in the compilation of a Concordance of the English Bible, and were all condemned. Marbeck received a pardon, and was set at liberty; but the others, as we have mentioned, all suffered.*

The only other innovation of any importance that was made in the church service in this reign was the translation of the prayers for the processions and of the litanies into the English tongue. An order for the use of these English prayers was sent to Archbishop Cranmer by Henry in June, 1544, immediately before Henry crossed the seas on his last expedition to Boulogne.† He had set them forth, he tells the archbishop, "not to be for a month or two observed, and after slenderly considered, as other our injunctions have, to our great marvel, been used," but to the intent that "the people, feeling the godly taste thereof, may godly and joyously, with thanks receive, embrace, and frequent the same." This gave some hope to the

* See a long account of these martyrs in Fox, pp. 1104—1114. One of the most remarkable embellishments of the 'Acts and Monuments' is the representation of their execution, of which a reduced copy is given above. The scene appears to have been in front of the Castle.

† See ante, p. 438.

BURNING OF PERSON, TESTWOOD, AND FILMER, BEFORE WINDSOR CASTLE. From Fox's Acts and Monuments.

Protestants that the king, as Burnet expresses it, "was again opening his ears to notions for reformation, to which they had been shut now about six years;" but they were immediately shut again as hard as ever; even the active persecution of the followers of "the new learning" ceased only for a few months. The year 1546 witnessed the consignment, first to the rack, and afterwards to the stake, of Anne Askew, and numbers of other victims in London and elsewhere, for the denial of the real presence; and both Cranmer and Queen Catherine herself perhaps only escaped the same fate by the death of the tyrant.

In fact, at the close of this reign, the church of England, although it had cast off the Roman supremacy, was still, according to its public formularies and the law of the land, as one with the church of Rome in all the fundamental points of doctrine and belief. The two great measures, indeed, of the rejection of the pope and the confiscation of the monasteries, which appear to have been the only reforms that Henry ever really went cordially into, had naturally drawn after them some degree of scepticism or coldness of faith touching purgatory and prayers for the dead, on which was built the trust men had in the papal pardons and indulgences, and touching the worship of images and the intercession of the saints, which in like manner formed the great strongholds of the influence of the monastic orders over the popular mind; but even as to these points there was no distinct abandonment of the ancient faith—at the most the dogmas were wrapt in vague expressions or left undecided upon. The seven sacraments of the Roman church, the corporal presence in the Eucharist, the denial of the cup to the laity, auricular confession, the celibacy of the priesthood, and almost the whole ceremonial of the mass, and the other ancient forms, were retained in the belief and practice of the English church as long as Henry lived. Even the permission to the people to have the Scriptures in their mother-tongue was, as we have seen, in so far at least as regarded the great body of the community, eventually withdrawn after it had been for a time reluctantly conceded. The substitution of English prayers was a very insignificant compensation for what was thus taken away.

At the date of the accession of Edward VI. (January, 1547) there can be no doubt that the numerical preponderance of the population of the kingdom was still in the proportion of many to one on the side of the ancient religion. The avowed reformers did not as yet form the bulk of the inhabitants of any place, either among the towns or in the country; they were merely a few individuals, or handsful of individuals, scattered here and there. Some of them, however, were to be found in all parts of the kingdom, except perhaps in the most northern counties; and they were most numerous wherever wealth and intelligence most abounded, and manufactures, trade, and the other elements of civilization had made the greatest advances. It is not to be supposed that even in any of the great towns the majority of the people had yet embraced the new doctrines; but these doctrines had both a much greater number of decided adherents in the towns than in the rural districts, and had also in the former much less of attachment to the old religion to overcome in the masses who had not yet gone over to them. Most of what was very fierce and determined in the hostility they had still to encounter was to be found among the villagers and peasantry: the people of the towns were probably, to a great extent, held to their old opinions by the force rather of habit than of conviction; and, although not yet in general converts to Protestantism, might almost be said already to look upon it with some degree of favour and sympathy, and with the feeling (so powerful in facilitating great social changes) that its ascendancy, ere long, was something they must prepare for, whether they liked it or no. Among the upper classes the proportion of persons who, swayed

either by religious or political considerations, were thoroughly in the interests of the Reformation, was perhaps scarcely greater than among the lower and middle classes; but here, too, there was enlisted on that side all that was most energetic and aspiring in the body of the nobility and gentry, many of whom had already profited largely by the spoliation of the church, while many more looked for similar advantages from the same source. It was, indeed, like every other national revolution, the cause of all the more sanguine and adventurous spirits in the commonwealth, with the exception only of the few whom their peculiar position linked to the championship of the other side. Thus, the most formidable enemies of the Reformation at the present moment were some of the heads of the church —the ardent, but at the same time dexterous and politic, Gardiner in particular, who had already, for some years past, restrained and repressed the tide of change with his single arm, and was again, some years hence, to force it for a time still farther back. Even in the church, at the same time, there were some able and influential friends of the Reformation, —Cranmer and others,—men whose interests, too, as well as their principles, from the whole of their previous course, embarked them on that side. But what really determined, at the subsequent accessions of Mary and Elizabeth, as well as on the present occasion, which of the two parties and systems should have the ascendancy, was, far more than anything else, the inclination of the court, which now, indeed, after the new powers with which the crown had been armed by the Act of Supremacy, and other acts of the late reign, was legally all but omnipotent in this department of the government.

After the details already given, which exhibit the English Reformation in its originating causes and the dark and troubled commencement of its history, and which will give the reader a sufficient insight into the motives and objects of the parties in the great contest, and the various influences by which it was impelled and swayed, it will be only necessary to glance in a very summary manner over the rest of its progress. Of that subsequent progress, indeed, the main incidents have already been related; and we shall now, therefore, confine ourselves to the briefest recapitulation, only interspersed with fuller explanations on a few points more peculiarly belonging to the ecclesiastical part of the subject, and which on that account were passed over altogether, or with slight notice, in the preceding Chapter.

The first year of the reign of Edward VI. saw the fabric of the ancient system completely undermined, and the foundations laid of a church Protestant in its doctrines and forms of worship, as well as in its mere independence of the church of Rome. The parliament which met in the beginning of November, 1547, repealed the statute of the Six Articles, and also all the old acts against what was called heresy, and moreover began the work of reconstruction as well as of demolition, by directing that, henceforth, the sacrament should be administered to the people in both kinds.

Of the other proceedings that were taken this year in the same direction, the most important was the preparation by Cranmer, or at least under his direction, of certain homilies or sermons to be read to their congregations by such incumbents of parishes as might not be qualified to compose discourses of their own. In a passage in the earlier part of his History (under the year 1542) Burnet seems to state that a book of homilies was printed in the time of Henry VIII. In this, he says, "the gospels and epistles of all the Sundays and holidays of the year were set down, with a homily to every one of these, which is a plain and practical paraphrase of those parcels of Scripture. To these are added many serious exhortations, and some short explanations of the most obvious difficulties, that show the compiler of them was a man both of good judgment and learning. To these were also added sermons on several occasions; as, for weddings, christenings, and funerals: and these were to be read to the people by such as were not licensed to preach." To the general imitation of these printed discourses by the clergy, the bishop attributes the introduction of the practice of preachers reading their sermons, the custom formerly having been for them to deliver unwritten or extemporaneous declamations. The homilies now prepared by Cranmer were twelve in number, and, when printed, were introduced by a preface in the name of the king, enjoining them to be read in all churches every Sunday by such priests as could not preach. According to Strype, two editions of the book were printed by Grafton this same year. In the latter impression he says the English in some places was mended, and the style corrected and much refined; in other respects no alteration was made. "But it is strange," observes this writer, "to consider how anything, be it never so beneficial and innocent, oftentimes gives offence. For a great many, both of the laity as well as the clergy, could not digest these homilies; and therefore, sometimes, when they were read in the church, if the parishioners liked them not, there would be such talking and babbling in the church that nothing could be heard." The written homily was probably felt to be a drowsy affair by those accustomed to the show and animation of the ancient worship. But even if the people were inclined to listen, the priest upon whom was imposed the duty of reading the homily was sometimes so ill qualified even for that simple task, or designedly performed it so inefficiently, that they were little the better for what was read to them: he would, says Latimer, "so hawk it and chop it, that it were as good for them to be without it, for any word that could be understood." This collection set forth by Cranmer is what is called in the thirty-fifth article of the church, "the former Book of Homilies;" and recommended, along with the second book, published in 1562, as containing a godly and wholesome doctrine. It was im-

mediately translated into Latin, and received with much gratulation by the Protestant churches abroad.

As yet, however, very little alteration had been made in the forms of public worship. The injunctions issued by Cranmer and the Protector to the visitors whom they sent out over the kingdom, soon after the commencement of the new reign,* were extremely moderate and cautious. Almost the only innovation that was ordered in divine service was, that, at high mass, the epistle and gospel should be read in English; and that every Sunday and holiday the priest should read at matins one chapter out of the New Testament in English, and at even-song another out of the New. It was ordered that the people should be taught to beware of the superstitions of sprinkling their beds with holy water, of ringing of bells, and of using blessed candles for driving away devils; but at the same time not to despise any of the ceremonies not yet abrogated. On the subject of images it was directed that the curates should take down such as they knew were abused by pilgrimages or offerings to them, but that they should not be touched by private persons. An expectation, however, that much greater changes were at hand universally prevailed in the public mind. Men expressed their hopes or fears in whispers and secret communications at fairs, in taverns, and other places of common resort, until at last the government thought it necessary to issue a proclamation against the reports that were spread abroad, in which the people were assured that the innovations the design of which was imputed to them were neither begun nor contemplated.† In some cases, however, the people, impatient of the apparent inaction of the government, took the work of reform into their own hands. The department in which they proceeded to exert themselves was, as usual, that of throwing down images, shrines, and other decorations,—a species of exploit which other feelings as well as a pious zeal help to make popular. No very great excesses, however, were committed. Before the issuing of the injunctions, the curate and churchwardens of St. Martin's, in Ironmonger-lane, London, took down from their church the crucifix and the images and pictures of the saints, and in their place painted the walls with texts of Scripture; where the crucifix had stood they put up the royal arms. When complaint of this was made by Bonner, and the lord mayor and the iconoclasts were cited to make answer before the council, they said that the images had been taken down in consequence of its having become necessary to repair the roof of the church, and that they were so rotten that they fell to powder in the process of removal: the charge of repairing the roof, they further said, had come to so much that they were too poor to buy new images. Finally, they asked pardon, and submitted themselves; on which the council, "in respect of their submission, and *of some other reasons which did mitigate their offence*," forgave them the penalty of imprisonment, but ordered them "to provide a crucifix, or at least some painting of it till one were ready, and to beware of such rashness for the future." This sentence did not prevent the people of Portsmouth, on the May-day following, from pulling down the images and crucifixes from the walls of various churches in that town. "In one church here, the image of St. John the Evangelist, standing in a chancel by the high altar, was taken away, and a table of alabaster broken; and in it an image of Christ crucified contemptuously used, one eye bored out, and the side pierced."* Gardiner, the bishop of the diocese, complained of these outrages in warm terms to the council, but little attention was paid to him. Meanwhile the subject of images, and also several of the other great controverted questions, were taken up in their public discourses by the preachers on both sides. Dr. Ridley, already designed for the bishopric of Rochester, seems to have begun this course, throwing the whole kingdom into a ferment by a Lent sermon which he preached against both images and holy water. The late order, too, for the removal of such images as had been abused to superstitious purposes produced a world of contention, everywhere some of the parishioners affirming and others denying that their images had been so abused. At last another order was issued in February, 1548, for the removal of all images; and this seems to have put an end to the excitement, which, in some places, had assumed a very threatening appearance.

A few weeks after was published a new office for the Communion, which had been drawn up by a committee of bishops and other divines appointed to revise all the offices of the church. In this, however, the office of the mass was still left as before, such forms being only added to it as made it a communion. The cup, of course, in conformity with the late act, was directed to be given to the laity as well as to the clergy. An important innovation was made also in regard to confession: it was enjoined that such as desired to make auricular confession should not censure those who were satisfied with a general confession to God; and that, on the other hand, those who used only confession to God and the church, should not be offended with such as made auricular confession to a priest. The old doctrine of the necessity of auricular confession was thus given up.

Before Midsummer the same commission had completed the preparation of a new general Public Office, or Book of Common Prayer, in the room of the ancient Latin Mass Book. In proceeding to this task they began by collecting and examining all the various forms of the Mass Book that had been wont to be used in different parts of the kingdom;—the office after the use of the church of Sarum, which was generally received in the south; that after the use of York, to which the northern counties adhered; those after the use of Hereford,

* See ante, p. 465. † Strype, Eccles. Mem. ii. 57.

* Strype Eccles. Mem. ii. 53.

of Bangor, and of Lincoln, which were respectively followed in those several dioceses. The new book contained very little that was not in the old one; but was principally distinguished from it by its omission of many forms that were held to be superstitious, and by its being throughout in English. The chief addition was the Litany, which was the same that is still in use, except only that it contained originally a petition for deliverance from the Bishop of Rome, which was struck out in the reign of Elizabeth. It was introduced by the Preface, concerning ceremonies, which is still retained.

In the session of parliament which began in November this year, the new "Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England," was ordered to be used by all ministers in the celebration of divine service. The book had been printed in the month of June preceding, and a second edition of it (with merely a slight alteration in arrangement) came out in March of the next year. In this session of parliament, also, acts were passed reviving the old law on the subject of days of abstinence from flesh,* and repealing all laws against the marriage of priests.

The complete exposition and settlement, by authority, of the doctrines of the church, however, still remained to be effected. "Many," says Burnet, "thought they should have begun first of all with those. But Cranmer, upon good reasons, was of another mind, though much pressed by Bucer about it. Till the order of bishops was brought to such a model that the far greater part of them would agree to it, it was much fitter to let that design go on slowly than to set out a profession of their belief to which so great a part of the chief pastors might be obstinately averse." But at length Gardiner, Bonner, Heath, and Day, having all been got rid of,† and Ridley, Coverdale, Hooper, and other zealous friends of the Reformation promoted to the episcopal bench, the preparation of articles of religion was proceeded with in 1551, and finished by the beginning of the next year, when they were published by the king's authority. These original articles were forty-two in number, and did not differ as to any material point of doctrine from the present Thirty-nine Articles.

Another great work which employed the labours of Cranmer and his associates in the course of this reign was the reform of the ecclesiastical or canon law. This object had engaged the attention of Henry VIII. in the first moment of his separation from the church of Rome, and successive acts of parliament had been passed for effecting it. In 1533, by the statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, the king was empowered to appoint thirty-two persons, sixteen being of the clergy, and sixteen of the temporality of the two houses of parliament, to examine the existing canons, constitutions, and provincial ordinances, and to determine, with the assent of the king, which of them should continue to be obeyed, and which should be laid aside; it being provided that all of them should, in the mean time, remain in force, which were "not contrariant nor repugnant to the laws, statutes, and customs of this realm, nor to the damage or hurt of the king's prerogative royal." It so happens that these last words constitute, at the present hour, the whole law of the land in regard to the authority of the ancient Popish canons. Nothing seems to have been done in consequence of the act of 1533; and, therefore, two years after, by a new act (statute 27 Henry VIII. c. 15), authority was again given to the king to nominate sixteen clerical and as many lay commissioners for the same purpose as before, any time within three years from the dissolution of the parliament then sitting. The preamble, however, of a third act, passed in 1543 (statute 35 Henry VIII. c. 16), recites that, since the making of the last act, divers urgent and great causes and matters had occurred, whereby the said nomination and appointment had still been omitted, and the examination of the canons remained yet to be begun. The king, therefore, was now authorised to nominate the commissioners at any time during his life. It is doubtful if anything was done even now. Burnet states, in the body of his History, that although Cranmer often pressed the subject with great vehemence, it was found more for the greatness of the prerogative and the authority of the civil courts, to keep the ecclesiastical law undetermined; so that the archbishop could never obtain his desire during that reign. It is conjectured, however, from a letter of Cranmer's which has been preserved, that the commission was actually granted, and the commissioners named in the beginning of the year 1546, "in one of King Henry's lucid intervals," as Burnet (in his Supplement) expresses it; "but how it came to pass," continues the right reverend historian, "that no further progress was made during this reign, in so important and so necessary a work, is not easily to be accounted for; since it must have contributed much to the exaltation of the king's supremacy to have all the ecclesiastical courts governed by a code authorised by him." From this time the project seems to have slept till the year 1550, when a fourth act was passed (stat. 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 11), by which power was given to Edward, at any time during the next three years, with the advice of his council, to nominate sixteen of the clergy, whereof four to be bishops, and sixteen of the temporality, whereof four to be learned in the common law, to compile a new body of ecclesiastical laws, which, upon being set forth, published, and declared, by his majesty's proclamation, should be taken, reputed, practised, and put in use for the king's ecclesiastical laws of the realm. In conformity with this act, two successive commissions were granted in October and November, 1551 (the latter of which appears to have superseded the former), appointing Cranmer and other

* See ante, p. 471. † Ibid. p. 493.

seven eminent persons to confer together upon the subject. This was probably only a preliminary step; for there is no authority in the act, as Strype seems to suppose,* for the reduction of the thirty-two commissioners to eight. Cranmer and his seven associates, however, now set to work with vigour, and in the course of the following year they produced a complete body of ecclesiastical laws, drawn up under fifty-one titles or heads, which was afterwards translated into Latin by Dr. Haddon and Sir John Cheke, and in that form printed in the reign of Elizabeth, under the title of 'Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum' (The Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws). It is believed to have been chiefly the work of Cranmer, who had the reputation of being the greatest English canonist of the age; he, at least, chiefly superintended the compilation of it. It was afterwards, Burnet tells us, laid before another commission, consisting of the full number of thirty-two persons, of whom the eight originally named were a part, that they might revise, correct, and perfect it before it should be submitted to the king. The proposed new canons, however, never received the sanction of the royal authority, and consequently never became part of the law of the land. It is generally stated that the completion of the business was prevented by King Edward's death; but Strype, in his animadversions on Dr. Hayward's History of that king's reign, assigns another reason. "The true reason," he says, "why this excellent book, with so much study, and care, and consultation, well framed, had not authority given to it, was, because the nation, especially the great men, could not endure ecclesiastical discipline." The project was revived soon after the accession of Elizabeth, but only to be again dropped before anything was done.

Although it never obtained any legal authority, however, the system of ecclesiastical law drawn up by Cranmer and his friends possesses much interest, from the light it throws upon the opinions entertained as to various points of great importance by the fathers of the English Reformation. We shall, therefore, state its most remarkable provisions. It began by declaring that the denial of the Christian religion should be punishable with death and the loss of goods. No capital punishment was expressly denounced against heresy; but obstinate heretics were to be declared infamous, incapable of public trust, of being witnesses in any court, of making a will, or, finally, of deriving any benefit whatever from the law—a condemnation which would seem to be very nearly equivalent to putting them to death at once. Blasphemy was made punishable in the same way with obstinate heresy. Persons guilty of the offences of idolatry, magic, witchcraft, or consulting with conjurors, if they did not make their submission, were to be excommunicated. Seduction was also to be punished by excommunication, besides other temporal pains, and the forfeiture by the seducer of the third part of his goods to the woman. All marriages within the levitical degrees were forbidden. In the title or chapter on adultery and divorce it was laid down that the adulterer was to restore his wife's portion, and to give her besides the half of his goods, and to be imprisoned or banished for life. Separation from bed and board was abolished; but a complete dissolution of the marriage, permitting the innocent party to marry again, was to be obtainable by sentence of the ecclesiastical courts, not only on the usual grounds, but also for desertion, long absence, enmities which involved hazard to life, or even on account of the constant perverseness or fierceness of a husband against his wife.

* Eccles. Mem. iii. 89.

The reign of Edward VI., in the course of which the Protestant doctrines and worship were thus gradually, but, in the end, completely established, must have very considerably slackened the hold of the ancient religion upon the popular mind. At the close of the reign, in London and other great towns, and even in some of the counties nearest to the capital or otherwise most exposed to the influences of innovation, the new faith had perhaps already become the profession of the majority of the lower classes. The multitude naturally and insensibly accommodates itself to any established order of things; and as another generation rose to take the place of that which had been born and grown up under the exploded system, this process of conversion and conformity would be every day more and more facilitated. Without doubt, also, the zeal, ability, and popular eloquence of many of the preachers of the new church must have had great effect in spreading the flame of the reformed doctrines. The rousing appeals that were made every Sunday from Paul's Cross and elsewhere by Latimer, and Ridley, and Hooper, and others, to the reason and the passions of their thronging auditories, could not fail to make continual conquests. But we believe, after all, that it was the reign of Mary much more than that of Edward, which really made England a Protestant country. Mary's cause was at first supported against her unfortunate Protestant rival by the bulk of the population in all parts of the kingdom; and, although it is certain that many of those who so took her part were actuated by other principles and motives than their attachment to Popery, it is hardly to be believed that so general an enthusiasm in her favour would have been shown by a community the majority of which were Protestants. We know that the bolder spirits among the Protestant preachers openly took their ground on the other side, and did their best—as it turned out to no purpose—to get the people to back them. John Knox has himself recorded the vehement terms in which, in a sermon he preached to a great assembly at Amersham, in Buckinghamshire, while Mary's friends were busy in that country raising forces in her support, he painted the night of darkness and sorrow that awaited England, if the idolatress

should be allowed to mount the throne. Ridley, on one of the two Sundays of Queen Jane's short royalty had already declaimed at Paul's Cross in the same strain. Yet, although no doubt there were many individuals present on these occasions that sympathised with the courageous orators, all the zeal and eloquence so expended was powerless, as we have said, to turn, or even for a moment sensibly to retard the strong tide of the general feeling that rushed in the opposite direction. It is inconceivable, we repeat, that this could have happened if the mass of the people had at this time been Protestants. Ridley and Knox and the other champions of the Reformation who thus offered themselves as the people's leaders, would in that case have drawn after them a very different sort of following and support from that which alone they had to boast of—the outbreak once or twice of a rabble of women and boys against the preachers of the other party who got possession of the pulpits after the settlement of the new government. At the accession of Elizabeth, on the contrary, we behold a really national manifestation of Protestantism—the people of all classes eagerly crowding to carry her in triumph to the throne, and hailing her not only as their queen, but as their deliverer. The horrors of the preceding Popish reign had done more to spread through the land a horror of Popery than probably the most strenuous exertions on the part of an established Protestant clergy could have done in twice the same space of time. No teaching, no preaching could have told like that of the martyrs from the midst of the flames; the sad histories of some, the heroic deaths of others, could not but touch the hearts of men with pity and admiration; and all must have been sick at last of breathing an air rank with the fumes of blood, and of butcheries to which there seemed to be no intermission and no end.

The first year of Mary's reign saw everything that had been set up in the matter of the national religion by her brother thrown down, and all that he had thrown down again set up. The parliament which met in the beginning of October, 1553, swept away, by a single statute of repeal (1 Mary, s. 2, c. 2), all the acts of the last reign respecting the administration of the sacrament to the people in both kinds, the election of bishops, the uniformity of public worship, the marriage of priests, the abolition of missals and removal of images, the keeping of holidays and fast-days, &c.; and directed that divine service should again be performed as it used to be in the last year of Henry VIII. Within the same space, Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstall, Day, and Heath, were all restored to their bishoprics; Ridley and Cranmer were sent to the Tower; the other Protestant bishops were expelled from the House of Lords; and, soon after, all of them were deprived of their sees. At this point the directors of the retrograde movement halted for a few months. But before the end of the year 1554, Cardinal Pole had arrived, and been received as the pope's legate; and acts had been passed by the parliament reviving all the old acts against heresy (1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 6), and repealing all statutes, articles, and provisions, made against the see apostolic of Rome since the 20th year of King Henry VIII., and also for the re-establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments conveyed to the laity (1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8). Thus, as in the preceding year things had been restored to the state in which they stood before the final establishment of Protestantism under Edward, they were now brought back to that in which they stood prior to the partial changes made by Henry—that is to say, to a state of pure Popery and Romanism.

It was after the work of demolition and re-erec-

Stone at Hadleigh, to commemorate the martyrdom of Dr. Taylor

tion had been thus completed, that the fires were kindled at Smithfield and elsewhere, which were never suffered to go out, or left unfed by living fuel, during the remainder of the reign. John Rogers,* the first of the long array of the martyrs of this fierce persecution, was led to the stake at Smithfield between ten and eleven o'clock on the forenoon of Monday, the 4th of February, 1555. On Saturday, the 9th of the same month, Bishop Hooper was burnt at Gloucester, and Dr. Taylor at his rectory of Hadleigh. Among others that suffered the same year were Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, at Caermarthen, and Latimer and Ridley at Oxford. Altogether, the number of executions this year, according to the most minute and apparently most accurate account that has been preserved, amounted to seventy-one, of which twelve took place in Middlesex, fifteen in Essex, and eighteen in Kent.† The next year, 1556, the number of martyrs was, in all, eighty-nine, of whom sixteen were burned in Middlesex, twenty-one in Essex, seven in Kent, ten in Sussex, and eight in Suffolk. Of these the most distinguished was Cranmer, who suffered at Oxford, on the 21st of March, after his triumphant and exulting enemies, unsatiated with the humiliating exposures of his public trial and formal degradation, had seen the last hope and wish of their revenge more than fulfilled by the infinitely worse degradation he was brought to inflict upon himself with his own unhappy hand. Eighty-eight more victims were immolated in 1557, of whom fourteen suffered in Middlesex, twelve in Essex, twenty-four in Kent, and twenty-seven in Surrey. On one day of this year, the 18th of June, two men and five women were burnt together at Maidstone; and at Canterbury, on the following day, seven more persons, three men and four women, were destroyed at the same time. On the 22nd of the same month ten more, six men and four women, were burnt at Lewes; and on the 2nd of August, at Colchester, six persons were burnt in the morning, and four more in the afternoon. In 1558 there were forty burnt in all; the last who suffered being three men and two women at Colchester, on the 10th of November, a week after which the death of the wretched queen put an end to these insane outrages upon humanity. This account makes the number of persons that perished in the flames 288 in all. Speed, reckoning only 277, classifies them as follows: five bishops, twenty-one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, a hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine unmarried women, two boys, and two infants; of which last, he says, one was whipped to death by Bonner, and the other, springing out of the mother's womb from the stake as she burned, was thrown again into the fire. Many besides died in prison. Lord Burghley, in his tract entitled 'The Execution of Justice in England,' reckons the entire number that died by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, to have been near four hundred. If the unanimous testimony of the Protestant historians of the persecution is to be believed, the victims in many cases tasted the rack and other tortures before they were brought to the stake. "Some of the professors," says Coverdale, in a passage quoted by Strype,* "were thrown into dungeons, noisome holes, dark, loathsome, and stinking corners; other some lying in fetters and chains, and loaded with so many irons that they could scarcely stir. Some tyed in the stocks, with their heels upwards; some having their legs in the stocks, and their necks chained to the wall with gorgets of iron. Some with both hands and legs in the stocks at once. Sometimes both hands in and both legs out; sometimes the right hand with the left leg, or the left hand with the right leg, fastened in the stocks with manacles and fetters, having neither stool nor stone to sit on, to ease their woeful bodies. Some standing in Skevington's gives,† which were most painful engines of iron, with their bodies doubled; some whipped and scourged, beaten with rods and buffeted with fists; some having their hands burned with a candle, to try their patience or force them to relent; some hunger-pined, and some miserably famished and starved." Fox has many accounts of the application of torture in the examination of the persons apprehended for heresy. Cuthbert Simpson, for instance, one of the sufferers of the last year of this bloody reign, relates in a letter to some of his friends, that while in the Tower he was first set in a rack of iron for about three hours, to force him to tell the names of the members of a congregation of the reformed of

* Rogers, under the name of Thomas Matthewe, edited an English translation of the Bible, which was printed abroad in 1537. The text is slightly altered from that of the preceding versions by Tyndal and Coverdale. He afterwards became a prebendary of St. Paul's and vicar of St. Sepulchre's, London. The following story, which derives a singular interest from the subsequent fate of Rogers, is given in the Account of the Baptists inserted by Dr. Toulmin in his edition of 'Neal's History of the Puritans,' as extracted from 'Crosby's History of the English Baptists,' who again takes it from a book called 'Pierce's Answer to Nichols,' where it stands as a quotation or translation from a work of Fox the Martyrologist: "When the Protestant bishops had resolved to put Joan Boucher (the Anabaptist of Kent, who suffered in the reign of Edward VI.) to death, a friend of Mr. John Rogers, the divinity reader in St. Paul's church (supposed by Mr. Pierce, and very probably, to have been Fox himself), came to him, earnestly entreating him to use his interest with the archbishop that the poor woman's life might be spared, and other means used to prevent the spreading of her opinions, which might be done in time; urging, too, that though while she lived she infected few with her opinions, yet she might bring many to think well of them by suffering for them. He therefore pleaded that it was much better she should be kept in some prison, where she had no opportunity of propagating her notions among weak people, and thus she would be precluded from injuring others, while she might live to change her own mind. Rogers, on the other hand, pleaded that she ought to be put to death. Well, then, said his friend, if you are resolved to put an end to both her life and her opinions, choose some other kind of death more consonant to the gentleness and mercy prescribed in the gospel, there being no need that such tormenting deaths should be resorted to in imitation of the Papists. Rogers answered, that *burning alive was not a cruel death, but easy enough!* On hearing these words, which expressed so little regard to the poor creature's sufferings, his friend replied with great vehemence, at the same time striking Rogers's hand, which before he had held fast,—Well, perhaps it may so happen that you yourselves will one day have your hands full of *this mild burning!*"

† Strype, Eccles. Mem., App. lxxxv.

* Eccles. Mem. iv. 415.

† This, more commonly called Skevington's Daughter, was a famous instrument of torture, invented by Sir William Skevington, lieutenant of the Tower in the reign of Henry VIII. It acted by compressing the limbs and body, instead of distending them as the rack.

which he was the deacon; that, on a subsequent day, they bound his two forefingers together, and put a small arrow betwixt them, and drew it through so fast, that the blood followed, and the arrow broke; and that, finally, he was racked twice. In the wood-cut with which this narrative is illustrated, the engine of iron in which Simpson stood for three hours is designated as Skevington's gives.

Many English Protestants, also, in the early

Cranmer, on the Morning of his Execution, making the Confession of his Protestantism, after Dr. Cole's Sermon in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, at the moment when the Friars and other Papists present were about to pluck him down from the "Stage set up over against the Pulpit, of a mean height from the ground," on which the Archbishop was placed, "in a bare and ragged gown, and ill-favoured clothed, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men."—See ante, p. 528.—From Fox's Acts and Monuments.

Cuthbert Simpson on the Rack. (Being a portion of the Cut representing his sufferings in Fox's Acts and Monuments.)

part of this reign, foreseeing the storm that was coming on, had fled abroad, taking refuge chiefly in Frankfort, Strasburgh, Basil, Zurich, and Geneva. Among these were Sir Francis Knollys, afterwards Queen Elizabeth's Vice-Chamberlain; Sir John Cheke; Sir Anthony Cook; Poynet, late Bishop of Winchester; Grindal, afterwards successively Bishop of London, Archbishop of York, and Archbishop of Canterbury; Sandys, who succeeded Grindal in the Archbishopric of York, after having held successively the sees of Worcester and London; Bale, late Bishop of Ossory, well known for his numerous writings theological, biographical, and dramatic; Pilkington, afterwards Bishop of Durham; Bentham, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield; Scory, late Bishop of Chichester, and afterwards Bishop of Hereford; Young, afterwards successively Bishop of St. David's and Archbishop of York; Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely; Jewel, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury; Coverdale, the famous translator of the Bible, late Bishop of Exeter; Horn, late Dean of Durham; Knox, the great Scottish Reformer; Fox, the martyrologist; and many other learned persons. In all there are computed to have been above eight hundred of these refugees. They established English Protestant churches in most of the places where they took up their abode—the two most considerable congregations being at Frankfort and Geneva.

When Elizabeth came to the throne she found the Protestantism of those of her subjects who were Protestants a good deal stronger than her own. "The queen," says Burnet, "had been bred up from her infancy with a hatred of the papacy, and a love to the Reformation; but yet, as her first impressions in her father's reign were in favour of such old rites as he had still retained, so in her own nature she loved state, and some magnificence in religion, as well as in everything else; she thought that in her brother's reign they had stripped it too much of external ornaments, and had made their doctrine too narrow in some points; therefore she intended to have some things explained in more general terms, that so all parties might be comprehended by them. She inclined to keep up images in churches, and to have the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament left in some general words; that those who believed the corporal presence might not be driven away from the church by too nice an explanation of it. Nor did she like the title of supreme head: she thought it imported too great a power, and came too near that authority which Christ only had over the church." All the peculiarities of Elizabeth's Protestantism here enumerated, it will be observed, leant towards the Popish notions; and it is very evident that if she had been left to make a religion of her own for the country, it would have been something about midway between the Protestant and the Roman systems. Indeed, it was not her fault that she was not reconciled to the court of Rome, to which, on her accession, she dispatched an envoy to intimate that event in the same manner as she did to all the other courts of Europe. It was the pope that threw her off, not she that threw off the pope. But although circumstances prevented Elizabeth from making the reformed church which she established in England exactly what her own views and inclinations would have demanded, her personal tastes had still a very considerable influence in determining the form and character which it actually assumed. It is, without doubt, in consequence of having had her for its restorer and nursing-mother, a very different church at this day from what it would have been if her precisian brother had lived to superintend the growth of what he had planted.

The first step which Elizabeth took in the matter of religion was designed to restrain the impetuosity of her more ardent Protestant subjects. When, immediately after her accession, the people in many places began to set up King Edward's service, to pull down images, and to insult the priests, she issued an order that certain parts of the service should be read in English, and that the elevation of the host should be discontinued; but at the same time she strictly prohibited all further innovations for the present. She also ordered that all preaching should be suspended. In summoning her first parliament she did not even assume the title of supreme head of the church, any more than the preceding queen had done after the reconciliation with Rome. The eminent Protestant divine, Dr. Matthew Parker, however, had been already selected to fill the metropolitan see, and everything had been arranged in the council for the restoration of the reformed church. The parliament, accordingly, which met in the end of January, 1559, before it separated in the beginning of May, revived all Henry VIII.'s acts which had been repealed in the last reign against the jurisdiction and exactions of the Bishop of Rome, and also the statute of Edward VI., by which the communion was administered to the laity in both kinds; repealed the old acts against heresy which had been revived by Mary; appointed an oath acknowledging the supremacy of the crown over the church, to be taken by all spiritual persons on pain of deprivation (by stat. 1 Eliz. c. 1); re-established the use of King Edward's Book of Common Prayer, with certain slight alterations, chiefly in the communion service (by stat. 1 Eliz. c. 2); and restored the first fruits and tenths of benefices to the crown (by stat. 1 Eliz. c. 4). A bill was also brought in, among some others that did not pass, for restoring to their benefices all clergymen that had been deprived in the last reign for being married; but it was dropped on the queen's order. Elizabeth, however, though no admirer of married priests, did not carry her scruples or dislike so far as seriously to attempt the project of setting up an unmarried clergy; she took no notice of the laws made by her sister in favour of clerical celibacy. In fact, as Burnet observes, there was no law now in force against clergymen's marrying; Queen Mary had only

repealed the law of Edward VI. which allowed it: so that there remained only the prohibition by the canon law, and that was condemned and made null by one of the articles of religion, intended to be immediately revived, which declared that bishops, priests, and deacons are not commanded by God's law either to vow the estate of a single life, or to abstain from marriage. Another bill was brought in for the appointment of a new commission to revise and make a digest of the ecclesiastical laws; but it was laid aside after the second reading in the commons, and the subject was never again taken up.

The effect of these new statutes was once more completely to revolutionize the national religion—to transform England from a Catholic into a Protestant country. A few weeks after the parliament rose the oath of supremacy was tendered to the bishops; when Heath archbishop of York, Bonner bishop of London, Thirleby of Ely, Bourn of Bath and Wells, Bain of Lichfield, White of Winchester, Watson of Lincoln, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, Turberville of Exeter, Pool of Peterborough, Scot of Chester, Pates of Worcester, Goldwell of St. Asaph, Tunstall of Durham, and three bishops elect, all refused it; in fact, Kitchen of St. Asaph, the Vicar of Bray of the episcopal bench,* was the only one who consented to take it. With that single exception, therefore, all the sees became at once vacant; but although the deprived prelates were also at first sent to prison in conformity with one of the provisions of the statute, only Bonner, White, and Watson were detained in confinement. Most of the rest spent the remainder of their days unmolested in England: Heath lived in his own house at Surrey, where he was sometimes visited by the queen; Tunstall and Thirleby resided with Archbishop Parker at Lambeth.† Only Pates, Scot, and Goldwell left the country. Most of the monks, Burnet says, returned to a secular course of life, but the nuns went abroad. A few of the Catholic nobility and gentry also retired beyond seas. On the other hand, the exiles who had gone abroad in Mary's time returned in great numbers; many of them, as appears from the names noticed in a preceding page, to be nominated to the highest offices in the church.

Meanwhile preparations were made for a general visitation of the national clergy. With this view certain injunctions were drawn up, but not without the queen proving almost impracticable as to one of them,—that which directed the removal of images. However, she yielded at last to the remonstrances, if not to the reasonings, of the bishops and other divines in whose hands she was; and the injunctions were issued in nearly the same terms with those put forth by King Edward at his first coming to the crown, except that some things were added, of which the following were the most remarkable. Although marriage was not forbidden to the clergy, it was declared that great offence had been given by the indecent marriages that some of them had made in King Edward's days; and, therefore, no priest or deacon was to be allowed to marry without permission from the bishop of the diocese and two justices of the peace, as well as the consent of the woman's parents or nearest of kin. All the clergy were to wear the habits worn in the latter end of the reign of Edward VI. Persons who did not attend their parish churches were to be denounced to the ordinary. No book was to be printed or published without a license from the queen, or from six of her privy council, or from her ecclesiastical commissioners, or from the two archbishops, the Bishop of London, the chancellors of the two universities, and the bishop and archdeacon of the place where it was printed.

According to the report made by the visitors to the queen after they had finished their labours, it appeared that, of nine thousand four hundred beneficed persons in England, all who chose to resign their benefices rather than comply with the new order of things at this crisis were, besides the fourteen bishops and three bishops elect already mentioned, only six abbots, twelve deans, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty prebendaries, and eighty rectors.* So that, after this great change from Popery to Protestantism, the parochial clergy generally remained the same as before, almost the entire body having stepped over from the one creed and worship to the other as quietly as if principle and conscience had had nothing to do with the matter. The experience of the last quarter of a century seems in their case to have produced a singular indifference as to points about which we are led to believe the rest of the nation was in a state of infinite excitement and concern. A very small number of zealous persons, however, in any cause, may make a great deal of clamour and commotion: and, perhaps, if the general population of the kingdom had been put to the same test as the clergy, the one body might not have been found to yield a larger per-centage than the other of persons really caring much about the high questions which, for many years, had kept up such a storm in the state.

The re-establishment of the reformed church under Elizabeth may be considered to have been completed in 1562 by the publication of the Articles of Religion as revised by the bishops, and adopted by the convocation. Besides the reduction of the number from forty-two to thirty-nine, the chief alteration that was made upon the original articles published in the time of King Edward was in that on the Lord's Supper, in which the express denial of the corporal presence was now left out, and it was merely said that "the body of Christ is given and received after a spiritual manner, and the means by which it is received is faith." It was hoped, according to Burnet, by this reserve to

* See ante, p. 345, *note*.

† Tunstall, alike eminent for his learning and his virtues, survived this his second deprivation only a few months, dying the next year at the age of eighty-five.

* This is Burnet's enumeration. The numbers vary somewhat in Camden and other authorities.

retain in communion with the church some whom a distinct or absolute denial of the real presence would have scared away. A further revision of the articles took place in 1571, when, however, no alterations of any moment were made, but the articles were for the first time subscribed and set forth by the convocation in English as well as in Latin. It was now, also, that subscription to them was for the first time made imperative upon the clergy (by stat. 13 Eliz. c. 12).

We may here also notice the new translation of the Bible which appeared in this reign. Since Cranmer's, or the Great Bible, Coverdale, assisted by others of his countrymen settled at Geneva, had occupied himself during his exile in the time of Mary with the preparation of a new English version of the whole Scriptures, which was at length printed for the first time at Geneva in 1560. This continued to be the favourite Bible of the English Puritans, and also of the Presbyterians in Scotland, till the appearance of the present authorized translation in the reign of James I. Of course it was many times reprinted.* New editions of Cranmer's Bible had also appeared in 1562 and 1566; but its incorrectness having been much complained of, Archbishop Parker projected a new translation, for which purpose he divided the sacred text into portions, which he distributed among the bishops and other learned doctors of the church. Grindal, Bentham, Sandys, Horn, Cox, and Goodman were among those employed in the work. This translation, known as Parker's, or the Bishop's Bible, first appeared in 1568 in a splendid folio volume, adorned with maps and cuts. A second edition was printed in 1572, and it remained the authorized translation till it was supplanted by that now in use.

The church thus set up in England occupied a position that exposed it to hostility at the same time from two opposite quarters—on the one hand from those who desired a further reformation, on the other from those who wanted no reformation at all. The consequence was, that the sequel of its history during the present period presents it in almost a constant state of contest with one or other, and generally with both together, of these its natural enemies. But the quarrel of both these classes of dissenters or nonconformists with the church, it is to be remembered, was equally a quarrel with the state or the government, of which the church was merely the creature and instrument. As for the case of the Roman Catholics, ample details have been given in the preceding Chapter of the commencement and course of the succession of measures taken against them, from the simple prohibition of their worship in the beginning of the reign, through the disabilities and severities of subsequent times, increasing with the exasperation of both parties, till popery came to be in a manner confounded with treason, so that most of the persons put to death for the one might almost in another view be said to be put to death for the other.* We shall not enter into the controversy as to which of the two parties was to blame, or most to blame, for this unhappy state of things; in the circumstances, the collision into which they were brought, and which gradually became more violent as it proceeded, was perhaps unavoidable under any management; but it must be admitted that measures of aggression began with the church, and it may also be very reasonably doubted if the course taken against the Roman Catholics, dictated as it was in great part by passion, and by what has been expressively called "the merciless policy of fear,"† was the best suited for converting that class of the population into good subjects, or averting any of the apprehended dangers against which it was aimed. We shall here merely enumerate together, and in their chronological order, the principal of the series of legislative enactments to which the followers of the ancient religion were subjected in the course of this reign.

First came the two acts of 1559; the one (1 Eliz. c. 1) entitled "An Act restoring to the Crown the Ancient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and abolishing all Foreign Power repugnant to the same;" the other (1 Eliz. c. 2) entitled "An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Divine Service in the Church, and the Administration of the Sacraments." By the former the oath of supremacy‡ was directed to be taken by all persons holding any office, spiritual or temporal, on pain of deprivation, and also by all persons taking degrees in the universities, and by all persons sueing livery or doing homage; writing or preaching against the supremacy was made punishable for the first offence with forfeiture of goods and one year's imprisonment, for the second with the pains of premunire, for the third as high treason; and those powers of exercising its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, through commissioners appointed for that purpose, were conferred upon the crown, which were afterwards turned into an engine of such comprehensive despotism by means of the famous Courts of High Commission. By the latter, all clergymen refusing to use King Edward's Book of Common Prayer were ordered to be punished for the first offence with forfeiture of one year's profit of their benefices and six months' imprisonment, for the second with one year's imprisonment and deprivation, for the third with deprivation and imprisonment for life; all persons either speaking anything against the said service-book, or causing any other forms than those it prescribed to be used in any church, chapel, or other place, in the performance of prayer or the administration of the sacraments, were subjected to the penalty of one hundred marks for the first offence, of four hundred marks for the second, for the third to forfeiture of goods and imprison-

* The Geneva Bible is the same that is known by the name of the Breeches Bible, from its rendering of Genesis iii. 7.

* See pp. 545, &c., 571, &c., 628—634, 655.
† Burke, Speech at Bristol, 1780.
‡ See the words of the oath, ante, p. 545.

ment for life; and a fine of a shilling was inflicted upon every person absent from his parish church without cause on any Sunday or holiday. Not only the deprivation of recusant clergymen, but prosecutions and punishments of private individuals began under this act as soon as it was passed.* In 1563, by an act (5 Eliz. c. 1) "For the assurance of the queen's majesty's royal power over all estates and subjects within her highness' dominions," several of the above provisions were made still more extensive and stringent. The oath of supremacy was now required to be taken by all persons taking holy orders, by all schoolmasters, barristers, benchers, and attornies, by all officers of any court of common law or other court whatever, and by all members of the House of Commons; and the refusing it, or upholding the jurisdiction of Rome, was made punishable with the pains of premunire for the first offence, and for the second with those of high treason. In 1571, after the Earl of Northumberland's rebellion,† a new act upon the subject of treason (stat. 13 Eliz. c. 1) was principally directed against the adherents of Popery. It was now made high treason to compass, imagine, invent, devise, or intend, the death or bodily harm of the queen, or the deposing her, or the levying war against her, or exciting foreigners to invade the realm, if such designs were uttered or declared by any printing, writing, or words, or to deny the queen's title, or to affirm her to be a heretic or usurper; any person during the queen's life claiming title to the crown, or usurping the royal title, or refusing to acknowledge the queen's right (this and the following clauses were especially levelled against the Queen of Scots and her adherents), was disabled from inheriting the crown; all claimants or pretenders to any right of succession to the crown, after the queen's proclamation had issued against them, were declared guilty of high treason; denying the power of the common law, or of this or any other act of parliament, to limit the descent of the crown, was made high treason during the queen's life, and afterwards punishable by forfeiture of goods; and the printing or publishing that any particular person not so declared by act of parliament, except her issue, was heir to the queen, was made punishable by a year's imprisonment for the first offence, and by a premunire for the second. By another statute of the same year (13 Eliz. c. 2), provoked by the pope's excommunication of Elizabeth, it was declared to be high treason to obtain or put in use any bull from Rome, or to receive absolution thereunder, and misprision of treason to conceal the offer of any such bull, and punishable with premunire to bring into the realm "any token or tokens, thing or things, called or named by the name of an *agnus dei*, or any crosses, pictures, beads, or such like vain and superstitious things from the bishop or see of Rome." A third act (13 Eliz. 2. c. 3) sought to prevent the retirement of the Catholics beyond seas, by enacting that any of the queen's subjects leaving the realm without her license, and not returning within six months after proclamation, should forfeit all their goods and the profits of all their lands for life.* But what are properly to be called the penal laws against Popery, as being expressly and directly pointed against the dissemination and profession of that faith, commence with the year 1581. By an act passed in that year (23 Eliz. c. 1), entitled "An Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their due obedience," persons pretending to any power of absolving subjects from their obedience to the queen, or practising to withdraw them to the Romish religion, and all subjects so absolved or withdrawn, were declared guilty of high treason; their abettors or concealers were declared guilty of misprision of treason: the saying of mass was made punishable by a year's imprisonment and a fine of two hundred marks; the hearing of it by a fine of one hundred marks and the same term of imprisonment; and the fine for neglecting to attend church was raised to the monstrous amount of twenty pounds per month. Camden tells us that, in the preceding ten years that had elapsed since the northern rebellion, not more than five papists had been put to death; but this very year Campion, the Jesuit, and three other priests were executed: and from this date to the end of the reign there was scarcely a year in which several persons of the same profession were not sent to the gibbet. It is true, indeed, that they were not put to death as Catholics; Campion and his companions were arraigned on the old Treason Act of the 25th of Edward III., and the others were in like manner all found guilty of some old or new treason; but as the mere teaching, and in certain circumstances even the simple profession, of the Roman Catholic faith was now converted into that capital crime, some of them at least may as correctly be said to have suffered as Catholics as they may be said to have suffered as traitors. A new act, passed in 1585, "against Jesuits, seminary priests, and such other like disobedient persons" (27 Eliz. c. 2), added some others to the list of these new popish capital offences, by declaring that all Jesuits and other Romish priests whatsoever, made or ordained out fo England, coming into or remaining in the kingdom, and all English subjects educated in any foreign college of Jesuits or other seminary of Romish priests, not returning home on proclamation and taking the oath of supremacy, should be deemed traitors; and the receivers of Romish priests so coming from abroad, felons without benefit of clergy. Persons sending money to foreign Jesuits or priests were at the same time subjected to the pains of premunire; and all persons were prohibited from sending their children abroad, without license from her majesty, under a penalty of one hundred pounds. In 1587, by an act intended to secure the more speedy and due

* See ante, p. 546. † See ante, p. 628.

* There was no act passed this year to compel attendance at church or the receiving of the sacrament, as stated by mistake at p. 633.

execution of the act of 1581, all conveyances made by recusants, to avoid the penalties therein imposed, was declared void; and the fine of twenty pounds per month, incurred for non-attendance at church, was directed in future to the levied by distress upon the property of the offenders to the extent of all their goods and two-thirds of their lands. Finally, in 1593, by another act "against popish recusants" (35 Eliz. c. 2), all persons above sixteen years of age, being popish recusants convict, were ordered, within forty days, to repair to their usual place of dwelling, and forbidden for ever after, without written license from the bishop of the diocese or deputy lieutenant of the county, to go five miles from thence on pain of forfeiture of their goods and the profits of their lands during life; those not having goods or lands of the clear yearly value of twenty marks above all charges, to abjure the realm, or, refusing to abjure, to be deemed felons without benefit of clergy. This was the last act passed against the Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth.

But the other description of nonconformists, opposite as were most of their principles and objects, gave, even in this early stage of their existence, nearly as much trouble as the Catholics to the government and the church, both of which they were, in the coming century, to triumph over and lay in the dust. The origin of the Protestant Dissenters may be traced to the very dawn of the Reformation; for the principles of Wycliffe in this country, and of Huss and Jerome of Prague on the continent, were certainly much more nearly allied to what in a later age was styled Puritanism than to the doctrine of the established church. But the first appearance of Puritanism in England as an element at variance with the spirit of the establishment was in the reign of Edward VI. In some of their notions, indeed, even the original founders of the establishment, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and their associates, may be regarded as having been puritanically inclined in comparison with their successors, the restorers of the reformed church in the reign of Elizabeth; but still, whatever their private views and inclinations may have been, and whatever their designs, of which we are told so much by some authorities, of a further reformation, which circumstances prevented them from carrying into effect, the system of doctrine and polity which they actually set up, or to which at least they consented to attach themselves, was a system opposed to Puritanism in its whole form and spirit. Puritanism was first imported into England after the establishment of the Reformation by certain foreign divines, Peter Martyr, Bucer, John à Lasco, and others, who came over from Germany on the accession of Edward VI., and by one or two Englishmen, who had studied or travelled in that country, and who returned home about the same time. Of these last the celebrated Dr. John Hooper was the most distinguished; and the first disturbance occasioned in the newly founded church by the principles of Puritanism was when Hooper, in 1550, on being nominated to the bishopric of Gloucester, refused to submit to the appointed forms of consecration and admission.* At this date, however, English Puritanism —which, indeed, was not even yet known by that name—was a mere mustard-seed in comparison of what it afterwards became. It appears that Hooper's objections were confined to certain expressions in the oath of supremacy, which he termed foul and impious (but from which he was relieved by the king striking them out of the oath), and to what he called "the Aaronitical habits," being the square cap, the tippet, and the surplice, worn by the bishops. And even in regard to these he submitted at last, after standing out nearly a whole year; a course which, says Burnet, "lost him much of his popularity, that, to speak freely, he seemed to be too fond of." Thus was this particular difference composed, although, even if the present order of things had continued uninterrupted, the element of strife which had kindled the contention was still unextinguished, and might very possibly have found, ere long, another occasion of raising heats and divisions, that would not have been so easily allayed. Accidentally, however, one of the most remarkable and enduring consequences of the restoration of popery in England in the reign of Mary, was the eventual introduction into the country of a new spirit of Puritanism and dissent of a much more extreme character than anything of the same kind that had previously appeared. This was brought about through the large emigration of English Protestants to the continent at the commencement of Mary's persecutions, and their return home on the accession of Elizabeth, fraught, many of them, with notions which they had acquired in the schools of Calvin, Zuinglius, and other foreign reformers, whose principles were on many points wholly adverse to those which prevailed in the reconstruction of the English church. Great contentions, in fact, had taken place among the exiles, while resident abroad, on the subject of the rites and ceremonies retained in King Edward's Book of Common Prayer; and at last, while the party in favour of these forms retained possession of the church at Frankfort, their opponents retired for the most part to Geneva, and there, under the eye of Calvin and the immediate pastoral care of his disciple Knox, set up a new service of their own, mostly borrowed from that of the French Protestants, in which there were no Litany, no responses, and hardly any rites or ceremonies; and a directory of which they published in English under the title of 'The Service, Discipline, and Form of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments used in the English Church of Geneva.' Even many of those who had been members of the church at Frankfort, however, brought back with them inclinations in favour of a wider departure from the popish worship than Elizabeth would consent to in her reformed church. But, on the whole, the Frankfort exiles, who com-

* See ante, p. 493.

prised in their number nearly all the Englishmen of distinguished learning who had gone abroad in the late reign, supplied most of the bishops and other dignitaries in the new national establishment; while their Calvinistic brethren from Geneva became, under the name of Puritans, which they now acquired, the fathers of English dissent.

The church of England, it is always to be remembered, no more adopts or sanctions the principle of the private interpretation of Scripture than does the church of Rome. Differing from the church of Rome in holding the Scripture to be the sole rule of faith, it still insists that the Scripture shall be received, not as any individual may interpret it for himself, but as it is expounded in the articles and other formularies of the church. It may, indeed, be doubted if the Puritans themselves at this early period had arrived at what it has been common in later times to speak of as the great fundamental principle of Protestantism,—the right of every individual to be his own interpreter of the word of God; for this, when carried out, would seem to lead directly to the conclusion that the church ought to be unrestrained by any articles or formularies whatever: in other words, ought to be built upon so comprehensive a foundation as to take in all the varieties of belief and opinion which ever have been, or ever can be, conceived by any individual to have their warrant within the four corners of the Bible. To this height, certainly, no class of Protestants had soared in the days of which we are speaking. The utmost that was demanded by the first dissenters from the church of England was, that certain points about which they felt scruples should be left as matters indifferent; these being, for the present, principally such mere matters of outward or ceremonial observance as the habits of the priesthood and the forms of public worship. In one sens these things were left by the church as indifferent: they were admitted to be indifferent as matters of faith, —that is to say, dissent in regard to them was not held to be heresy; but it was still held to be schism, and was made equally to exclude the individual maintaining and acting upon it from the fellowship of the church. In this respect the Act of Uniformity bore as hard upon the Puritans as it did upon the Papists. Nor was even the Act of Supremacy perfectly acceptable to the former any more than to the latter; for, in general, the Puritans now felt scruples as to the acknowledgment in any terms of the king or queen as head of the church,—in this, apparently, going beyond Bishop Hooper, in the reign of Edward, who seems to have objected only to the ancient form of the Oath of Supremacy because it began by an appeal to the saints as well as to God. These beginnings, too, soon led to further differences: in the words of a late writer, "the habits at first had been the only or chief matter of contention; all the rites of the church were soon attacked; and, finally, its whole form and structure."* The avowed object of the nonconformists, indeed, soon came to be to substitute, for the established forms of worship and discipline, the Geneva system in all its parts; nor were there wanting some of them who would have made a Geneva republic of the state as well as of the church.

Throughout the present period, too, and for a long time after, it is important to remark, the Puritans equally with the church abominated and strenuously stood out against any toleration of those who differed from themselves in respect to what they considered essential points. They held that such persons ought not only to be excluded from communion with the brethren, but restrained and punished by the law of the land. "Both parties," says their own historian, "agreed too well in asserting the necessity of a uniformity of public worship, and of using the sword of the magistrate for the support and defence of their respective principles, which they made an ill use of in their turns whenever they could grasp the power into their hands. The standard of uniformity, according to the bishops, was the queen's supremacy and the laws of the land; according to the Puritans, the decrees of provincial and national synods allowed and enforced by the civil magistrate; but neither party were for admitting that liberty of conscience and freedom of profession which is every man's right, as far as is consistent with the peace of the civil government he lives under."* Indeed, if there was any difference, the Puritans went even farther than their adversaries in their notions on the subject of uniformity; for, while the bishops affirmed that the founders of Christianity left the particular form of discipline or church-government to the discretion of the civil magistrate, who might vary it in different countries according to the policy of the state, the Puritans held the Scriptures to be as well a standard of discipline as of doctrine.† If the English church, therefore, when restored in the reign of Elizabeth, had chanced to have been arranged upon Puritan principles, it is certain that the toleration of dissent would not have entered into either its principles or its practice more than it did as things were actually managed. The Puritans were only treated by the church in the same manner as, if they themselves had been the church, all nonconformists would have been treated by them.

At first, however, many of the Puritans so far overcame their scruples as to comply with the required forms and accept of livings in the establishment. The writer of their history maintains that, if they had not done this, in hopes of the removal of their grievances in more settled times, the Reformation would have fallen back into the hands of the Papists; "for it was impossible," he observes, "with all the assistance they could get from both universities, to fill up the parochial vacancies with men of learning and character. Many churches were disfurnished for a consider-

* Southey, Book of the Church.

* Neal, History of the Puritans, i. 103. (Edit. of 1837.)
† Ibid. 101.

able time; and not a few mechanics, altogether as unlearned as the most remarkable of those who were ejected, were preferred to dignities and livings, who, being disregarded by the people, brought great discredit on the Reformation, while others of the first rank for learning, piety, and usefulness in their functions, were laid by in silence. There was little or no preaching all over the country; the Bishop of Bangor writes that he had but two preachers in all his diocese. It was enough if the parson could read the service and sometimes a homily." "So many churches,"* it is elsewhere stated, "in country towns and villages were vacant, that, in some places there was no preaching, nor so much as reading a homily, for many months together. In sundry parishes it was hard to find persons to baptize or bury the dead; the bishops, therefore, were obliged to admit of pluralists, non-residents, civilians, and to ordain such as offered themselves, how meanly soever they were qualified."† These irregularities, again, furnished new matter to the Puritans for their lamentations over the corruption of the establishment, and helped to widen the breach between the two parties.

For some years the Puritans who had joined the church were winked at by the authorities in many deviations from the appointed forms which they introduced into the public service. What these chiefly were we may best learn from a representation upon the subject which appears to have been made to the queen in the beginning of the year 1564. "Some," says this paper, "perform divine service and prayers in the chancel, others in the body of the church; some in a seat made in the church, some in a pulpit, with their faces to the people; some keep precisely to the order of the book; some intermix psalms in metre; some say with a surplice, and others without one. The table stands in the body of the church in some places; in others it stands in the chancel; in some places the table stands altarwise, distant from the wall a yard; in others, in the middle of the chancel, north and south; in some places the table is joined, in others it stands upon tressels; in some the table has a carpet, in others none. Some administer the communion with surplice and cap, some with surplice alone, others with none; some with chalice, others with a communion-cup, others with a common cup; some with unleavened bread, and some with leavened. Some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting; some baptize in a font, some in a basin; some sign with the sign of the cross, others sign not; some minister in a surplice, others without; some with a square cap, some with a round cap, some with a button-cap, some with a hat; some in scholars' clothes, some in others."‡ If in all this every man had been allowed to take his own way without disturbance from his neighbour, it might not perhaps have produced anything more than a pleasing variety in the services of the church; but the square cap or the round cap was too often an unendurable abomination in the eyes of the admirer of the button-cap; who, not satisfied with the liberty of pleasing his own fancy, held it to be his right, or his duty, also to inveigh against or turn into ridicule all who had not the same taste in these matters with himself. Archbishop Parker has the chief credit of having instigated the proceedings that were now taken to enforce in all the clergy a rigid compliance with the rubric. He and some of his episcopal brethren, having been constituted ecclesiastical commissioners for that purpose by the queen, summoned the clergy of the several dioceses before them, and suspended all who refused to subscribe an agreement to submit to the queen's injunctions in regard to the habits, rites, and ceremonies. Great numbers of ministers, including many of those most eminent for their zeal and piety and their popularity as preachers, were thus ejected from both the service and the profits of their cures, and sent forth into the world in a state of entire destitution. "They travelled up and down the countries," to quote the words of Bishop Jewel, "from church to church, preaching where they could get leave, as if they were apostles; and so they were with regard to their poverty—for silver and gold they had none." The course pursued towards them was in some respects of the harshest and most oppressive character. Some of them having had recourse to the press, and published a vindication of their opinions, an order was issued by the Star Chamber that no person should print or publish any book against the queen's injunctions, upon pain of forfeiting all the copies, suffering three months' imprisonment, and being held incapacitated from ever again practising the art of printing; that no person should sell, bind, or stitch such books, upon pain of a fine of 20*s.* for every book; and that the wardens of the Company of Stationers should, from time to time, search all suspected places, and open all packs, dry vats, &c., wherein paper or foreign books might be contained; and enter all warehouses where they had reasonable suspicion, and seize all books and pamphlets against the queen's ordinances, and bring offenders before the ecclesiastical commissioners. It was in these circumstances that, feeling all chance of reconciliation at an end, the ejected clergymen resolved to separate themselves from the establishment, breaking off from the public churches, and assembling, as they had opportunity, in private houses or elsewhere, to worship God in a manner that might not offend against the light of their consciences. "It was debated among them," says Neal, "whether they should use as much of the common prayer and service of the church as was not offensive, or resolve at once, since they were cut off from the church of England, to set up the purest and best form of worship, most consonant to the Holy Scriptures, and to the practice of the foreign reformers; the latter of these was concluded upon,

* History of the Puritans, i. 109. † Ibid. 118.
‡ Printed in Strype's Life of Parker.

and accordingly they laid aside the English liturgy, and made use of the Geneva service-book."* This separation took place in 1566.

According to this writer, although the Puritans would have remained within the church if they had been indulged in regard to the habits and a few ceremonies, these were by no means the only points upon which they already differed from and objected to the establishment. Indeed, some of their other objections would seem to be of much more serious importance than those upon which they actually separated. They are stated to have been opposed, among other things, to the claims of the bishops to be considered a superior order to presbyters, and to have the sole right of ordination and exercise of ecclesiastical discipline; to the temporal dignities annexed to the episcopal office; to the titles and offices of archdeacons, deans, chapters, and other officials belonging to cathedrals; to the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts; to the promiscuous and general access of all persons to the communion; to many things in the liturgy, especially the responses of the people, and some passages in the offices of marriage and burial; to the prohibition in the public service of prayers composed by the clergyman himself; to the use of godfathers and godmothers; to the custom of confirmation; to the reading of the apocryphal books in the church; to the observance of Lent and of the holidays; to the cathedral worship, chanting, and the use of organs; to pluralities and non-residency; and to the appointment of ministers by presentations from the crown, the bishops, and lay patrons, instead of by the election of the people. All these things, however, it seems they were willing to pass over—that the world might have another example of how the greatest controversies among men generally arise out of the smallest differences, by their choosing to make their stand on their aversion to the sign of the cross in baptism, to kneeling at the sacrament, to bowing at the name of Jesus, to the ring in marriage, and to the square cap, tippet, and surplice.

The preachings of the deprived ministers in the woods and private houses gave rise to the new offence of what was called frequenting conventicles, the putting down of which now afforded abundant employment to the queen and her ecclesiastical commissioners. The Puritans were brought in great numbers before the Commissioners, and fined, imprisoned, and otherwise punished, both under the authority of the act of parliament enforcing attendance upon the parish churches, and by the more ample powers of the act of supremacy, to which scarcely any bounds were set. Meanwhile the controversy with the church began to spread over a wider field, chiefly through the preaching of the celebrated Thomas Cartwright, fellow of Trinity College, and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, at Cambridge, a most learned, eloquent, and courageous nonconformist.† The University of Cambridge was a great stronghold of Puritanism, and here Cartwright was for some time protected and permitted to disseminate his opinions while most of his brethren were silenced; but he, too, was at last reached by the ecclesiastical commissioners; and, on the interference of Cecil, the chancellor, was, in 1570, deprived of his professorship. He was afterwards also deprived of his fellowship, and expelled from the University. The temper, however, of a formidable minority in the new parliament which met in 1571 showed that the principles of Puritanism, though expelled from the church, and almost driven from the face of day, were still making progress in the nation. Nor did the proceedings of the majority tend to check their diffusion. It is stated that about a hundred more clergymen were deprived under the act passed this session for enforcing subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles. Still, notwithstanding all the efforts of the government, the nonconformists found means to maintain the defence of their opinions through the press; numerous books and pamphlets were published by them, printed it could not be discovered by whom or where; nor was it possible to prevent them from being bought and read. Cartwright, in this way, even after he had fled beyond seas, continued as active and as formidable as ever; a hot war of pamphlets was carried on for some years between him and Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury—the chief effect of which was of course only to inspirit and nerve to a more determined mutual hostility the followers of both champions.

Archbishop Parker—"a parker, indeed," exclaims Fuller, "careful to keep the fences, and shut the gates of discipline against all such night-stealers as would invade the same"—died in 1575; and if his successor Grindal had been allowed to follow his own inclinations, or had been left in the real government of the church over which he nominally presided, the Puritans would have had a breathing-time from their sufferings during the ten years of his occupation of the metropolitan dignity. But the circumstances in which he was himself placed, and the activity of some of his brethren of another spirit and temper—especially of Sandys, Bishop of London, who, from a violent professor, had become a still more violent persecutor, of Puritanic principles—prevented Grindal from being able to do anything to change the course of rigour and severity that had been begun under his predecessor. When in the second year of his primacy he ventured to write to the queen, recommending milder measures, her majesty answered his letter by an order from the Star Chamber, confining him to his house, and suspending him from his archiepiscopal functions altogether; and so suspended he remained till within about a year of his death. It was by this sort of boldness and decision that Elizabeth throughout her reign kept the nonconformists at bay, and on various occasions suddenly arrested their advance in the most singular manner. The House of Commons which met in 1581 was more Puritanic

* Hist. of Puritans, i. 153.

† See ante, p. 635.

than ever, and actually began its proceedings by voting that the members should, on the second Sunday after, meet together in the Temple Church, there to have preaching and to join together in prayer, with humiliation and fasting, for the assistance of God's spirit in all their consultations! But when the queen was informed of this extraordinary proceeding, she instantly took measures to check so rampant a zeal. Hatton, her vice-chamberlain, was sent down with a message to the effect, that "she did much admire at so great a rashness in that House as to put in execution such an innovation without her privity and pleasure first made known to them." Upon which it was forthwith moved and agreed to, "That the House should acknowledge their offence and contempt, and humbly crave forgiveness, with a full purpose to forbear committing the like for the future;"—and so exploded the project of the prayers and preachings in the Temple Church.

It was during this very session that the act was passed raising the penalty for non-attendance upon the parish church to 20*l.* per month; and also another act (23 Eliz. c. 2), intituled "An Act against Seditious Words and Rumours uttered against the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty," by which the devising and speaking seditious rumours against her majesty was made punishable with the pillory and loss of both ears; the reporting of such rumours with the pillory and loss of one ear;—the second offence in either case being made felony without clergy; and by which the printing, writing, or publishing any manner of book, rhyme, ballad, letter, or writing, containing any false, seditious, and slanderous matter, to the defamation of the queen, and the casting of her nativity, or prophesying as to the duration of her life, or wishing her death, were constituted capital crimes. This last act was especially levelled at the Puritans, whose publications had been growing more and more scurrilous with the prolongation of the sufferings of their authors; and several of them were put to death under its provisions. To this date is assigned the rise of what has been designated the third race of Puritans—the Brownists,—afterwards softened down into the Independents,—whose founder was Robert Brown, a preacher in the diocese of Norwich, descended of a good family, and said to have been a near relation of Lord Burghley. These people, says Neal, "were carried off to a total separation, and so far prejudiced as not to allow the Church of England to be a true church, nor her ministers true ministers; they renounced all communion with her, not only in the prayers and ceremonies, but in hearing the word and the sacraments."* Brown himself afterwards rejoined the church, and became rector of a parish in Northamptonshire—where, according to Fuller, he led a very dissolute life, and, at last, when he had reached his eighty-first year, died in 1630, in Northampton gaol.

Archbishop Grindal, dying in 1583, was succeeded by Dr. Whitgift, Cartwright's antagonist, who held the primacy during the remainder of the reign, and proved a ruler of the church altogether to her majesty's mind. As soon as he was seated in his place of eminence and authority he commenced a vigorous crusade against the nonconformists, which he pursued, with little remission, to the close of his days. Within a few weeks after he became archbishop he suspended many hundreds of the clergy in all parts of his province for refusing subscription to a new set of articles or regulations he thought proper to issue. He then procured from the queen a new ecclesiastical commission, drawn up in terms much more comprehensive than had ever before been employed, conveying, indeed, powers of inquisition and punishment in regard to every description of offence that could by any colour be brought within the category of spiritual or ecclesiastical delinquency. A set of articles, which Whitgift drew up for the use of this court in the examination of the clergy, were so strong as to startle even Cecil, and make him write to the archbishop (though to no purpose) to get him to mitigate them somewhat. "I have read over your twenty-four articles," he says, ". . . and I find them so curiously penned that I think the inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their priests." The archbishop's proceedings had thrown the nation into the greatest ferment when parliament met in November, 1584; and the Commons immediately proceeded to take into consideration a number of bills for restraining the power of the church. But as soon as they had passed the first of them a thundering message from the queen again stopped them in an instant; she sent down her lord treasurer to tell them how highly she was offended by their daring to encroach upon her supremacy, and attempting what she had already forbidden; "and to command the Speaker, in her majesty's name, to see that no bills touching reformation in causes ecclesiastical should be exhibited; and, if any such were exhibited, to command him, upon his allegiance, not to read them." In 1592, at the same time with the 'Act against Popish Recusants,' another act was passed (35 Eliz. c. 1) entitled "An Act to retain the Queen's Subjects in Obedience," to meet the case of the Protestant nonconformists. It was enacted that all persons above sixteen years of age who should for a whole month refuse to attend divine service according to law, or should attend unlawful conventicles, or should persuade others to dispute the queen's authority in matters ecclesiastical, should be sent to prison, there to remain until they should openly conform and submit themselves; and that all offenders convicted, and not conforming and submitting within three months, should abjure the realm, and should, if they returned, be put to death, as for felony without benefit of clergy. The moderate Puritans, according to Neal, made a shift to evade this atrocious statute by coming to church when common prayer was almost over, and by

* Hist. Puritans, i. 245.

receiving the sacrament in some churches where it was administered with a certain degree of latitude; but it fell with great weight upon the Brownists, whose principles prevented them from holding any the slightest communion with the church. This sect had flourished to such a degree under its persecutions that, as Sir Walter Raleigh declared in parliament, there were now not less than twenty thousand persons belonging to it in Norfolk, Essex, and the neighbourhood of London alone.

Fines, imprisonment, and the gibbet continued to do their work in the vain attempt of the church and the government to put down opinion by these inefficient arms till within four or five years of the close of the reign. From about the end of 1597 to the queen's death, "there was," says Neal, "a kind of cessation of arms between the church and the Puritans; the combatants were out of breath, or willing to wait for better times. Some apprehended that the Puritans were vanquished and their numbers lessened by the severe execution of the penal laws; whereas it will appear, by a survey in the beginning of the next reign, that the nonconforming clergy were about fifteen hundred. But the true reason was this,—the queen was advanced in years, and could not live long in a course of nature, and, the next heir to the crown being a Presbyterian, the bishops were cautious of acting against a party for whom his majesty had declared, not knowing what revenge he might take when he was fixed on the throne; and the Puritans were quiet, in hopes of great matters to be done for them upon the expected change."* If these fears and hopes from the accession of the northern Solomon were really entertained, both the one and the other were destined to be speedily and signally disappointed.

In regard to the treatment of the Puritans, as well as of the Papists, under Elizabeth, it is maintained that the punishment of death was never inflicted on account of religion, but only for treason or some other political offence; although, to make it felony without benefit of clergy for any person to refuse to abjure the realm after having been convicted of the offence of non-attendance upon the established church for a month (as was done by the act of 1592), looks very like making religious dissent a capital crime; and it cannot be denied that other punishments of great severity, if not death, were in countless instances inflicted by the Court of High Commission for mere nonconformity, or what it called heresy. But the history of the church and of religion during this reign ought not to be brought to a close without the mention of one instance in which the old writ *de hæretico comburendo* was again called into use, and the stake and the fagot were employed by Elizabeth to punish a mere religious opinion, exactly in the same manner as they had been employed by her father and her sister. On Easter-day, 1575, twenty-seven German Anabaptists, as they were called, were apprehended in the city of London, having been found assembled at worship in a private house beyond Aldersgate. The errors which they were accused of holding appear to have been the four following:—1. That Christ took not flesh of the substance of the Virgin: 2. That infants born of faithful parents ought to be rebaptised: 3. That no Christian man ought to be a magistrate: 4. That it is not lawful for a Christian man to take an oath. Four of them consented to recant these opinions; the others, refusing to abjure, were brought to trial in the Consistory Court, by which eleven of them were condemned to be burned. Nine of the eleven were banished; but the remaining two, named John Wielmacker and Hendrick Ter Woort, were actually, on the 22nd of July, consigned to the flames in Smithfield. This execution was Elizabeth's own act: to his eternal honour, John Fox, the venerable martyrologist, ventured to interfere in behalf of the unfortunate men, and wrote an earnest and eloquent letter in Latin to the queen, beseeching her to spare their lives, but his supplication was sternly rejected. A month's reprieve only was granted them, that they might repent of their errors; but they remained unshaken. Fox's letter is very interesting on every account, but especially for the evidence it affords us of how imperfect were the views of toleration entertained in that age even by those minds that had advanced farthest in that direction. Fox seems to have been almost the only man of his time who was at all shocked at the notion of destroying these poor Anabaptists; and yet he merely objected to the degree, and more especially to the kind, of the punishment. His argument is not so much for toleration as against capital punishments, and above all against the punishment of burning. "As to these fanatical sects," he says, "it is certain they are by no means to be countenanced in a commonwealth, but, in my opinion, ought to be suppressed by proper correction. But to *roast alive* the bodies of poor wretches that offend rather through blindness of judgment than perverseness of will, *in fire and flames raging with pitch and brimstone*, is a hard-hearted thing, and more agreeable to the practice of the Romanists than to the custom of the Gospellers." In conclusion he begs, for the sake of Christ, that the lives of the miserable men may be spared—at least that a stop may be put to the horror by changing the punishment into some other kind. "There are excommunications," he says, "and close imprisonment; there are bonds; there is perpetual banishment, burning of the hand, and whipping, or even slavery itself. This one thing I most earnestly beg, that the piles and flames in Smithfield, so long ago extinguished by your happy government, may not now be again revived."* The right spirit, however, of all this is more to the honour of the good old martyrologist than it is to his discredit not to have seen farther and more clearly into a subject respecting which correct and enlarged views had not been attained

* Hist. Puritans, i. 337.

* Translation in Crosby's History of the English Baptists.

in that age by the most penetrating and capacious intellects.

After the full narrative which has been given in the preceding Chapter of the course of transactions in Scotland during the latter part of this period,* which almost all turned upon the contest between the old and new religion, it will be sufficient here merely to recapitulate the leading epochs of the progress of the Reformation in that country, so as to bring the successive changes that were made into one view.

The execution of Patrick Hamilton, styled abbot or pensionary of Ferme, properly the first martyr of the Reformation in Scotland, took place at St. Andrew's on the 29th of February, 1528. Hamilton, who was only in his twenty-third year, was a young man of very high family, and, indeed, nearly related to the king, his father being brother to the Earl of Arran, and his mother sister to the Duke of Albany. Having travelled in Germany, he had there become acquainted with Luther, Melancthon, and the other reformers; and the opinions for holding which he suffered were the same that they preached. Spotswood says that, when sentence had been passed upon him by the archbishop, James Beaton, and his assessors, "to give it the greater authority, whosoever were of any estimation in the university were made to subscrive the same: amongst whom was the Earl of Cassillis, a child of thirteen years old." He was burned before the gate of St. Salvator's College on the afternoon of the same day on which he was condemned; and the meek heroism with which he endured his terrible death stirred a feeling far and wide among his countrymen which made that hour a memorable and fatal one for the ancient church. Among several persons who were soon after sent to the stake for having expressed their sympathy or admiration, one was a Benedictine friar named Henry Forest, who was also burned at St. Andrew's, "at the north style of the abbey," says Spotswood, "to the end the heretics of Angus might see the fire." One of the archbishop's attendants, "John Lindsay, a plain and simple man," advised on this occasion that the victim should be burned in a cellar; for the smoke, said he, of Master Hamilton hath infected all those on whom it blew.

In 1543, in the first parliament held after the appointment of the Earl of Arran to the regency, an act was passed, permitting the people, for the first time, to read the Scriptures in their mother-tongue. This measure gave a great impulse to the progress of the reformed doctrines, which was little checked either by the regent's recantation of Protestantism that immediately followed, or by the frequent executions for heresy by which the church still vainly sought to prop its tottering power. On the 2nd of March, 1545, George Wisheart was burned in front of the castle of St. Andrew's; in which, on the 29th of May of the following year, the great head of the papal party, the archbishop and chancellor, Cardinal Beaton, was assassinated by Norman Lesley and his confederates.

The death of the cardinal was a fatal blow to the cause of the ancient religion in Scotland; and, although the struggle was still kept up for a good many years longer, the altered course taken by the clergy soon showed how perplexed and crest-fallen they now were. At a provincial council which met at Linlithgow, and then adjourned to Edinburgh, in 1549, under the presidency of James Hamilton, the new primate, a reformation of the manners of ecclesiastical persons was attempted to be enforced by the publication of a new code of fifty-seven canons; in the preamble to which it was admitted that the two prime causes of the prevailing heresies were, the corruption and profane lewdness of the clergy of almost every degree, and their gross ignorance in all branches of learning. "Among their acts," says Knox's History, "there was much ado for caps, shaven crowns, tippets, long gowns, and such other trifles." Lord Hailes, however, considers that the canons of this council were in general well calculated for establishing decency and good order, and for introducing some species of learning into the ecclesiastical state; and he thinks that, had they been enacted some years sooner, and rigorously executed, they would have served to check the progress of the Reformation.* Other councils, held in 1551 and 1552, laboured in the carrying forward and completion of the same design. From one of the canons of 1551, "it appears," says Lord Hailes, "that in the most populous parishes few of the parishioners attended mass on Sundays, much less on other festivals; that, of those who attended, some scoffed and behaved irreverently, while others busied themselves in merchandise, even at the church-porch. This was the period when men had laid aside all reverence for the old form of worship, and yet had not heartily embraced the new; a singular state, and, from the nature of things, of short endurance." Another canon is remarkable as enjoining the printing and publication of a famous compendium of the popish doctrines in the Scottish dialect, known as Archbishop Hamilton's *Catechism*, though for the use of the clergy only, who were anxiously cautioned to take care that their copies did not get into the hands of any of the laity, unless it might be of some good, grave, faithful, and discreet men, to whom they should have the permission of their bishops to show the book, on being convinced that it was desired rather for the sake of instruction than from curiosity. It was ordered, however, to be read to the people in the churches on Sundays and holidays.†

On the 29th of April, 1558, the last of the Scottish martyrs suffered at St. Andrew's, an old, infirm priest, named Walter Mill. After he was

* See ante, pp. 429—447, 457—465, 469, &c.; 488, &c.; 547—568.

* Historical Memorials concerning the Provincial Councils of the Scottish clergy.

† Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism is a small black letter quarto of above 400 pages, and is now one of the rarest of printed books. Lord Hailes seems to prove that this could not, as has been often said, be the book which the people called, in derision, the *Twopenny Faith*.

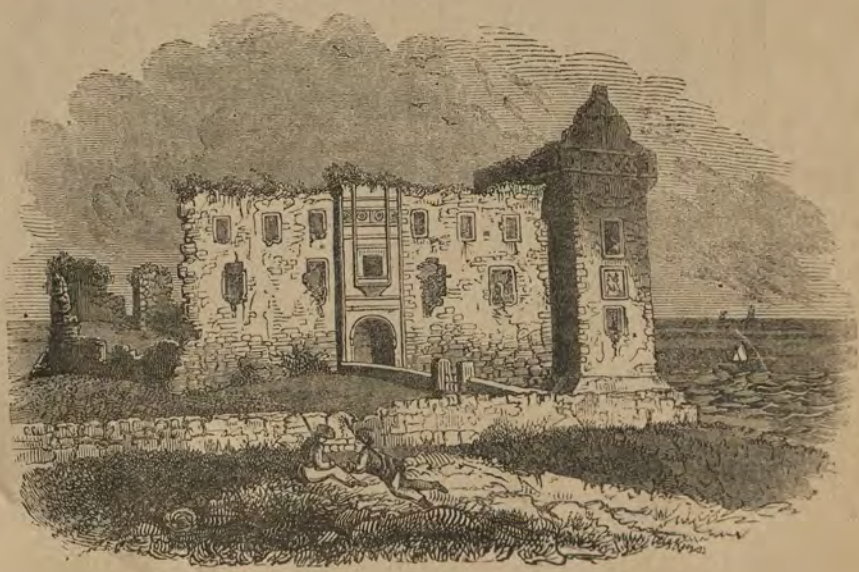
condemned, and, as usual, ordered to be delivered to the temporal judge, no magistrate could be induced to act in that capacity, nor was there, says Spotswood, "so much as a cord to be had for money to tie him." The next day one of the archbishop's servants did the office of judge, and the ropes of the archbishop's pavilion were taken to bind him. The old priest met his death with great intrepidity; and the citizens of St. Andrew's "made up a great heap of stones in the place where his body was burnt; and when the priests had caused the heap twice or thrice to be carried away, denouncing such as should bring any stones thither accursed, still it was renewed, until watches were appointed to see who they were that brought any stones to the place, and charge given to apprehend them."

But people and nobles alike were now banded and arrayed in force no longer to be resisted against the doomed church. The next year Knox returned from Geneva, and, roused by his eloquence, the popular fury swept some of the wealthiest provinces of the land like a hurricane, and in a few days covered the earth with the ruins of all their stateliest temples and most venerated shrines. On the 29th of June the Lords of the Congregation entered Edinburgh in arms and took possession of that capital. On the 1st of August, 1560, a parliament assembled, which, in the course of that month, abolished for ever the pope's jurisdiction and authority, annulled all statutes made in preceding times for the maintenance of the old religion, prohibited the saying or hearing of the mass, and approved, with only two dissenting voices among the temporal lords (the bishops declining to vote), the "Confession of the Faith and Doctrine believed and professed by the Protestants of Scotland."* An act was also passed for demolishing all such cloisters and abbey-churches as were not yet pulled down; "the execution whereof," Spotswood tells us, "was for the west parts committed to the Earls of Arran, Argyle, and Glencairn; for the north to Lord James (the famous Prior of St. Andrew's); and for the in-countries to some barons that were held most zealous." There is probably nothing to match this act to be found in the records of civilized legislation.

No form of church polity, however, was established either by this parliament or by that of 1567, in the first year of James VI., by which its proceedings were ratified, and the doubts removed which were occasioned by their validity never having been acknowledged by the lately deposed queen. In these circumstances the church, of its own authority, established, as far as it had the means of so doing, the order of things laid down in a scheme drawn up by Knox, and known by the name of the 'First Book of Discipline.'† The principal peculiarity of this arrangement was the appointment of twelve provincial chiefs of the clergy, with the title of Superintendents: in other respects it was copied from the Presbyterian model established at Geneva. The government of the church was carried on by presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies. Still, however, the bishops, not having been formally deprived by the parliament, retained their sees; and successors even continued, for some time, to be appointed to those of them who died, with the consent of the

* This Confession, consisting of twenty-six articles, is printed in Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, fol. 1678, pp. 14-24.

† The First Book of Discipline is given in Spotswood's History, p. 152—174.



Castle of St. Andrew's.

church. But the General Assembly soon began to set itself against that anomaly. In 1574 they enacted that the jurisdiction of bishops should not exceed that of superintendents; in 1576 they declared the title of bishop to be common to every one that hath a particular flock over which he hath a peculiar charge; in 1577 they ordained that all bishops should be in future called by their own names, instead of by those of their dioceses; and in 1580 they unanimously voted episcopacy to be unscriptural and unlawful. In 1581 they drew up and agreed upon a new Book of Policy, wherein no mention was made of either bishops or superintendents, except that pastors or ministers of congregations were stated to be sometimes called bishops, "because they watch over their flock."* At last, in 1592, the Presbyterian form of church government by general assemblies, provincial synods, presbyteries, and kirk sessions, received the full sanction of parliament. In 1597, however, an act was passed, to which the General Assembly assented the following year, for the appointment to seats in parliament of certain representatives of the clergy—an innovation which in some degree restored the order of bishops substantially, though not in name. This was the legal constitution of the Scottish church at the close of the present period.

* See this scheme, which is called the 'Second Book of Discipline,' in Calderwood, pp. 102—116.

The Protector Somerset..From a Painting by Holbein.
Lord Burleigh.....From a Painting in Bodleian Library.
Earl of Leicester.....From a Painting by Zucchero.
Walsingham.....From a Painting by Zucchero.
Cromwell, Earl of Essex. From a Painting by Holbein.
Devereux, Earl of Essex. From an old Painting, anonymous.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS.

WHEN the civil wars which had so long convulsed England were at length put an end to, and, Henry VII. being firmly seated on the throne, sufficient tranquillity was restored to enable a calm view to be taken of the state of things, it appeared that a very considerable change had taken place. The once formidable power of the feudal aristocracy had disappeared, and the king was more powerful than the king of England had been for many generations. A king, too, was on the throne who, besides having come in by the event of a successful battle, a circumstance which always gives power, neither wanted ability nor inclination to avail himself of every means of strengthening his own position and still further weakening that of his nobility, whom, judging from the events of past history, he naturally considered it his interest to depress so far as to hinder them from being formidable to him. With this view he applied himself to amassing money and increasing the power and splendour of the crown and diminishing

those of the nobility. Thus, by statutes 11 Henry VII. c. 18, and 19 Henry VII. c. 1, all those who had any office, fee, or annuity by grant from the crown (not having the king's license to excuse or any infirmity to prevent them), were required to attend the king in person when he went to war; and if they failed, all such grants were to be void. There were certain exceptions as to spiritual persons, the judges and high law officers; and in the latter act these exceptions were extended to the clerk of the king's council, to persons above sixty and under twenty-one years of age, and to cases where the patents mentioned the grant to be for a sum of money. Henry was no less attentive to the diminution of the numbers of the retainers of the great lords than he was to the enforcing the attendance of those of the crown.

One of the most important measures introduced by Henry VII., whether or not it be considered as introduced with a distinct view to the diminution of the power of the nobility, was the Statute of Fines, 4 Henry VII. c. 24. This act has been viewed in two ways, either as intended to make a fine a bar to an entail, or to give to it the validity it had at common law before the Statute of Non-claim.*

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to give an account of a *fine* that will be intelligible to an unprofessional reader. Whether or not a fine was originally an accommodation of a suit in the strict sense of the word, about which opinions somewhat vary, the characteristic feature of a *fine* is that of being the *termination* of a suit. The following short account of it from 'Cruise's Digest' will probably convey as good an idea to the reader as we can hope to do in a work of a popular nature. "By the ancient common law, a charter of feoffment was in general the only written instrument whereby lands were transferred or conveyed. But although this assurance derived great authenticity from the number of witnesses by whom it was usually attested, and the solemn and public manner in which livery of seisin was given upon it, yet still it may be supposed that inconveniences would frequently arise, either from the loss of the charter itself, or from the difficulty of proving it after a lapse of years. These circumstances probably induced men to look out for some other species of assurance, which should be more solemn, more lasting, and more easily proved, than a charter of feoffment. Experience must soon have discovered that no title could be so secure and notorious, as that which had been questioned by an adverse party, and confirmed by the determination of a court of justice; and the ingenuity of mankind soon found out a method of deriving the same advantage from a fictitious process. To effect this purpose, the following plan was adopted. A suit was commenced concerning the lands intended to be conveyed, and when the writ was sued out, and the parties appeared in court, a composition of the suit was entered into, with the consent of the judges, whereby the lands in question were declared to be the right of one of the contending parties. This agreement being reduced into writing, was enrolled among the records of the court, where it was preserved by the proper officer, by which means it was not so liable to be lost or defaced as a charter of feoffment; and, being a record, would at all times prove itself. It had also another advantage—that, being substituted in the place of the sentence which would have been given in case the suit had not been compounded, it was held to be of the same nature and of equal force with a judgment of the court.

"When this species of agreement was completed, a writ issued to the sheriff of the county in which the lands lay, in the same form as if a judgment had been obtained in an adversary suit, directing him to deliver seisin and possession to the person who thus acquired the lands. This assurance was called *finis* or *finalis concordia*, from the words with which it begins."*

"It must be confessed," says Mr. Reeves, speaking of Henry VII.'s Statute of Fines, "that if there was any intention of giving to a fine the efficacy of barring an entail, the statute is couched in those covert and indirect terms which indicated an apprehension of some remaining prejudices in favour of entails; for, without apparent reference to entails, or the declaration of the statute *de donis*, that fines, as against the issue, should be void, it enacts generally, that fines of land levied with proclamation shall conclude *as well privies*† *as strangers*.‡ On the other hand, there is in the preamble mention made of the statute 27 Edward I. *de finibus*, and of the confusion introduced by the Statute of Non-claim, to remedy which, it would intimate, the present act was designed; and it was not till near forty years after that a fine with proclamation was held to bar the issue by construction of this act;§ and that was with such difference of opinion that an act was purposely made some years after ‖ to declare such a fine to be a bar to the issue." "It may be added," continues Mr. Reeves, "that this act is only copied from one passed in the reign of Richard III., who had no leisure to devise schemes for impoverishing or humbling the nobility. This republication, therefore, can hardly be attributed to any personal design originating with the present king."¶

Fines levied according to this statute were to be solemnly read and proclaimed in the three terms next following the ingrossing. There was a saving of the rights of such as, not being parties to the fine, might not be in a condition to vindicate their claims at the time of the fine being levied, so as

* 18 Edward I., which barred the right unless the claim was put in within a year and a day.

* Crus. Dig. Tit. 35 ch. 1. s. 1-6.
† That is, representatives of the parties to the fine.
‡ That is, such persons as are neither parties nor privies to the fine.
§ 19 Henry VIII. c. 6.
‖ 32 Henry VIII. c. 36.
¶ History of the English Law, vol. iv. p. 137.

they or their heirs pursued their action or entry within five years after such disability removed; and a saving to every person and his heirs, other than the parties,* of such right as he had at the time of the fine being ingrossed, so as he pursued his title within five years next after the proclamation had; and a saving to all persons of such right as should first grow, remain, or descend, or come, after the fine ingrossed and proclaimed, by any gift in tail, or other cause, before the fine levied, so that they pursued their right within five years after it accrued to them; and then they and their heirs might have an action against the pernor (that is, the receiver) of the profits of such lands. But if, at the time of such right accruing, they were under a disability to assert their claim, then their right and action should be reserved to them and their heirs till the removal of such disability, so as they or their heirs took and pursued their action or entry within five years after such disability removed. There was a saving to every one, not party or privy, to allege in avoidance of a fine, that neither the parties, nor any to their use, had anything in the lands or tenements comprised in the fine at the time it was levied. Lastly, it was provided, that fines, levied in the form used before this statute, should be as effectual as if the statute had never been made; and all persons should be at liberty to follow that form, or the form prescribed by this act.

Barrington appears to us to go too far in characterising the opinion that entails were broken through by this statute as merely a "crude and bold assertion."† Nor does he give a fair view of the case, by saying that "the estate of a tenant in tail is so far from being destroyed by it, that his interest is saved, if he makes any claim within five years." The state of the case is briefly this. By the statute 18 Edw. I., the right was barred by the fine levied unless the claim was put in on the foot‡ of the fine within a year and a day. "But this doctrine," says Blackstone, "of barring the right by *non-claim*, was abolished for a time by a statute made in 34 Edw. III. c. 16, which admitted persons to claim, and falsify a fine, at any indefinite distance; whereby, as Sir Edward Coke observes, great contention arose, and few men were sure of their possessions, till the parliament held 4 Henry VII. reformed that mischief, and excellently moderated between the latitude given by the statute and the rigour of the common law. For the statute then made restored the doctrine of non-claim; but extended the time of claim."§ So that, in fact, it did render a fine a bar, whereas before it was not one: though, as has been before observed, doubts arose whether fines could be adjudged a sufficient bar of estates-tail; which doubts were completely removed by the statute 32 Henry VIII. c. 36.

We have already had occasion to notice the criminal jurisdiction exercised by the king's council In this capacity they sometimes used to sit in *la chambre des estayers*, the Star Chamber.* This had latterly become their most usual place of sitting, and hence the council was now most commonly called the *Star Chamber*.† The history of this court will illustrate that of the constitution and government. Originally the judicial authority of the king in council was very extensive. But in proportion as the royal prerogative declined, and the boundaries of the law of the land were more exactly defined, the jurisdiction of this, as we may justly term it, extra-judicial court was much restricted, and from being, in some measure, above the law, had shrunk into a small compass. The leading distinction between the government which was now established in England and those which had preceded it for some centuries, was not that it was a much more oppressive and violent government; but that its tyranny, its despotism, its oppression, became systematic, and assumed the form and language of law. The subject we are discussing affords a striking instance of this. Henry VII. meant to make use of this court of which we have been speaking for his purposes, and, with this view, he contrived to obtain the sanction of parliament to its authority. Why he was enabled to accomplish this will be seen from what we have already said, that the king was more powerful than a king of England had been for many generations, because the power of the nobility was broken, and that the commons not risen, at least not yet perceived and felt. By this means, under the name and sanction of law, of parliamentary enactment, he and his son were enabled to perpetrate at least as great, if not greater, acts of oppression and tyranny than the most despotic and powerful of their Norman predecessors. Thus was enacted the statute 3 Henry VII. c. 1.; "a statute," says Reeves, "which did not erect, as some have imagined, but only new-modelled the court of the Star Chamber."‡ Though it has been remarked by Barrington, that "this court is not mentioned to be held by the name of the *Star Chamber* till 19 Henry VII. c. 18."§

The statute 3 Henry VII. c. 1, after reciting that "the king, remembering how by unlawful maintenances, giving of liveries, signs and

* "From this saving and that which follows, not only the parties and their heirs, but all privies are in effect excluded. For, not having any right at the time when the fine is ingrossed (by which must be understood the time appearing on the record), they cannot derive any benefit from the first saving; and their claims being founded on a matter not prior, but subsequent, to the fine, they cannot be brought within the conditions of the second. The exceptions, therefore, apply to strangers only."—*Note in Burton's Law of Real Property*, p. 26.

† Observ. on the Statutes, p. 353.

‡ That is, by entering the claim on the record at the foot of the fine.

§ Com. ii. 354.

* See a note on the origin and meaning of the name "Star Chamber" in Blackstone, Com. iv. 266. The learned commentator is inclined to derive the name from the contracts and obligations of the Jews, called *starra*, or *stavrs*—a corruption of the Hebrew *Shetar*, a covenant—which were preserved in a room of the Exchequer at Westminster, probably the same in which the king's council afterwards assembled, and which was called, in French, *La Chambre des Estayers*, or *Des Esteiles*; in Latin, *Camera Stellata*.

† Reeves, Hist. Eng. Law, vol. ix. p. 146.

‡ Hist. of the Eng. Law, vol. iv. p. 147.

§ Obs. on the Statutes, p. 347.

tokens, and retainers by indentures, promises, oaths, writings, or otherwise, embraceries* of his subjects, untrue demeanings of sheriffs in making of pannels and other untrue returns, by taking of money by juries, by great riots and unlawful assemblies, the policy and good rule of this realm is almost subdued; and for the not punishing of these inconveniences, and by occasion of the premises, little or nothing may be found by inquiry;" that is, by the ordinary proceeding by an inquest of jurors; "whereby the laws of the land in execution may take little effect, to the increase of murder, robberies, perjuries, and unsureties of all men living," &c.; proceeds for the reformation of these evils to ordain, that the chancellor, treasurer, and privy seal, or two of them, calling to them a bishop and a temporal lord, being of the council, and the two chief justices, or, in their absence, two other justices, upon bill or information put to the chancellor for the king, or any other, against any person for any misbehaviour above mentioned, have authority to call before them by writ or privy seal the offenders and others, as it shall seem fit, by whom the truth may be known; and to examine and punish after the form and effect of statutes thereof made, in like manner as they ought to be punished, if they were convicted after the due order of the law.

Mr. Reeves thinks that the words of this statute, "*have* (not *shall have*) authority" intimate a pre-existing authority, and show that the statute was not for the purpose of establishing that, but only of somewhat enlarging it, and declaring more particularly the exercise of it in certain cases. "Some defects of this statute," says Mr. Reeves, "were supplied by statute 21 Henry VIII. c. 20, by which the president of the council is added to the former three principal persons. A doubt which arose upon this act soon after the passing it, whether the bishop, lord of the council, and justices, were only assistants, or had equal authority with the three great officers, was removed by this later act; which declares, that they were only there for their advice. Lastly, the bill, or information, which by the former act was to be exhibited to the chancellor, was, by the later, to be put in generally; that is, to the king, as formerly."†

The statute 11 Henry VII. c. 1, is for the protection of those who have assisted the king *de facto*, that is, the king in possession of the crown, whether his title be a good one or not, the preamble declaring it to be "the duty of the subjects to serve their prince and sovereign lord for the time being." Henry VII. was now in peaceable possession, and the statute was no doubt partly framed with a view to secure the crown to him and his descendants. "After the restoration," says Barrington, "many who had submitted to the parliament and protector insisted upon the equity of this statute, which was denied them, upon a strict construction of the word king, and it is wisely observed (by Lord Hardwick), in the "Considerations on the Law of Forfeiture," that the construction of a statute of this kind *will always be a political one*."*

The statute 11 Henry VII. c. 3. permitted justices of assize and of the peace, upon information, to hear and determine without a jury all offences (except treason, murder, or felony) committed against any statute not repealed. This act was calculated to fill the king's exchequer by the payment of such penalties as were incurred by a breach of those old statutes. "It was by colour of this act," says Mr. Reeves, "that Empson and Dudley were enabled to effect such infinite oppressions and exactions upon the people."† It was repealed in the beginning of the next reign by statute 1 Henry VIII. c. 6.

The statute 11 Henry VII. c. 17, is intituled "The Forfeiture for taking of Pheasants and Partridges, or the Eggs of Hawks or Swans." The preamble recites the great injury to lords of manors, not only from the loss of the pleasure and disport of their friends and servants, but likewise the loss to their kitchen and table. On this subject we quote from Barrington the following curious observations:—

"Since this statute of Henry VII. the laws for the preservation of the game have been much multiplied, and with severe penalties, as it is supposed to decrease daily. It will, however, in time be discovered that the practice of shooting at the bird on the wing is the real occasion of this."‡ Barrington adds in a note: "As this is looked upon at present to be the only fair sporting, and the decrease of the game is not only attributed to other causes, but is productive of statutes attended with some rigour; this assertion may possibly seem to require some proof. Less than a century ago, when a bird was once on the wing, the shooter dropped his gun, despairing to hit it; and I have myself conversed with old men who could find all sorts of game on the ground. The consequence of this was that the gentlemen had no other amusement but what is now called poaching."

The benefit of clergy now began to be new modelled, and became a distinction between offences and not between the persons committing them. The privilege, at first intended only for the actual clergy, had gradually been extended to all who could read, and so were capable of becoming *clerks*. To remedy this abuse the statute 4 Henry VII. c. 13, was made, as has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, by which laymen were allowed their clergy only once; and in order to distinguish their persons, all laymen who were allowed this privilege were to be burnt with a hot iron in the brawn of the left thumb. Some few years after, a servant having murdered his master, a special act of parliament was made for the punishment of his offence, which would otherwise have escaped by

* That is, attempts to overawe, bribe, or otherwise influence juries.
† Hist. of the Eng. Law, vol. iv. p. 149.

* Obs. on the Statutes, p. 357.
† Hist. of the English Law, vol. iv. p. 151.
‡ Obs. on the Statutes, p. 359.

the benefit of clergy. It was therefore enacted, by statute 12 Henry VII. c. 7, that this person should be attainted of the murder as a felon in petit treason; and should be drawn and hanged, as persons who are no clerks, notwithstanding any privilege of clergy. It was also further ordained that, for the future, if any lay person prepensedly murdered his lord, master, or sovereign immediate, he should not be admitted to his clergy. The legislature went no farther in this reign to take away the benefit of clergy.

We give an abstract of the following case from Reeves, as curiously illustrative of the habits of the chancellors of those days, who were generally clerical. The case in question shows that the chancellor sometimes evinced a disposition to extend the effect of his judgments into the "world beyond the grave." The case was this. Two persons were appointed executors, one of whom released a debt due to the testator without the assent of his companion. It was represented in a bill in chancery, brought by the other executor, that the will could not on that account be performed, and therefore a *subpœna* was prayed against the executor and the person to whom he had made the release. It was argued that the plaintiff in equity was without remedy, for every executor has an entire power in himself; and as one could do that which his companion might, the release was good. "But," said the chancellor, "it is against reason that one executor should have all the goods and give a release by himself. I know very well that every law should be consistent with the law of God, and that law forbids that an executor should indulge any disposition he may have to waste the goods of the testator; and if he does, and does not make amends if he is able, he shall be damned in hell." But, upon the point of equity, he thought there should be a remedy. The case stood over for further consideration.*

It is generally stated that the practice of drawing up the statutes in English commenced with the accession of Richard III. But this is a mistake; for "the statutes of Richard III.," as we are told by the Record Commissioners, "are, in many manuscripts, in French, in a complete statute form, and they were so printed in his reign and that of his successor."† As to the time when the English became the invariable language of the statutes we derive the following information from the same authority. "The statutes of Henry VII. have always, it is believed, been published in English; but there are manuscripts containing the statutes of the first two parliaments, in his first and third years, in French. From the fourth year to the end of his reign, and from thence to the present time they are universally in English."‡

"The reports of this reign," (that of Henry VII.,) says Mr. Reeves, "are the 'Year-Book,' with some cases in the collectors Jenkins and Benloe; but more particularly in Keilway, who lived at this time, and took them himself. The Year-Book of this reign, as it goes more into points of law and such matters of learning as have survived the time when they were debated, is more deserving attention than the preceding. We find the council and judges sometimes quoting cases, and Bracton is once or twice referred to; but this was not common; their determinations were mostly the result of argument and discussion, and these were made precedents for future ages."*

The statutes of this reign were printed as they came out by De Worde, by Pynson, and by Faques. But the latest inquiries into typographical antiquities do not fix the printing of any Year-Book to this reign. The difficulty of ascertaining the time of printing the Year-Books is increased by their being mostly printed without a date.

The reign of Henry VIII. may probably be assumed as the period in our annals when the royal prerogative reached its greatest height. This circumstance, along with evil, brought also good. And we see an example of the good in the power which it was the means of conferring on the legislature to root out old and deep-rooted abuses, which had been the growth of many barbarous ages; for, in fact, during this reign more than any other in the English annals, what Louis XIV. said to the parliament of Paris, "l'Etat! c'est moi,"—the State! I am the State—Henry VIII. might have said to *his* parliament, he being, in fact, *very nearly* the sovereign and sole legislator.

The abuses of an ecclesiastical nature which were reformed by the rough hand of Henry have been detailed in the two preceding chapters. The alterations in the law of a civil nature do not all, perhaps, deserve the name of reforms of abuses; for at least some of them were the result not so much of any sagacity and foresight in the monarch, as of violent passion and a strong will, which made him take what appeared the shortest and most direct road to seize any supposed advantage, or to get rid of the pressure of some uneasiness which irritated him.

As we observed in the preceding Book,† *uses* had, in course of time, become almost universal. They had thus been productive of considerable good, by removing the restraints on alienation, and enabling the proprietors of real property to exercise several powers over it which were not allowed by the rules of the common law. But, along with this good, uses were likewise productive of very great grievances. For feoffments and uses were generally made in a secret manner; so that, when any one had to sue for land, he could not find out the legal tenant. Thus creditors were defrauded, husbands were deprived of their estates by the curtesy, and widows of their dower; and, what was of far more importance towards producing a change in the law, the king and the great feudal lords lost their feudal profits upon wardships, marriages, and reliefs.

In the twenty-seventh year of Henry VIII. par-

* Hist. of the Eng. Law, vol. iv. p. 173.
† Introduction to Statutes of the Realm, ch. iv. sec. 1. Ibid.

* Hist. of Eng. Law, vol. iv. p. 185.
† See ante, p. 162.

liament passed a statute intituled "An Act concerning Uses and Wills," usually called the Statute of Uses.* The grievances enumerated in the preamble of this statute, and which it was made to remedy, are a striking exemplification of the fruitlessness of any attempt to keep mankind in one course of proceeding by means of legal enactment, when the progress of society or civilization impels it into another; even as the subsequent history of uses, since the passing of the statute, is a further illustration of the same truth. The preamble recites that, by the common law, lands were not devisable by will, nor ought to be transferred but by livery of seisin; yet, nevertheless, divers and sundry imaginations, subtle inventions, and practices had been used, whereby the hereditaments of the realm had been conveyed by fraudulent feoffments, fines, recoveries, and other assurances, and also by wills and testaments; by reason whereof heirs had been unjustly disinherited, the lords had lost their wards, marriages, reliefs, heriots, escheats, aids, &c.; married men had lost their tenancies by the curtesy, widows their dower, and manifold perjuries were committed. It is therefore enacted (section 1), "that when any person or persons stand or be seised, or at any time thereafter shall happen to be seised of and in any honours, castles, manors, lands, tenements, rents, services, reversions, remainders, or other hereditaments, to the use, confidence, or trust of any person or persons, or of any body politic, by reason of any bargain, sale, feoffment, fine, recovery, covenant, contract, agreement, will, or otherwise, by any manner or means, whatever it be; in every such case all and every such person and persons, and bodies politic, that have or thereafter shall have any such use, confidence, or trust, in fee simple or fee tail, term of life, or for years, or otherwise, or any use, trust, or confidence in remainder or reversion, shall from thenceforth stand and be seised, deemed, and adjudged in lawful seisin, estate, and possession of and in the same honors, castles, &c., to all intents, constructions, and purposes in the law, of and in such like estates as they had or shall have in use, trust, or confidence of or in the same; and that the estate, right, title, interest, and possession that was in such person or persons, that were or thereafter shall be seised of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, to the use, confidence, or trust of any such person or persons, or of any body politic be from thenceforth clearly deemed and adjudged to be in him or them that have or thereafter shall have such use, confidence, or trust, after such quality, manner, form, and condition, as they had before, in or to the use, confidence, or trust that was in them." And section second enacts that, "where divers and many persons be, or thereafter shall happen to be, jointly seised of and in any lands, tenements, rents, reversions, remainders, or other hereditaments, to the use, confidence, or trust of any of them that be so jointly seised; in every such case, the person or persons which have, or thereafter shall have, any such use, confidence, or trust in any such lands, &c., shall from thenceforth have, and be deemed and adjudged to have, only to him or them that have, or thereafter shall have, any such use, confidence, or trust, such estate, possession, and seisin of and in the same lands, &c., in like nature, manner, form, condition, and course, as he or they had before in the use, confidence, or trust of the same lands, tenements, or hereditaments."

* Stat. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

The effect of this statute was to convert equitable into legal estates, by destroying the estate of the feoffees to uses, and transferring it from them to the *cestui que use*, or the person to whose use it had been granted. So that no use upon which the statute operates could exist as such in the former sense for more than an instant, as the legal seisin and possession of the land would necessarily become united to it immediately upon its creation. The statute thus, as the lawyers term it, *executed* the use; that is, it transformed the use into possession. After this statute, lands conveyed to uses could never become liable to the charges or incumbrances of the feoffees; but, on the other hand, would be always subject to the charges and incumbrances of the *cestui que use*, and to all the rules of the common law. They thus ceased to be devisable by will; and thereby the great object of Henry VIII. was attained, which was to preserve his right to wardship, and other feudal profits, out of the lands of the nobility.*

The secret nature of uses is mentioned, in the preamble to the statute, as one of the main reasons of their abolition. Yet the effect of the statute was, that the property described might be transferred by a secret transaction, without any formality of giving or taking possession, and even without the evidence of any lasting document. To remedy this it was enacted in the same session, by statute 27 Henry VIII. c. 16, "That no manors, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, shall pass, alter, or change from one to another, whereby any estate of inheritance or freehold shall be made or take effect in any person or persons, or any use thereof to be made, by reason only of any bargain and sale thereof, except the same bargain and sale be made by writing indented, sealed, and enrolled in one of the King's Courts of Record at Westminster, or else within the same county or counties where the same manors, lands, or tenements, so bargained and sold, lie or be, before the custos rotulorum, and two justices of the peace, and the clerk of the peace of the same county or counties, or two of them at the least, whereof the clerk of the peace to be one; and the same enrolment to be had and made within six months next after the date of the same writings indented."

It has been said to be evident, from the words of the Statute of Uses, that the intention of the legislature was to abolish uses entirely.† But,

* Cruise's Digest, Tit. xi. chap. iii. sect. 4.—Burton's Law of Real Property, p. 38, et seq.

† 1 Co. 125.—1 Cru. Dig. 375.—Mr. Sanders, however, has expressed an opinion that "it was not in the contemplation of the legis-

whatever might have been the intention of the legislature, the statute of 27 Henry VIII. c. 10, certainly did not abolish the practice of conveying to uses. The statute having turned the interest of the *cestui que use* into a legal instead of an equitable ownership, the courts of common law began to take cognizance of uses, instead of sending the party to seek his relief in Chancery. "And considering them now," says Blackstone, "as merely a mode of conveyance, very many of the rules before established in equity were adopted, with improvements, by the judges of the common law. The same persons only were held capable of being seised to a use, the same considerations were necessary for raising it, and it could only be raised of the same hereditaments, as formerly. But as the statute, the instant it was raised, converted it into an actual possession of the land, a great number of the incidents that formerly attended it in its fiduciary state were now at an end. The land could not escheat or be forfeited by the act or defect of the feoffee, nor be aliened to any purchaser discharged of the use, nor be liable to dower or curtesy on account of such feoffee; because the legal estate never rests in him for a moment, but is instantaneously transferred to *cestui que use* as soon as the use is declared."*

There were also certain classes of cases which it would be inconsistent with the popular nature of the present work to describe minutely, but of which it will be sufficient to say here that they were *uses* which the statute, according to the strict construction put upon it by the courts of law, did not *execute*. These were determined by the Court of Chancery to be *trusts* in equity, which in conscience ought to be performed. "To this," observes Blackstone, "the reason of mankind assented, and the doctrine of uses was revived under the denomination of *trusts*:"—"and thus," adds the learned judge, "by this strict construction of the courts of law, a statute made upon great deliberation, and introduced in the most solemn manner, has had little other effect than to make a slight alteration in the formal words of a conveyance."†

It ought here to be added that the courts of equity, in dealing with the revived doctrine of uses under the denomination of trusts, have in a great measure avoided the evils which attended the old uses before the statute. They consider a trust estate as equivalent to the legal ownership, liable to every charge in equity which the other is subject to in law. For instance, the trust is liable to debts, to forfeiture,—is subject to the common law rules as to descents. Trusts were also subjected to curtesy, though, by a strange anomaly, not to dower. "The rule," says Sir Edward Sugden, "would probably have been the converse of this had women instead of men presided in the Court of Chancery."*

The following passage from the work of the same eminent lawyer will convey to the reader an idea of the general effects of this statute upon the property of the kingdom, and will likewise forcibly show that, in order to render his acts effective, the legislator must adapt them to the wants of society, so that they may not oppose but fall in with the "current of general opinion" of the community and the age for which he legislates:—

"The statute is generally considered as having only had the effect of enabling the conveyancer to shift the legal estate from one to another, by mere words, in a way which ill accorded with the common law, but is excellently adapted to the increased opulence of the country. It, however, also gave *legal* effect to modifications of property which were repugnant to the common law, but are admirably suited to the varying wants and wishes of mankind. It has, moreover, had the beneficial operation of introducing an unrivalled code of equitable jurisprudence, which every admirer of the law of real property must wish for ever to remain sacred and unconfounded with the strict rules of law. In comparing what the statute was intended to perform with what it actually has performed, one can hardly doubt that almost any other legislative measure which opposed the confirmed habits of the people in disposing of their property, would have led to the same results. This should operate as a lesson to the legislature not vainly to oppose the current of general opinion, for, although diverted for a time, it will ultimately regain its old channel, in spite of accumulated acts of parliament, which become a dead letter, and have a strong tendency to bring the most wholesome laws into disrepute."†

The first Statute of Bankrupts is Stat. 34 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 4, and is intituled "An Act against such persons as do make Bankrupts." These persons are described as those who, "craftily obtaining into their hands great substance of other men's goods, do suddenly flee to parts unknown or keep their houses." The chancellor or keeper of the great seal, the lord treasurer, lord president, privy seal, and others of the privy council, the chief justices of both benches, or three of them at least, whereof the chancellor or keeper, the treasurer, president, or privy seal, was to be one, upon complaint in writing by a party grieved, were to take order concerning the lands and goods, and also the body of such "offender;" and they were either to sell his effects, or make such disposition of them as they should think meet, so as every creditor had a rateable portion according to his demand; and such sale and direction were to be as good in law as though made by such offender himself. They were authorised to call persons before them, and to examine them upon oath touching the offender's goods. Persons concealing effects of the

lature to prevent conveyances to uses." Essay on Uses and Trusts, vol. i. p. 86, 4th edit. 1824.—Lord Chief Baron Gilbert says, "The design of this law was utterly to abolish and destroy that pernicious way of conveyance." In a note to which passage Sir Edward Sugden says, "Bacon supports at length the contrary opinion, and upon grounds which appear to be unanswerable." Sugden's edition of Gilbert's Law of Uses (London, 1811), p. 139.

* Com. ii. 333. † Ibid. 336.

* Introduction to Gilbert's Law of Uses, p. xii.

† Id. pp. lxiii, lxiv.

offender were to forfeit double the value of them, to be recovered by such means as the lords should think proper; and persons making false claims of debts were to forfeit double the sum demanded.

"This is the first draught," says Mr. Reeves, "of that species of summary execution against the person and effects of a debtor which has since been modelled into a very different shape. At present the bankrupt was considered as a criminal, whose delinquency could be expiated only by paying the last farthing. Later statutes have, besides the payment of his creditors, provided in some measure for his interest, rather viewing him in the light of an unfortunate man: upon that idea, his compliance with the direction of the several statutes is rewarded by an immunity from his former incumbrances, and an allowance to enable him to try his success in the world once more. These qualifications of the rigour of the first bankrupt law have been added since their operation has been confined totally to *traders*."*

We now come to a striking feature in the legislation of Henry VIII.—namely, the creation of a variety of new and before unheard-of treasons. Although the acts constituting these treasons were all repealed by stat. 1 Edward VI. c. 12, it will yet be necessary to say a few words on the general spirit and character of them; for, without doing so, it will be impossible to understand the nature of the English government or constitution at this period.

In these statutes every action and every word that tended (which amounts to saying, that might be construed to tend) to affect the royal dignity were declared to be treason or misprision of treason. New oaths were introduced, and methods for the creation of guilt, and the discovery of it when created, were devised, which, in the absolutely fantastical extravagance of their atrocious and sanguinary tyranny have no parallel in history, save in the wild and inhuman caprices of a Caligula or a Nero. One wonders, in reading them, that human beings, with the most moderate portion of sagacity and courage, could have endured such a state of existence, and should not have preferred to it the chances and dangers of insurrection. For insurrection, however, it seems this was not the time. The spirit and power of the higher nobility were broken; those of the people, or rather of the lower nobility or gentry, and of the middle class (for the people were not destined to come upon the scene till long after this date), had not yet arisen.

"Though these statutes," observes Mr. Reeves, "were all abrogated, yet the offences therein created were revived in the subsequent reigns with inferior penalties, and many of their regulations were followed in similar circumstances; so that these laws gave rise to a new species of criminal jurisprudence, which has been adopted occasionally ever since, tempered, however, with greater show of moderation."†

* Hist. of the English Law, vol. iv p. 255. † Ibid. p. 272.

These new and most oppressive treasons commenced with stat. 25 Henry VIII. c. 22, which was passed to confirm his divorce from Queen Catherine and his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to settle the succession of the crown upon the issue of that marriage. It enacted that if any person by writing, or imprinting, or by any exterior act or deed, maliciously procured, or did anything to the peril of the king's person, or gave occasion, by writing, print, deed, or act, whereby the king might be disturbed or interrupted of the crown, or by writing, print, deed, or act, procured, or did anything to the prejudice, slander, or derogation of Queen Anne or her issue by the king, so as to interrupt their title to the crown, as limited by that act, such offence should be high treason. And if any person, by words only, should publish or utter anything to the peril of the king, or slander of the marriage with Queen Anne, or to the slander or disherison of the issue of that marriage, it was made misprision of treason. All persons of full age were to take an oath to fulfil and maintain the objects of the act; and those who refused to take such oath when required, were to be held guilty of misprision of treason. The precise form of this oath was afterwards prescribed by stat. 26 Henry VIII. c. 2.

Next year an act was passed to restrain "all manner of shameful slanders and dangers which might happen to the king's person or that of the queen." This act went farther than the preceding, which had made writing or printing treason, for it made words expressive of a wish treason.

By the statute 28 Henry VIII. c. 7, made for the succession of the crown after the death of Anne Boleyn, and the king's marriage to Jane Seymour, the former act of succession was repealed, and, the king being empowered, in default of issue, to appoint a successor, by letters patent or by will, it was made high treason to interrupt the succession of the issue, or of the persons so appointed by the king.* It was, moreover, made high treason if any one by words, writing, imprinting, or any other exterior act, directly or indirectly, accepted, took, judged, or believed, the marriages with Queen Catherine and Anne to have been good and lawful. In this act there was a clause which enacted that if any, being required by commissioners properly authorised to make oath to answer such questions as should be objected to him upon any clause, article, sentence, or word in that act, did contemptuously refuse to make such oath, or, after making it, refused to answer, he should be guilty of high treason; and, further, it was enacted that "if any protested that they were not bound to declare their thought and conscience, and stiffly thereon abided," it should be high treason. The matter of this act was so various and so peculiar, and the act was so worded, as to become an engine in the hands of the government, which means the king at this time (for assuredly he was then absolutely sovereign or despotic in England, of which this act is itself

* Sect. 18, 19, 20.

sufficient proof), against any man whom he wished to destroy.

These acts would seem to prove Henry's power at this time to have been as firmly seated, to have been as absolute and unquestioned, not merely as that of William the Norman, but as that of the most absolute of the imperial Cæsars. But even in this, the hour of his prosperity and his pride, the evil passions of the ferocious, short-sighted tyrant became the instruments for undermining his power. In this plenitude of his dominion he planted by the very side of his throne a power which was destined one day to crumble into dust the empire of his race. In the very year which produced the monstrous statute which we last described, was passed the act* to extinguish the authority of the Bishop of Rome, thereby paving the way for the Reformation,—in other words, for the grand insurrection of human intelligence against spiritual domination—the antecedent, the almost immediate precursor of a similar insurrection against temporal domination; which last insurrection was first to break out in England.

By statute 28 Henry VIII. c. 18, it was made high treason, both in the man and woman, if any one espoused, married, or took to wife any of the king's children, being lawfully born, or otherwise commonly reputed for his children, or any of the king's sisters, or aunts on the part of the father, or any of the lawful children of the king's brethren or sisters, or even to contract marriage with them without the king's license under the great seal, or to deflower any of them being unmarried.

The next treason may be considered as the finishing stroke, or, to borrow the words of another despot of a very different stamp (Oliver Cromwell), "the crowning mercy" of the despotism of Henry VIII. We find, also, in the statute establishing it, indications of the claim of the divine right of kings, afterwards paraded by the Stuarts. It was established by the statute 31 Henry VIII. c. 8, the preamble of which sets forth "the contempt and disobedience of the king's proclamations by some who did not consider what a king, by his royal power, might do; which, if it continued, would tend to the disobedience of the law of God, and the dishonour of the king's majesty, who may full ill bear it." Considering, also, that many occasions might require speedy remedies, and that delaying these till a parliament met might occasion great prejudices to the realm, and that the king, *by his royal power given of God, might do many things in such cases*, it was enacted that the king for the time being, with advice of his council, might set forth proclamations, with pains and penalties in them, which were to be obeyed as if they were made by an act of parliament. The second section would, to a superficial glance, appear, and it has appeared even to some lawyers, to render the first of none effect. It is thus Mr. Reeves† gives the substance of it:—"This, however, was not to go so far as that any one should suffer in his estate, liberty, or person, by virtue thereof." Now this would appear to make what went before utterly void,—in fact, to make the proclamations only so much waste paper. Mr. Reeves has altogether overlooked the artful, crown-lawyer-like clauses by which the section is qualified, and which have, in fact, the precise effect of annihilating it altogether,—of rendering the act precisely what it would be if that section of it did not exist. In the first place, there is this clause,—"other than shall be hereafter in the act declared;" and then there is this clause inserted,—"except such forfeitures, pains, and penalties, as in this act, and in every proclamation which hereafter shall be set forth by authority of the same, shall be declared and expressed." That is, no one shall suffer by any proclamation anything except what is specified in that same proclamation, or, in other words, when a certain proclamation shall confiscate the estate, imprison the body, and cut off the head of John Doe, it shall not be construed to have the same effect upon the estate, body, and head of Richard Roe, or rather it shall not be construed to extend to the estates and bodies of all the people of England. However, it is not difficult to see that though Henry might not be quite able to realize Nero's wish, and cut off the head of all England at one blow, this statute certainly went far to enable him to do it by repeated blows, and, if long enough life had been granted him, he bade pretty fair to do it. Another section (section 6) of this statute enacted that if any committed an offence contrary to the effect of this act, and contemptuously went out of the kingdom, it should be high treason.

The temper of such a legislator as Henry VIII. and the thorough subservience, the otherwise incredible cowardice and baseness, of his parliaments, can only be fully exhibited by an enumeration of their penal laws, which for number, variety, severity, and inconsistency, are perhaps unequalled in the annals of jurisprudence. Instead of the calmness, the foresight, the wisdom, which are looked for in a legislator, we find the wild phantasies and ever-changing, though ever-selfish caprices of a spoiled child, joined to the blind, fierce, malignant passions of a brutal and cruel savage. It would seem as if the disembodied demon of a Caligula or a Nero, the evil spirit that once wore their human form, had again become incarnate upon earth, let loose by the Omnipotent for some wise, though, to dull mortal eyes dimly-discerned end, to repeat in a distant age and another clime that strange, wild, extravagant medley of buffoonery and horror which is fitted to move at once the laughter and execration of mankind.*

The marriage between Henry and Anne of Cleves being pronounced void, it was declared by stat. 32

* Stat. 28 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

† Hist. vol. iv. p. 278.

* Of the extravagance of some of these absurdities the following may serve as a specimen. By the stat. 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1, prescribing a certain oath against the pope's authority, it is provided that they who have already sworn the former oaths, or any of them, *shall take and esteem it of the same effect and force as though they had sworn this.*

Henry VIII. c. 25, after the fashion repeatedly before followed on occasions of the same kind, that by word or deed to accept, take, judge, or believe that marriage to be good, or to attempt to repeal that act, should be high treason. In the following year Queen Catherine Howard was attainted by stat. 33 Henry VIII. c. 21, of high treason for incontinence; and it was further enacted that if the king, or any of his successors, should marry a woman who was before incontinent, it should be high treason if she concealed it; and any person knowing it, and not revealing it to the king, or one of his council, before the marriage, or within twenty days after, should be adjudged guilty of high treason. Further enactments of equal severity were added with the object of preserving the chastity of the wives of the king and of the prince

In the thirty-fifth year of this reign a *third* act (stat. 35 Henry VIII. c. 1) was made for the succession to the crown, which entirely overturned the former appointments. There was a new oath in place of the former, against the supremacy of the pope, and to maintain the succession ordained by the act. It was made high treason to refuse this oath, or to do anything contrary to this act, or to the peril and slander of the king's heir, as limited therein. The king's style and title was settled by stat. 35 Henry VIII. c. 3, in the following words: "Henry VIII., by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, on earth the Supreme Head;" and it was declared high treason to attempt to deprive him of it.

Besides these vexatious and oppressive statutes here were others of a nature, if possible, still more tyrannical and vexatious (of which, as they belong rather to another chapter of our history, we shall here only mention one or two of the names), such as "An Act for abolishing Diversity of Opinions" (stat. 31 Henry VIII. c. 14), and "An Act for the advancement of True Religion, and abolishment of the contrary." (34, 35 Henry VIII. c. 1.) The mention of these is necessary towards a comprehensive view of the monstrous tyranny of Henry VIII., in order to show that, not content with enslaving his subjects in all that related to their temporal condition, he attempted also to shackle and bind down that which is, or ought to be, most independent and elevated in man—his faith; in which last particular he may be considered as having gone beyond the worst tyrants of the worst of past ages.

It remains that we should now say a few words of the statutes during this reign respecting common offences, as some of these were of considerable importance, and are in force at this day. In former times a person killing a housebreaker went without punishment. But the statute 24 Henry VIII. c. 5, says there was "a question and ambiguity," when persons attempted to commit robbery or murder, in or near the common highway, cart, horse, or foot way, or in a mansion-house, messuage, or dwelling-place; or feloniously attempted to break a dwelling-house in the night-time, and were killed in such attempt by the person they meant so to rob or murder, or by any person being in the dwelling-house so attempted to be burglariously broken; whether the person killing was to forfeit his goods, as in chance-medley; and, to remove this doubt, the statute declares he shall not suffer any kind of forfeiture, but be as fully acquitted and discharged as if he had been acquitted of the fact.

The stat. 22 Henry VIII. c. 10, intituled, "Of Egyptians," (Gipsies) describes those people, who were then new comers in this country, as "outlandish persons calling themselves *Egyptians* using no craft or feat of merchandise, who have come into this realm and gone from shire to shire and place to place in great company, and used great subtil and crafty means to deceive the people, bearing them in hand, that they, by palmistry, could tell men's and women's fortunes; and thus many times, by craft and subtilty, have deceived the people of their money, and also have committed many and heinous felonies and robberies." It was enacted that, if any such persons henceforth came within the realm, they should forfeit all their goods and chattels, and should leave the kingdom within fifteen days after command so to do, upon pain of imprisonment. All sheriffs and justices of the peace were empowered to seize their property for the king's use. As to all those then within the realm, they had sixteen days to depart; and, if they overstayed that time, they were to be imprisoned and forfeit all their goods and chattels.

Gaming, and the killing of game, were the objects of several enactments in this reign. As the stat. 33 Henry VIII. c. 9, is still in force, and contains more effective provisions than any later statute for suppressing public gaming-houses (the only mode, as appears not only from the general principles of the philosophy of legislation, but from the experience of those countries whose usage in this particular differs from that of England, of effectually putting down this most pernicious vice, perhaps of all human vices the one most subversive of the industry and morality of a nation), it particularly deserves some notice. This statute enacts that every person, not being lame or decrepit, within the age of sixty (except spiritual persons, and the judges and justices of assize), should use and exercise shooting in long-bows, and have a bow and arrows continually in his house for that purpose. Fathers and governors of those of tender age were to teach them to shoot, having for every male child of seven years old in their houses, till he was seventeen, a bow and two shafts to induce him to learn. In respect to unlawful games:—No person by himself, or his servant, or other person, for his gain, hiring, or living, was to keep, hold, &c., any common house, alley, or place of bowling, quoiting, tennis, dicing-table, or carding, or any other manner of game prohibited by any statute heretofore made, or any unlawful game

hereafter to be invented, on pain of forfeiting, for every day of keeping such place or suffering such game, forty shillings; and every person using and haunting such houses and plays, and there playing, for every time, six shillings and eight pence Justices, mayors, and other head officers, are authorized to enter into houses where games are suspected to be exercised contrary to this act, and to arrest the keepers and persons there resorting, and keep them in prison till they respectively find sureties not again to offend. Such head officers are directed to make search weekly, or, at furthest, once a month, for such houses; and, if they neglected for a month, they were to forfeit forty shillings. No artificer, husbandman, apprentice, journeyman, labourer, or serving man, was to play at tables, tennis, dice, cards, bowls, or any other unlawful game, out of Christmas, under pain of twenty shillings for every such offence. At Christmas they were only to play in the houses or in presence of their masters.

There are two provisos to this act which may be mentioned as illustrative of the manners of the age; one allowing masters to license their servants to play at cards, dice, or tables, with them, or with any other gentleman in their master's house or presence; the other allowing noblemen, or persons having 100*l.* per annum, to license their servants or family to play within the precinct of their houses, gardens, or orchards, at cards, dice, tables, bowls, or tennis.

To repress a practice, which had probably arisen out of the many laws concerning treason passed in this reign, of dropping papers conveying accusations of crimes against persons by name, it was, by stat. 37 Henry VIII. c. 10, ordained to be felony without clergy for any person to make, or cause to be made, a writing comprising a charge of treason, and to leave it in an open place where it might be found, unless the party so doing subscribed his name to it, and within twelve days appeared in person before the king or his council, and there affirmed the truth thereof, and did his endeavours to prove it.

We have seen before* that Fleta describes the seneschal, dapifer, or lord steward of the household, as filling the place of the chief justiciary on the abolition of the office of the latter, and places his court above all the other courts except the high court of parliament. This court of the lord steward of the household appears to have exercised a very high and extensive jurisdiction, of which it was deprived by the stat. 28 Edward I. (*Art. sup. Chart.*) c. 3; which statute ordains that this court shall henceforth only hold plea "of trespass done within the house, and of other trespasses done within the verge, and of contracts and covenants that one of the king's house shall have made with another of the same house, and in the same house, and none other where." It appears, however, by subsequent statutes, particularly 15 Henry VI. c. 1 (which ordains that, in every surety thenceforward to be taken for a defendant, he shall not be estopped by the record, to say that himself or the plaintiff was not of the king's house, as supposed by the record), that the above statute was to a certain extent evaded by the fiction of making the parties to be of the king's household when they were not so. But notwithstanding this, the jurisdiction of this court was undoubtedly reduced greatly, indeed almost to nothing in comparison of what it had once been. This is indeed apparent from the statutes which we are now about to notice, and which were made, not, as supposed by some, to confer an altogether new jurisdiction on the lord steward's court, but rather to revive a small fragment of its ancient jurisdiction. This is corroborated by the words of the stat. 33 Henry VIII. c. 12, which, in detailing with much minuteness the mode of punishment of malicious striking or bloodshed within any of the palaces or houses of the king, states it to have been a ceremony of long time used and accustomed. The acts relating to the jurisdiction of the lord steward, which we are now to notice, are stat. 3 Henry VII. c. 14, and 33 Henry VIII. c. 12.

The stat. 3 Henry VII. c. 14, made it felony for any servant of the king, being enrolled in the cheque roll, to compass or imagine the death of the king, or of any lord or privy-councillor, steward, treasurer, or comptroller of the household This offence was to be inquired of by twelve persons, enrolled in the cheque roll, before the steward, treasurer, and comptroller of the household.

The stat. 33 Henry VIII. c. 12, erected a criminal court to be held before the lord great master, or lord steward of the king's household, and, in his absence, before the treasurer, comptroller, and steward of the Marshalsea, or two of them, where the steward of the Marshalsea was to be one. They were to hear and determine all treasons, misprisions of treasons, murders, manslaughters, bloodsheds, and malicious strikings by reason where blood was shed, within any of the palaces or houses of the king, while he was personally resident there. The inquiry was to be by a jury of yeomen officers in the cheque-roll. The form of the proceeding, particularly with regard to the execution of the sentence for cutting off the hand, which is part of the punishment for shedding blood in the king's court, is very minutely set forth in the statute, some part in the ceremony being assigned to almost every officer in the household, from the serjeant surgeon, who is to be present to sear the stump when the hand is taken off, to the serjeant of the wood-yard, who is to provide the block, with a beetle, a staple, and cords, to bind the hand upon the block till execution.

* Vol. i. p. 819.

* This was a title conferred by Henry VIII. on his favourite Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. By stat. 32 Henry VIII c. 5 he was to have all the authority of the lord steward of the household. This act was repealed by stat. 1 Mar. sess. 3. c. 4, and the office of lord steward restored. The title in the stat. of Henry V. is "Lord Great Master of the Household, or *Grand Maistre d'hostel du Roy*," probably in imitation of the old *maire du palais* of the Franks.

We have already given the order of the great officers of state, or, in other words, of the *Curia Regis*, or King's Court, at different periods. By statute 31 Henry VIII. c. 10, the following order of precedence was assigned to them, which continues to this day. The reader will perceive that considerable alterations have taken place since the time of Henry II., both in the introduction of new functionaries and in the order of precedence of the old ones. There is no longer a lord high steward; and the lord steward of the king's household stands lower than he did, although, from his being the subject of a statute (see preceding *note*), and marrying the king's sister, he was evidently still considered an important and dignified functionary. 1. The Lord Chancellor. 2. Lord Treasurer. 3. Lord President of the Council. 4. Lord Privy Seal. 5. Great Chamberlain. 6. Constable. 7. Marshal. 8. Lord Admiral. 9. The Grand Master, or Lord Steward. 10. King's Chamberlain. 11. King's Chief Secretary.

It had long been the practice by the old law, that, if a person accused of any crime (except treason and sacrilege) had fled to any church or churchyard, and within forty days after went in sackcloth, and confessed himself guilty before the coroner, and took the oath in that case provided, viz., that he abjured the realm, and would depart thence forthwith, at the port that should be assigned him, and would never return without leave from the king; he by this means saved his life, if he observed the conditions of the oath. By this abjuration his blood was attainted, and he forfeited all his goods and chattels.* But, as many able and expert artificers and labourers were by this means furnished to foreign countries, the statute 22 Henry VIII. c. 14, directed the oath of abjuration to be altered; and that, instead of abjuring the realm, as before, such an offender "should abjure from all his liberty of this realm, and from his liberal and free habitations, resorts, and passages, to and from the universal places of this realm, which appertained to the liberty of the king's subjects undefamed;" and, having made this abjuration, he was to be directed by the coroner to any sanctuary within the realm, which the offender should choose, there to remain as a sanctuary-person abjured during his natural life, and to be burnt in the hand, as directed by a former statute. If he came out of such sanctuary he was to suffer death as an abjured person returning to the kingdom. Such sanctuary-person committing any petit-treason, murder, or felony, either in or out of sanctuary, was to lose all benefit of sanctuary. These privileges of sanctuary were much abridged, by the diminution both of the number of privileged places and of the classes of offenders who were allowed to use them, by the statutes 27 Henry VIII. c. 19, and 32 Henry VIII. c. 12. And we may add here, that, by the statute 21 James I. c. 28, all privilege of sanctuary, and abjuration consequent thereupon, was utterly abolished.

Blackstone, Com., iv. 332.

We extract the following account of the Court of Chancery during this reign from Reeves's 'History of the English Law':—

"The jurisdiction of this court was greatly enlarged during the time that Cardinal Wolsey presided there. He chose to exercise his equitable authority over everything which could be a matter of judicial inquiry. At length, finding himself loaded with the number of petitions—often full of untrue surmises and frivolous complaints—he grew weary of attending to all these himself; and, therefore, as well for his ease at all times, as to provide persons to supply his place when absent on political avocations, he caused four courts to be erected by commission from the king. One of these was held at Whitehall; another before the king's almoner, Dr. Stokesby, afterwards Bishop of London; a third at the Treasury-chamber; the fourth at the Rolls, before Cuthbert Tunstall, who was then Master of the Rolls, and used, in consequence of this appointment, to hear causes there in the afternoon.

"This was the first instance of the master of the rolls hearing causes, he having before been only the principal of that council of masters assigned for the chancellor's assistance; nor is there any notice of a person being authorised to hear causes in the chancellor's absence till now, when not only the master of the rolls had this delegated jurisdiction, but also the several courts just mentioned.

"The cardinal maintained his equitable jurisdiction with a high hand—entertaining in one department or other complaints of almost every kind, and deciding with very little regard to the common law. This conduct in his judicial capacity furnished grounds of accusation against him, when articles were exhibited containing an enumeration of all this great minister's offences. He was charged with having examined many matters in chancery after judgment given at common law, and obliging the parties to restore what was taken under execution of such judgments. He was accused of granting injunctions without any bill filed; and, when those would not do, of sending for the judges, and reprimanding them. There is no mention of these courts which he had procured to be established, and which, probably, at that time were thought perfectly legal under the king's commission. After all, notwithstanding these complaints of the cardinal's administration of justice, he has the reputation of having acted with great ability in his office of chancellor, which lay heavier upon him than it had upon any of his predecessors, owing to the too great ease with which he entertained suits, and the extraordinary influx of business which might be attributed to other causes.

"This ceased with the removal of the chancellor; and the business there soon sunk to its natural level, perhaps rather below it. It is said, that Sir Thomas More, in 22 Henry VIII., read all the bills himself; that on some of the days in

term there was no cause nor motion; and that at one time he had actually dismissed every cause in his court. The statutes of wills and of uses, in a course of time, supplied new materials, and furnished full employment for the chancellor, who again began to stand in need of assistance; which led to confirming the master of the rolls in his new judicial authority."*

The petitions presented to the king by poor persons and those of the king's household were referred to some one or two of the council, with a bishop, and some doctors of the civil and canon law, and some common lawyers, who were called *magistri à libellis supplicum*, or *masters of requests*. This court subsisted for many years, till it was abolished, like others of a like nature, by parliament.†

There was a jurisdiction erected by Henry VIII., which, for the figure it made in some succeeding reigns, particularly in that of Charles I., when Wentworth presided in it, deserves notice here. It was erected by letters patent, and was called "The President and Council of the North." On the disturbances that arose in Lincolnshire and Lancashire; upon the suppression of the lesser monasteries, Henry, in the thirty-first year of his reign, established this jurisdiction to preserve the peace of the northern counties. "This court," says Mr. Reeves, "as it was formed after the example of the king's own council, had, like that, a general authority, not well defined: it had two commissions;—one of *oyer and terminer*; another, empowering them to hold plea of real and personal actions, when either of the parties were so poor as to be unable to pursue the common course of legal redress; and the judges were to give sentence either according to the law and custom of the realm, or in an equitable way, according to their wisdom and discretion. This accommodation of a court to decide civil questions, without the expense and tediousness of the common law, was conceded in compliance with the earnest request of the rebels themselves. What other authority the commissioners had used to be set forth in the commission, which generally gave them powers of superintendence and inquiry as to the police and government of that part of the country. In after times, the commission used to be made in a formal way, in order to conceal those extraordinary powers with which they were to be armed, and contained a reference to secret instructions by which they were to be directed. These concealed instructions, as they carried in them something suspicious, excited much clamour at different times against the very being of this court, and at length contributed to its dissolution."‡

With all his barbarism and brutality, Henry VIII. had a modicum of sense sufficient to distinguish him in character as in fate from his successors, the Stuarts. He exhibited this in the way in which he took some disappointments he occasionally met with in the matter of raising money. For example, on one occasion, meeting with some resistance to his attempts at arbitrary taxation, and knowing that he had no military force ready to put it down and give general support to his despotism, he thought it advisable to send letters into every county, declaring that he meant no force by the imposition, and that he would take nothing but by way of *benevolence*. Yet these exceptions were far too few to give any character to his government, and the general proposition may be with safety hazarded, that this king exercised an absolute control over the property as well as the persons of his subjects.

"If we are to judge of the general administration of criminal law in this reign," says Mr. Reeves, "from the trials that have come down to us of eminent persons, it appears that the lives of the people were entirely in the hands of the crown. A trial seems to have been nothing more than a formal method of signifying the will of the prince, and of displaying his power to gratify it. The late new-invented treasons, as they were large in their conception, and of an insidious import, by giving a scope to the uncandid mode of inquiry then practised, enlarged the powers of oppression beyond all bounds."* Indeed, the favourite way of proceeding against state criminals—namely, by bill of attainder—would seem to show that even the new statutes were not sufficient to answer the king's views; and that, besides these, a new law had to be made for every individual case as it arose; thus exemplifying a state of society in which we see a horde of miserable savages living without other law than the capricious and sanguinary will of the savage whom accident or fate has set to domineer over them.

The above view of the state of society in England at this time is further confirmed by the inhuman application of the torture, under the immediate view and superintendence of such men as the chancellors More and Wriothesley, whom one might expect to find at least among the most enlightened and humanised men of their age.†

"The Reports of this reign," says Mr. Reeves, "are contained in the Year Books and in Dyer, with some scattered cases in Keilway, Jenkins, Moore, and Benloe, and towards the end of the reign in Leonard. The Year Book is a very scanty one compared with those which went before, owing, probably, to persons being no longer encouraged with a stated appointment to execute this task. It contains only the 12th, 13th, 14th, 18th, 19th, 26th, and 27th years; and there ends this famous collection of Reports called the Year Book."‡

* Hist. of Eng. Law, vol. iv. pp. 368—370.
† Reeves's Hist., vol. iv. p. 377.
‡ Ibid. 378. It was dissolved by statute 16 Car. I.

* Hist. of the Eng. Law, vol. iv. p. 406.
† Much new light has lately been thrown upon this subject in "A Reading on the Use of Torture in the Criminal Law of England previously to the Commonwealth, delivered at New Inn Hall, by David Jardine, Esq., Barrister-at-Law;" 8vo. Lon. 1837. Mr. Jardine's views, which are to a considerable extent both novel and important, will be adverted to in the next Book.
‡ Ibid. p. 414.

The most distinguished writer upon law in this reign is Anthony Fitzherbert, a judge of the Common Pleas. His principal works were his *Grand Abridgment* and *Natura Brevium*. Another distinguished work of this reign was the *Doctor and Student* of St. Germain. Fitzherbert's Abridgment and Natura Brevium are both improvements of more ancient works. The former, from its containing many cases not to be found elsewhere, possesses value as an original work, independent of its value as a mere digest. The latter is a treatise on the nature and effect of the principal writs in the Register of Writs,* a large proportion of which, however, soon afterwards became obsolete.

"Among the law-writers of this reign," says Reeves, "are to be reckoned John Rastell, the printer and lawyer, and his son William Rastell, the lawyer and printer: the former was bred a printer, and, though he did not take to the practice of the law, yet it evidently appears from his works that he had been a diligent student; the latter, though educated for the bar, and a practiser, succeeded to his father's occupation, which he seems to have united with his profession till the honours of the latter at length called upon him to decline it altogether. John Rastell translated from the French the Abridgment of the Statutes prior to the time of Henry VII., mentioned before. He also abridged those of Henry VII., and down to the 23rd and 24th of this reign, which were printed together by the son William in 1533. This was the first abridgment in the English language, and it is introduced by the author with a long preface recommending the printing of law-books in English, and ascribing great praise to Henry VII. for first directing the statutes to be made in the mother-tongue."†

We extract the following passage from the same author respecting the government of the Inns of Court at this time:—"It appears from a manuscript of this reign, relating to the government and discipline of the Middle Temple, that the members of that society were divided into two companies, called *Clerks Commons* and *Masters Commons*. The first consisted of young men during their first two years' standing, or thereabouts, till they were called up to be Masters Commons. The Masters Commons was divided into three companies, that is, *No Utter Barrister*, *Utter Barristers*, and *Benchers*. The first of these were such as from their standing, or neglect of study, were not called upon by the elders or benchers to dispute and argue some point of law before the benchers: those disputes were called *mootings*. *Utter Barristers* were such as were of five or six years standing, and were called upon to argue at the mootings; so that making an Utter Barrister was conferring a sort of degree for the party's progress in learning. *Benchers* were such Utter Barristers as had been in the house fourteen or fifteen years; they were chosen by the elders of the house to read, expound, and declare some statute openly to all the society. During the time of his reading, this person was called a *Reader*, and afterwards a *Bencher*."*

The following curious account of the state kept up by these Readers, in the time of their reading, is given by one of them, in the next century, in his vindication of himself against the interference of Archbishop Laud:—"Readers of law, during the time of their reading, do hold up the ancient honour and dignity of a reader, on whom, for that time, is devolved the government of the house. They have four cubbard-men, ancient barristers of the house, to attend them in their reading, and four stewards to attend them in their feasting, for the inviting their guests of noble rank, and ten or twelve men of his own to attend his person."†

The author of the manuscript quoted above by Mr. Reeves, complains that the young students of the Middle Temple had no place to walk in, and talk, and confer their learning, but the church; which in term time, by reason of the confluence of suitors, had in it no more quietness than the "*pervyse of Pawle's*;" alluding to the custom of serjeants choosing their pillars at St. Paul's, where their clients resorted to them.‡ The same writer remarks that, owing to this house having no revenues for the encouragement and support of students, many a good wit was compelled to forsake study before he had acquired a perfect knowledge in the law, and "*to fall to practising, and become a tipler in the law.*"

The principal legislative acts of the reign of Edward VI. are those relating to religion and the church, which have already been noticed in the two preceding chapters. One statute, 1 Edw. VI. c. 12, deserves mention in the history both of our criminal and of our constitutional law. It abolished most of the treasons and felonies created in the preceding reign, ordaining that no act or deed being by statute made treason or petit treason, should be so deemed, but only such as are treason or petit treason by stat. 25 Edw. III. st. 5, c. 2, and by the present act. It repealed all acts of parliament concerning doctrine and matters of religion; and likewise stat. 31 Hen. VIII. c. 8, enacting that proclamations made by advice of the council should be obeyed as acts made by parliament; and stat. 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 23, for the due execution of such proclamations.

The tendency of the reign of Mary was to restore the power of the church of Rome in England and other things nearly to the state in

* The Register of Writs is said to be the oldest book in the law.
† History of the English Law, vol. iv. p. 418.

* History of the English Law, vol. iv. p. 433.
† A Just Vindication of the questioned part of the Reading of Edward Bagshaw, Esq., had in the Middle Temple Hall, 24th February, 1639, upon the statute 25 Edward III. called *Statutum de Clero*. With a True Narrative of the Causes of Silencing the Reader by the then Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. London, 1660.
‡ Chaucer says—

> A serjeant of the lawe ware and wise,
> That often hadde yben at the parvis.
>
> *Prol. Cant. Tales.*

A parvyse, or parvis, meant, both in English and French, a portico before a church. Fortescue, in his Treatise De Laud. Leg.Ang., tells us that the courts of law were shut after mid-day, and that the lawyers then went to meet their clients and hold consultations at the parvis and elsewhere.

Edward VI. and his Council. From a Woodcut on the Title to the Acts of Parliament, 1551.

which they were in the early part of the reign of her father Henry VIII. There is one remarkable statute of Mary's respecting the royal authority of a queen (she having been the first queen regnant of England, at least of the dynasty of the Conqueror) which we shall briefly notice. The stat. 1 Mary, sess. 3. c. 1, sets forth that, because the statutes of the realm attributed all prerogative and pre-eminence to the name of *king*, together with the punishment of offenders; therefore, some malicious and ignorant persons had pretended to think that the *queen* could not take the benefit and privilege of them. It then enacts that the law of this realm is, that the kingly or royal office, with all its dignity, prerogative, and power, being invested either in male or female, ought to be as fully deemed and taken in the one as in the other; and that whatever the law has appointed the king to have or do, the same the queen may enjoy or exercise without doubt or question.

The secret history of this act was afterwards related by Fleetwood, the recorder of London, to the Earl of Leicester, from whose notes of the conversation Bishop Burnet has published it.* The bill, as first introduced, declared that the queen had as much authority as any of her progenitors. To this it was objected, that she was thereby declared to have as much authority as William the Conqueror, and might, like him, seize all the lands of Englishmen and give them to strangers. Upon this, the House went into a committee, in which the bill was put into the form above described. The act originated thus. A book had been presented to the queen by the emperor's ambassador, containing the outlines of a plan of government for the queen to adopt. She was to proceed upon the notion that all limitations by statute on the royal power regarded *kings*, and not *queens*, of England. She was to declare herself a conqueror; or that she succeeded by the common law, and not by statute, which could not, upon the above principle, bind her. The queen gave the book to Gardiner, and told him to read it and give her his advice respecting it. Gardiner's opinion being unfavourable to the project, the queen committed the book to the flames. Gardiner, however, to prevent such designs for the future, drew this act, in which, though he seemed to intend an advantage to the queen, by putting her title beyond dispute, he really meant that she should be restrained by all those laws to which the former kings of England had consented.

Upon the accession of Queen Mary, in imitation of what had been done when her brother came to the throne, a statute (1 Mary, c. 1) was passed, annulling all additions to the law of treason which had been made during the late reign, and again bringing back the law upon that subject to the state in which it had been fixed by the statute of the 25th of Edward III. Since the time of Mary, however, the number of treasons has again considerably increased, as we shall find as we proceed with the succeeding reigns. Indeed, some treasons and felonies were very soon created by Mary herself. Thus it was ordained by statute 1 Mary, sess. 2, c. 6, that persons who counterfeited gold or silver coin, not the proper coin of this realm, but current with the queen's consent (and by stat. 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 11, those who brought such coin into the realm), should be adjudged traitors, as also those who counterfeited the queen's

* Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii.

sign manual, privy signet, or privy seal. In the same session an act was made (1 Mary, sess. 2, c. 12) against riotous assemblies, which differed from the act of George I. made for the same purpose, in inflicting the penalty of felony, instead of felony without clergy.

Some changes had been gradually taking place in the criminal law, respecting which our space will only permit us to say a few words. Murder is defined by Britton to be "The felonious secret killing of a person without being able to discover by whom it was committed."* The offence which we now call murder was then expressed by felonious killing or voluntary homicide. At that time murder could not be the subject of inquiry before the jury who were to try the felonious killing; being always to be inquired of by a presentment of Englishry. When these presentments were abolished by law (14 Edw. III. c. 4), the term *murder* had lost all legal meaning or use; till, by degrees, it crept into indictments, and was adopted, at first merely to aggravate the charge. But in the last reign it had been determined to imply malice, and at length it became the principal charge of every indictment.

"When," says Mr. Reeves, "*murder with malice prepense* had taken the place, as it were, of felonious homicide, and became the sting of such indictments, the common apprehension must be, that an acquittal of the murder and malice was an acquittal of the felonious killing. But when the statutes of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. had singled out *murder with malice prepense* as a mode and circumstance of killing which should no longer enjoy the benefit of clergy, the judges began once more to separate the legal ideas of murder and felonious homicide; and to say that there still remained a felony in the indictment; and though the prisoner was acquitted of the murder, yet if the jury convicted him of killing (without adding the qualification of *se defendendo*, or *per infortunium*), they convicted him of a felony, for which he should have judgment to die; and to this felonious killing they gave the name of *manslaughter*, and sometimes *chance-medley*. The former of these words, it is obvious, was only another term for homicide; the latter was to express a sudden affray, or scuffle, *chaud-mêlée*, it being under such circumstances that the killing here meant to be signified most usually happened. Conformably with this new construction of the judges, homicide is thus divided by Staunforde, who wrote three or four years after the time of which we are now speaking. He says, that killing a man is either *justifiable*, or *se defendendo*, or *per misadventure*; and if it is not one of these three, it is *voluntary homicide*; which he subdivides into two—the more heinous species, called *murder*; the less heinous, called *chance-medley*."†

The most eminent law-writer of this period was Staunforde, who has just been mentioned; his *Pleas of the Crown*, written in French, was the first work which treated the subject of criminal law professedly and in detail.

In 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, an order was agreed upon to be observed by all the four inns of court, that no attorney was to be admitted into any of the houses; and in all admissions thenceforward this condition was to be implied, that if he who was admitted practised *attorneyship*, he should be *ipso facto* dismissed, and have liberty to repair to the inn of chancery from whence he came, or to any one of them, if he were of none before.* It was required that none of the companions or members of the inns of court should wear their studygowns into the city any further than *Fleet-bridge*, or *Holborn-bridge*, or as far as the *Savoy*, on pain of forfeiting 3*s.* 4*d.*, and for the second offence, of expulsion. None of the said companions, when in commons, might wear Spanish cloaks, sword, and buckler, or rapier, or gowns and hats, or gowns girded with a dagger on the back, upon the like pain.†

The first work done on the accession of Elizabeth was the re-establishment of the Reformation upon the same footing where the death of Edward VI. had left it. Of the several statutes passed for that purpose, we shall only here notice the first of the reign, which conferred on Elizabeth the supremacy over the church as fully as it had been enjoyed by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. (Stat. 1, Eliz. c. 1). By a clause of this act, as noticed in the preceding chapter, the queen is empowered to name and authorize by letters patent, as often as she shall think meet, for such time as she shall please, such person or persons, being natural-born subjects, as she shall think fit, to execute all jurisdiction concerning spiritual matters within the realm, and to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever, which by any ecclesiastical authority might be lawfully ordered or corrected. Such was the origin of the power of the formidable and hated *Court of High Commission*, one of the most dangerous weapons ever placed in the hands of a monarch, and which, though originally designed to crush the power of the Romish hierarchy, became in the hands of such ministers as Laud and Strafford a most sharp and powerful instrument at once of spiritual and tem-poral, of religious and political tyranny.

The first commission granted under this act was in 1559,‡ when one was made for the province of Canterbury, and another for that of York. This commission, directed to persons both lay and clerical, was designed merely to assist in the establishment of the Reformation, and was confined to the clergy, of whom the commissioners were em

* Britton's Pleas of the Crown, translated by Kelham, f. 15 a.
† History of the English Law, vol. iv. pp. 536—7.

* Reeves, ibid. p. 573. † Ibid.
‡ In the notes to Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, it is said that "this was not a high commission, warranted by act of parliament, but a commission for a royal visitation, by virtue of the queen's supremacy."

powered to suspend or deprive such as were unworthy, and to proceed against such as were obstinate—that is to say, such as stood out against the new ordinances about reform—by imprisonment, by church censure, or in any other legal way. In subsequent commissions the commissioners were empowered to visit and reform all errors, heresies, and schisms in the towns, and to the extent prescribed by the statute; and they were directed to make inquiry by juries and witnesses, *and all other means and ways which they could devise;* "which seems," observes Mr. Reeves,* "to authorise every inquisitorial power,—the rack, the torture, and imprisonment." Besides their jurisdiction over spiritual matters, they had power to punish incest, adultery, fornication, with all misbehaviours and disorders in marriage. It will be thus seen that this court and the Star Chamber constituted two engines of arbitrary power, which, as a writer we have repeatedly quoted remarks, "perhaps never were surpassed by any contrivance of government to keep the people in continual awe of the sovereign authority."†

* Hist. of Eng. Law, vol. v. p. 218. † Reeve, ibid.

A new and reformed commission of the peace was settled in this reign.

We shall briefly notice the following statute of Elizabeth in illustration of the spirit of the age. It was enacted by stat. 5 Eliz. c. 16, that if any person use or practise any invocation or conjuration of evil and wicked spirits, or practise any witchcraft, enchantment, charm, or sorcery, whereby any one shall happen to be killed or destroyed, it shall be felony without clergy; and if any one be thereby wasted, consumed, or lamed, in body or member, or any of his goods destroyed or impaired, such offender is to be imprisoned for a year, and to stand in the pillory once a quarter during that time for six hours; and, for a second offence, shall be treated as a felon without benefit of clergy. And further to put an end to all practices of this kind, any person taking upon him, by witchcraft, enchantment, charm, or sorcery, to tell in what place any treasure of gold or silver, or stolen goods, might be found; or using the above practices with *intent* to provoke any one to unlawful love; or to hurt or destroy any one in body, member, or goods, is to suffer imprisonment and pillory; and, for the second offence, to be deemed a felon

St. Stephen's Chapel, from the Thames.

without clergy, as in case of those who do *actual* mischief. This statute was repealed by statute 1 James I. c. 12.

Elizabeth's government was little if at all less arbitrary than her father's. That it was less offensive and less hated arose from two principal causes. 1st. That it was, and was *seen* to be, exerted for the advancement of great national objects; and, 2ndly, that it was a very economical government. This last circumstance, indeed, was the grand secret of Elizabeth's being able to preserve her prerogative unimpaired, *at least in appearance*, in the face of numerous and increasing difficulties, in the face of a power that was advancing silently, but with rapid and gigantic strides against the power of the crown. She chose rather to confine herself to great frugality in her expenditure than to owe supplies of money to making concessions to parliament. And the course which she laid down as the best for her to pursue she pursued with a self-command, ability, and firmness, so extraordinary as to render her not only perhaps the greatest woman, but one of the greatest rulers that have ever appeared upon earth. Sir Walter Scott has called her the "daughter of a hundred kings."* This is more poetical than true. But in the long line of sceptred ancestors of whom she was the living representative, it would be difficult to select one, not merely from the Tudors and the Stuarts, who all sink into dwarf like insignificance beside her, but even from the nobler and mightier Plantagenets,—the men of iron

"——— of mailed breast,
And gauntleted hand and jewelled crest,"

who could be placed on the same level, for the highest qualities befitting a monarch, with this, England's deep-minded, high-spirited, stout-hearted woman-king.

The two most remarkable men among the lawyers, both of whom commenced their career in this reign, are Sir Edward Coke and Lord Bacon: the latter is much inferior in eminence to the former in his capacity of lawyer, though much more renowned than the other on account of his philosophical genius.

"The books published in this reign," says Mr. Reeves, "increased the law-library to some size and value. Some persons who had been in the habit of taking notes of what passed in court, had come to a resolution of publishing them for the use of the profession. The first who did this was Mr. Edmund Plowden, who printed the first part of his adjudged cases, under the title of Commentaries, in 1571; and the second part about seven years after. The success and applause with which this first attempt was received encouraged the executors of Sir James Dyer, who had been chief justice of the Common Pleas, to print some of the notes which he had left behind him. This was done in 1585, under the title of Reports, so that this was the first book which bore that name. These were followed by Sir Edward Coke's Reports (for so he called them), which were printed in 1601 and 1602; then Keilwey's Reports in 1602. Bellewe's Reports and the New Cases were also printed some time in this reign, which make up all the books of this kind in print at the death of Queen Elizabeth."*

Of these reporters Plowden and Coke were the most eminent, and have the longest retained their authority and repute. Besides the reports several treatises and collections were printed, which it is unnecessary here to particularize.

Formerly there were only two sorts of advocates, *sergeants* and *apprentices*. "But we find in this reign," says Mr. Reeves, "(and no doubt it had been so some time,) that the orders of the profession were these:—the lowest was a *student*, called also an *inner barrister*, and so distinguished from the next rank, which was that of an *outer* or *utter barrister*; then came an *apprentice*, and next a *sergeant*."†

With this period, we may here remark, begins the regular succession of prime or chief ministers in England. The earlier kings were often their own chief ministers; but at least from the accession of Henry VIII. there has always been one of the council recognised as acting in that capacity. Wolsey, Cromwell, Gardiner, Somerset, Warwick, Gardiner again, Pole, the Cecils, father and son, may be stated as the succession to the end of the present period.

With respect to the revenue of the crown during the present period, after the explanations which have been given of its various sources in the preceding books, it will be sufficient to throw together a few of the more interesting memoranda.

A chief part of the kingcraft of Henry VII. consisted in his dexterity in plundering his subjects. In this, however, he showed his characteristic temper, which was to work by policy rather than force, in choosing to proceed in most instances, not by new claims, but by the revival of old and obsolete ones. Thus he restored benevolences, on the pretence that the statute of the late reign by which they had been abolished was of no force, as having been passed while the throne was occupied by a usurper; and the enormous exactions of Empson and Dudley, whom he employed to suck the blood and marrow of the nation in the latter part of his reign, were almost all founded on rights which had in former ages belonged to the crown, although they had long ceased to be exercised. The instruments with which these grinders of the people worked their oppressions were generally taken from the armoury of the law: "they converted law and justice," says Bacon, "into wormwood and rapine." The name of Henry's first minister, Archbishop Morton, is also memorable in the history of finance for a principle of taxation which he is said to have laid down in his instructions to the commissioners appointed to collect one of the benevolences:—both those who lived sparingly, and those who lived splendidly, he told them, must be made to pay

* In Kenilworth.

* Hist. of Eng. Law, vol. v. p. 240. † Ibid. p. 247.

well; since the former ought to be able to afford the money from their savings, the latter by retrenching their expenditure. This was called Morton's fork or crutch. It was on something like one of the horns of this dilemma that Henry once fixed the Earl of Oxford, according to a story told by Bacon. "There remaineth to this day a report," says the historian, "that the king was on a time entertained by the Earl of Oxford (that was his principal servant both for war and peace) nobly and sumptuously, at his castle at Henningham. And, at the king's going away, the earl's servants stood, in a seemly manner, in their livery coats, with cognisances, ranged on both sides, and made the king a lane. The king called the earl unto him and said, My Lord, I have heard much of your hospitality, but I see it is greater than the speech. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial servants. The earl smiled, and said, It may please your grace, that were not for mine ease. They are most of them my retainers, that are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your grace. The king started a little, and said, By my faith, my lord, I thank you for my good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight; my attorney must speak with you. And it is part of the report that the earl compounded for no less than fifteen thousand marks." Henry is said to have left behind him accumulated treasure to the amount of 1,800,000 marks, or, in weight of silver, between two and three millions of modern money.

The reign of Henry VIII. was, throughout, a reign of spoliation on the largest scale. This king, being, unlike his father, a spendthrift as well as a despot, found the minute, painstaking methods of the last reign altogether inadequate to the demands of his extravagance and rapacity; and, after having exhausted all the resources both of the ordinary parliamentary grants, which were, throughout the reign, of unprecedented liberality, and of nearly every kind of irregular supply that had ever before been made available—benevolences, compulsory loans, the debasement of the coinage, foreign pensions—he boldly adventured upon the most gigantic robbery on record—the seizure of the immense property of the monastic orders. According to an estimate drawn up in the beginning of the last century, the rental at that time of the lands which Henry thus took possession of was not less than six millions sterling.* The estates belonging to the abbey of St. Alban's alone are said, a century after the suppression, to have brought in 200,000*l.* a-year. Henry's average annual revenue is calculated to have amounted to 800,000*l.*, which was twice as much as even his father, the wealthiest of preceding English kings, is supposed to have enjoyed.†

* See A Summary of all the Religious Houses in England and Wales, with their titles and valuations at the time of their dissolution, and a calculation of what they might be worth at this day. Lon. 1717.

† Sinclair, Hist. Pub. Rev.

The next was also a necessitous and rapacious reign, in which most of the methods of raising money to which Henry had had recourse continued to be pursued, as far as anything could still be made by them; nor did the rich harvest that Henry had reaped fail to leave very considerable gleanings for the hungry courtiers of his son. A further debasement of the coinage yielded its dishonest and oppressive profits to the royal exchequer. The chantries, free chapels, and colleges throughout the kingdom, to the number of between two and three thousand, were now thrown into the same bottomless gulf of confiscation in which the monastic property had already been swallowed up. In 1552 the government even went the length of sending out a set of visitors to gather in what they could from the plate, jewels, and other superfluous furniture of the churches. "It was the king's pressing need, I suppose," says Strype, "that occasioned somewhat a severe commission to be issued forth this year, not only to take away out of churches all garments and other utensils used formerly in superstitious worship, but to take for the king's use all goods belonging to the churches that could be spared; and then, to be sure, little enough would be left. Among other things that came into the king's possession, by virtue of this commission, was good store of linen, good and bad, as surplices, altar-cloths, towels, napkins, &c., used for the celebration of mass."* It appears that on the petition of Bishop Ridley, so much of this haberdashery as was found in his diocese of London was given up to him for the use of the poor children of Christ Church Hospital; but the plate, copes, and altar-cloths, with the exception only of one chalice and one covering for the communion table, which were left to each church, were kept by the crown for its own use. Edward, whose average income is calculated to have been about 400,000*l.*, died, after his short reign of six years and a half, in debt to the amount of more than 300,000*l.*

Edward's successor, Mary, was precluded by her opposite religious faith from digging in the ecclesiastical mine that had been found so bountiful by her father and brother, even if it had not already been pretty well worked out. But this only drove her to more extortion and rapine in other directions. The whole course of her policy, domestic and foreign, was so distasteful to the nation—especially her infatuated subserviency to Spain, which in truth seems to have done nearly as much as her Smithfield Acts of Faith to make herself and her religion unpopular—that she found great difficulty in obtaining any supplies from parliament, and was therefore forced to raise money by embargoes, monopolies, compulsory loans, and all other sorts of illegal and violent expedients. Her various arbitrary exactions proved not unproductive. A contemporary foreign writer† states that her annual revenue exceeded 300,000*l.*

* Eccles. Mem. iii. 185.

† Rossi, Successi d'Inghilterra, quoted by Hume.

Besides this, she borrowed a great deal of money, and died deep in debt, the debt contracted by her brother remaining. also, still undischarged.

With the accession of Elizabeth commences a new era in the history of the public revenue, as in everything else. Instead of contracting debt, this great queen discharged principal and interest of that which had been contracted by her brother and her sister. Instead of debasing the coinage, she restored its purity. Instead of submitting to be pensioned by France or any other foreign power, she commenced the system of controlling foreign politics by the money of England, bribing the Scotch, subsidising the Dutch, assisting with loans the Huguenots and Henry of Navarre. At various times, too, her own military expenditure must have been very great. The eight years of Tyrone's Irish rebellion are said to have cost her at the rate of 400,000*l.* a-year; nor did that country, even in ordinary times, yield a revenue within 20,000*l.* of the sum annually expended upon it. Her court, too, was a splendid one; her own personal expenses must have been considerable; and her bounty to some of her favourites, especially to Leicester and Essex, was of a very lavish kind. On the other hand, the parliamentary grants during this reign were unusually sparing. For the first twenty-seven years they were at the rate of only one subsidy and two fifteenths about every five years; making, if we estimate each subsidy at 70,000*l.*, and each fifteenth at 30,000*l.*, about 26,000*l.* per annum. Altogether, in the course of her reign of between forty-four and forty-five years, she received nineteen subsidies and thirty-eight fifteenths, making about 2,500,000*l.* in all. To this is to be added about 360,000*l.* voted to her by the clergy. Her whole receipts from her temporal and spiritual parliaments together, therefore, amounted only to about 65,000*l.* per annum. Her entire annual revenue towards the close of her reign appears to have been about 500,000*l.*; the bulk of which sum was derived from a variety of sources, regular and irregular. Under the former head may be classed the demesnes of the crown, considerably increased by the late seizures of church lands; the returns from the duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall; the profits of the old feudal prerogatives; the customs of tonnage and poundage; and the first-fruits and tenths of ecclesiastical benefices. Of a more questionable kind, again, were the temporalities of vacant bishoprics, which Elizabeth sometimes kept in her own hands for years, and occasional appropriations of the landed property of sees; the sale of licenses to Roman Catholics and Nonconformists, exempting them from the penalties for non-attendance on public worship, from which about 25,000*l.* yearly is said to have been derived; New Year's Day gifts, as they were called, being sums of money extorted under that misnomer from the persons frequenting the court, and usually amounting to 15,000*l.* or 20,000*l.*; embargoes on ships and merchandise; compulsory loans; and monopolies. Of these last the number, towards the end of the reign, was grown so great as to provoke even the timidity and servility of the House of Commons to show some signs of turning upon the abuse. A list, which was read in the House in 1601, of commodities for the exclusive traffic in which patents had been granted by the queen to her courtiers and others,—given away in some cases, sold, no doubt, in others,—comprehended the following articles, and yet was admitted to be an imperfect enumeration:—Salt, currants, iron, powder, cards, calfskins, felts, poledavies (a sort of canvas), ox shinbones, train-oil, lifts of cloth, potash, anniseeds, vinegar, sea-coal, steel, aqua vitæ, brushes, pots, bottles, saltpetre, lead, accidences (books of the rudiments of the Latin Grammar), oil, calamine-stone, oil of blubber, glasses, paper, starch, tin, sulphur, new drapery, dried pilchards, the exportation of iron, horn, beer, and leather, the importation of Spanish wool and Irish linen. "Is not bread among them?" called out one member: "if it be not now, it will before the next parliament." But others were ready and eager to defend all that had been done, and the bread monopoly too, if it had been in the list. The queen, it was maintained, possessed two powers over the law,—an enlarging and a restraining power; by the former she might set free what was limited by statute, by the latter she might restrain what was free. Another honourable member declared that the royal prerogative was neither to be canvassed, nor disputed, nor examined; from its very nature it could admit of no limitation. Another held absolute princes, such as the sovereigns of England, to be a kind of divinities. As the debate warmed, even the enlarging and restraining theory was left far behind: the lawyers now laid it down broadly, that, by her dispensing power, the queen might utterly annul any statute. By a delicate distinction it seemed to be just admitted that the said dispensing power could not make statutes as well as annul them; but its champions rushed up to the very brink of this doctrine when they assumed that it could insert clauses in any statute, and could even, they added, make void any clause it had itself inserted. Elizabeth, however, wiser than the lawyers, did not deem it prudent to take this naturally unpopular occasion of making a stand upon these sublime pretensions: before the murmurs of the House had assumed any articulate shape, with her wonted decision, she issued a proclamation declaring all the patents to be null and void. The gratitude of the Commons for her message announcing this, was as if they had been returning thanks for some mighty interposition of heaven. Indeed, they declared the message to be nothing less than "a gospel:" they expressly compared her to the Deity in a number of respects—like him, she was herself the agent of the blessing conferred upon her people—acknowledgments and laudation were rendered to her "preventing grace"—like the Divinity, she was "all truth"—

and, like him, too, she "performed all she promised."* Eighty of the members went up with an address of thanks in this style, preceded by the Speaker, when Elizabeth made her acknowledgments most graciously; not only, she was pleased to say, for their good inclination, but for those clear and public expressions thereof, which had discovered themselves in retrieving her from a mistake into which she had been betrayed, not so much by the fault of her will as by the error of her judgment.† And then, with the queenly eloquence of which she was so great a mistress, she spoke of her regard for her people and for justice, and of how much more she thought of the responsibility than of the mere power and splendour of her high station. This kind of imposing show was one of the chief arts by which this wonderful woman, with all the weaknesses of a woman, ruled her people, as the steed is ruled by the skilful rider. If a symptom of restiveness appeared for an instant, she had always ready some happy speech or other piece of acting to soothe it down. Some of her speeches, too, were not only admirable for their popular captivation, but full of genuine wisdom and high-mindedness. She was assuredly greatly in advance of her age, for instance, if she understood all the import of her memorable aphorism on this very subject of revenue and taxation,—that money in her subjects' purse was as good as in her own exchequer.*

* D'Ewes's Journal. † Camden.

* See ante, p. 591.

Henry VIII. and his Council. From Hall's Chronicle, 1548.

GRESHAM....From a Painting by Sir Ant. More.
DRAKE.....From a Painting at Nutwell Church.
CAVENDISH, FROBISHER } Anonymous Pictures engraved by Van der Gucht.
HAWKINS....Old Anonymous Print.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL INDUSTRY.

THE present period was an age of great revolutions and remarkable progress in the commerce and general industry, not only of this country, but of the world. But in England especially the sixteenth century is distinguished from the fifteenth almost as the day is from the night, in respect to the activity and advancement of the nation in every field of exertion and enterprise where those accumulated results are to be achieved that constitute civilization.

The encouragement of the trade of the kingdom, being an object in which he saw much profit to himself as well as to his subjects, engaged much of the attention of Henry VII. during his whole reign. It cannot, however, be said that this sagacious king was much beyond his age in some of the notions on which he proceeded in this matter. His general views may be considered to be explained in the speech which his minister, Cardinal Morton, addressed, as Lord Chancellor, to the parliament which met in November, 1487. After having expressed his majesty's anxious desire to restore peace and order to his kingdom by good

and wholesome laws,—by which alone, be observed, sedition and rebellion were to be truly put down, and not by the blood shed in the field or by the marshal's sword,—the eloquent chancellor went on;—"And because it is the king's desire that this peace, wherein he hopeth to govern and maintain you, do not bear only unto you leaves for you to sit under the shade of them in safety, but also should bear you fruit of riches, wealth, and plenty, therefore his grace prays you to take into consideration matter of trade, as also the manufactures of the kingdom, and to repress the bastard and barren employment of moneys to usury and unlawful exchanges, that they may be, as their natural use is, turned upon commerce and lawful and royal trading." That is to say, commerce was to be promoted by the destruction of credit; for a chief branch of commercial credit is the lending and borrowing of money on interest, which is what is here called usury. The next of the cardinal's recommendations also partook of the twilight views of the time,—a twilight, however, which the space of three centuries and a half that has since elapsed has not wholly dissipated. After calling upon them to take measures that the "people be set on work in arts and handicrafts, that the realm may subsist more of itself; that idleness be avoided, and the draining out of our treasure for foreign manufactures stopped;" he continued:—"But you are not to rest here only, but to provide further, that whatsoever merchandise shall be brought in from beyond the seas may be employed upon the commodities of this land, whereby the kingdom's stock of treasure may be sure to be kept from being diminished by any overtrading of the foreigner." So that the old system of encouraging foreign trade by shutting out foreign merchants and foreign commodities was still the only plan that was thought of, and the sole end and design of all commercial intercourse with other nations was held to be, to take produce and manufactures out of the country, and to bring gold into it.

The conclusion of the chancellor's oration is worth quoting for its curious argument, intended to prove how the country would enrich itself by making the king as rich as possible. "And, lastly," said Morton, "because the king is well assured that you would not have him poor that wishes you rich, he doubteth not but that you will have care as well to maintain his revenues of customs and all other natures, as also to supply him with your loving aids, if the case shall so require. The rather for that you know the king is a good husband, and *but a steward, in effect, for the public; and that what comes from you is but as moisture drawn from the earth, which gathers into a cloud, and falls back upon the earth again.*"* All this, too, however (only substituting the government for the king, who in that age was the whole government), is still the faith of many people in our own day, when the spark of truth that lies in the heart of the error, and has kept it so long alive, is hardly so considerable a particle as it was in the circumstances in which Cardinal Morton propounded his ingenious metaphor. The economical evil of a large diversion of the public wealth into the hands of the government is not that the money so paid over is absorbed or lost to the public, as if it were buried in the ground or thrown into the sea; in so far at least as it is expended in the country, which nearly all of it usually is, it does undoubtedly descend again to the sources from which it was drawn, as the moisture that rises from the earth in vapour falls back upon it in showers. The objection is, not that any part of it is absolutely lost to the country, but that, as expended by the government, it is not expended so advantageously for the interests of industry and production as it would have been if it had been left in the pockets of the people. There is nothing lost; but there is not so much gained in the one case as there would have been in the other. The reproduction is less; the accumulation of the capital of the community does not go on so fast. However, there may perhaps be a state of circumstances in which it is for the general advantage that a portion of the public wealth should be impelled by force in a certain direction, for the sake of forming and maintaining somewhere a larger reservoir of capital than would otherwise anywhere exist: the general rule may be that capital should be allowed to diffuse itself freely, because in that way the increase will, upon the whole, be the largest; but there may be an exception for the case of an early society, which would labour under the disadvantage of having no capital but what was distributed in driblets unless some system of artificial drainage were put in action to collect a number of the puny rivulets into one efficient stream. Even the rapacity of a king or a government, whatever counterbalancing evils it may be attended with, may in some sort answer this purpose; and Cardinal Morton's metaphoric logic, therefore, though not the whole truth, in regard to Henry VII. with his riches being but a cloud made for the refreshment of his people, was not perhaps without a smack of reason as well as of poetry.

Agreeably to the spirit of one of the chancellor's commercial principles, the parliament now passed an act against usury (3 Henry VII. c. 6), that is, against all lending of money on interest, and took much pains to provide against the various ways in which attempts were likely to be made to evade the prohibition. The punishment for offenders was the annulment of the usurious bargain, and a fine of a hundred pounds—"reserving to the church," it was added, "this punishment notwithstanding, the correction of their souls according to the laws of the same." The objection to usury was in its origin purely a religious feeling, derived from the general antipathy to the Jews, the great money-dealers of the middle ages.

In another of the acts of the parliament of 1487-8, passed for annulling an ordinance of the

* Bacon's Henry VII.

lord mayor and aldermen of London, prohibiting any of the citizens from resorting with their goods to any fair or market out of the city, there occurs incidentally an enumeration of the principal places where fairs were then held throughout the country, and also of the articles sold at them. The London ordinances, if allowed to stand good, the Commons represent to his majesty, "shall be to the utter destruction of all other fairs and markets within this your realm, which God defend [forbid]; for there be many fairs for the common weal of your said liege people, as at Salisbury, Bristow, Oxenforth, Cambridge, Nottingham, Ely, Coventry, and at many other places, where lords spiritual and temporal, abbots, priors, knights, squires, gentlemen, and your said commons of every country, hath their common resort to buy and purvey many things that be good and profitable, as ornaments of holy church, chalices, books, vestments, and other ornaments for holy church aforesaid, and also for household, as victual for the time of Lent, and other stuff, as linen cloth, woollen cloth, brass, pewter, bedding, osmund, iron, flax, and wax, and many other necessary things, the which might not be forborne among your liege people." At this time most purchases, except of articles of daily consumption, were probably made at these markets periodically held in the great towns. The act attests the commercial pre-eminence which London had now acquired, the country markets, it appears, being principally dependent for their supplies upon the resort to them of the dealers from the capital.

Of several commercial treaties made with foreign countries in the reign of Henry VII., we may notice one that was concluded with Denmark in 1490, being an extension of one that had been entered into the preceding year. Among other regulations it was provided by this compact that the English should freely enjoy for ever the property of all the lands and tenements they possessed at Bergen in Norway, Lunden and Landscrone in Schonen, Dragor in Zealand, and Loysa in Sweden. At all these places, therefore, there were English residents and commercial establishments. The English settlers in each of these towns, and wherever else there might be any, were to have full liberty according to custom to erect themselves into societies, and to elect one of their number as governor or alderman to administer justice among them according to laws agreed upon among themselves, the Danish government engaging to support his authority.* On the other hand, there is no mention of any privileges to be enjoyed by subjects of Denmark resident in England, from which we may conclude that there were no Danes settled here. It also appears that all the trade between the two countries was carried on in English vessels. The only commodities specified in the treaty are woollen cloths brought from England, and fish purchased in Denmark, though mention is made of other merchandise in general terms.

Another important treaty of the same kind was made the same year with the republic of Florence, which also contains some things deserving of notice. In 1485 Richard III. had, on the application of some English merchants who proposed engaging in the trade to Pisa, appointed a Florentine merchant to be governor of his subjects who might become resident in that city, or what we should now call English consul there; and from that date in all probability is to be counted the commencement of the trade to Florence in English vessels. From the present treaty it appears that such a trade was now fairly established; and the English settled at Pisa are also spoken of in such terms as should seem to show that they already formed a considerable community. They were to have a right to hire or otherwise procure houses for their residence, and to form themselves into a corporate body, with a governor and other officers according to their own regulations; and were not only to enjoy all the privileges enjoyed by the citizens of Pisa or of Florence, but were even to be exempted from municipal taxation in all parts of the state except in Florence. For these advantages, it is true, they were to pay a good price; for it was stipulated by this treaty—which was to last for six years—both that the English should every year bring as much wool to Florence as had on an average been used to be brought, and that no wool should be allowed to be exported by foreigners from any part of the English dominions, except six hundred sacks annually by the Venetians. The treaty, therefore, secured to the Florentines as much English wool as they required, and of course at no higher prices than they had been accustomed to pay, unless their own demand should become an increasing one—for with neither a rise in the demand, nor a falling off in the supply, there could be no rise in the price; and it also tended to reduce the price of wool in the English market by checking the purchase of it by all other foreigners. This latter regulation, however, was also of the nature of a monopoly granted to the English shipowner—though at the expense of his fellow-countryman the sheep-owner.

The affair of Perkin Warbeck, and the encouragement given to that adventurer by the Duchess-Dowager of Burgundy, had the effect of interrupting for some years of this reign the most important branch of the foreign commerce of England—the trade with the Netherlands. Henry, first, in 1493, banished all the Flemings out of England, and ordered all intercourse between the two countries to cease; on which the Archduke Philip, the sovereign of the Netherlands, expelled in like manner all the English subjects resident in his dominions. This state of things continued for nearly three years, when the interruption of trade "began," says Bacon, "to pinch the merchants of both nations very sore, which moved them by all

* On the subject of these governors of English merchants resident in foreign parts, see ante, p. 171.

means they could devise to affect and dispose their sovereigns respectively to open the intercourse again. Wherein time favoured them; for the archduke and his council began to see that Perkin would prove but a runagate and a citizen of the world, and that it was the part of children to fall out about babies. And the king, on his part, after the attempts upon Kent and Northumberland, began to have the business of Perkin in less estimation; so as he did not put it to account in any consultation of state. But that that moved him most was, that, being a king that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue in the gate-vein which disperseth that blood." At last, commissioners from both sides met at London, and soon arranged a treaty for the renewal of the trade. "After the intercourse thus restored," adds the historian, "the English merchants came again to their mansion at Antwerp, where they were received with procession and great joy." All the while that the stoppage lasted, the merchant-adventurers, he says, "being a strong company at that time, and well under-set with rich men, did hold out bravely; taking off the commodities of the kingdom, though they lay dead upon their hands for want of vent." This they must have done out of a patriotic zeal in the support of the government, or perhaps they may have been in some measure forced by the urgent excitements of the king to incur the loss they did. The treaty made upon this occasion with the Flemings was distinguished by the name of the "Intercursus Magnus," or great treaty.

The merchant-adventurers here spoken of by Bacon appear to have been the Company of Merchant Adventurers of London, an association which can be traced back nearly to the beginning of the fourteenth century, and which a few years after this time (in 1505) was incorporated by royal charter under the title of The Merchant Adventurers of England. Presuming perhaps upon the aid they had afforded to the crown on this occasion, these London merchants appear to have now made an attempt to take possession of the whole foreign trade of the country, by asserting a right to prevent any private adventurers from resorting to a foreign market without their license. This gave occasion to the passing of an act of parliament in 1497 (the 12th Henry VII. c. 6), which affords a general view of the foreign commerce of England at that date, as stated in the petition, which the preamble recites, of the merchant-adventurers inhabiting and dwelling in divers parts of the realm out of the city of London. The petitioners represent that they had been wont till of late to have free course and recourse with their merchandises into Spain, Portugal, Brittany, Ireland, Normandy, France, Seville, Venice, Dantzic, Eastland, Friesland, "and other divers and many places, regions, and countries, being in league and amity with the king our sovereign lord," where in their sales and purchases every one used freely to proceed in the manner he deemed most for his individual advantage, "without exaction, fine, imposition, or contribution to be had or taken of them, or any of them, to, for, or by any English person or persons;" and in like manner they had till now been used to have free passage and resort "to the coasts of Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Brabant, and other places thereto nigh adjoining, under the obeisance of the Archduke of Burgoyne (or Burgundy), in which places the universal marts be commonly kept and holden four times in the year, to which marts all Englishmen and divers other nations in time past have used to resort, there to sell and utter the commodities of their countries, and freely to buy again such things as seemed them most necessary and expedient for their profit and the weal of the country and parts that they be come from." Now, however, "the fellowship of the mercers and other merchants and adventurers dwelling and being free within the city of London," had made an ordinance and constitution that no Englishman resorting to the said marts should either buy or sell any goods or merchandises there, unless he first compounded and made fine with the said fellowship of merchants of London at their pleasure, upon pain of forfeiture of the goods so by him bought or sold; "which fine, imposition, and exaction," the petition goes on, "at the beginning, when it was first taken, was demanded by colour of a fraternity of St. Thomas of Canterbury, at which time the said fine was but the value of half an old noble sterling (3*s.* 4*d.*), and so by colour of such feigned holiness it hath be suffered to be taken for a few years past; and afterward it was increased to a hundred shillings Flemish; and now it is so that the said fellowship and merchants of London take of every Englishman or young merchant being there at his first coming twenty pounds sterling for a fine, to suffer him to buy and sell his own proper goods, wares, and merchandises that he hath there." It is asserted that the effect of this imposition had been to make all merchants not belonging to the London company withdraw themselves from the foreign marts, whereby the woollen cloth, which was one of the great commodities of the realm, "by making whereof the king's true subjects be put in occupation, and the poor people have most universally their living," and also other commodities produced in different parts of the kingdom, were not disposed of as formerly, "but for lack of utterance of the same in divers parts where such cloths be made, they be conveyed to London, where they be sold far under the price that they be worth and that they cost to the makers of the same, and at some time they be lent to long days, and the money thereof at divers times never paid." On the other hand, foreign commodities, the importation of which was now wholly in the hands of the London company, were sold at so high a price that the buyer of the same could not live thereupon—that is to say, could not retail them at a living profit. "By reason whereof," the petition concludes, "all the cities, towns, and

boroughs of this realm in effect be fallen into great poverty, ruin, and decay; and now in manner they be without hope of comfort or relief, and the king's customs and subsidies and the navy of the land greatly decreased and minished, and daily they be like more and more to decay, if due reformation be not had in this behalf." Although, however, the act seems to adopt this representation as correct, it does not go the length of putting down the privilege claimed by the London company: the company, it would appear, was too formidable for that; all that was done, therefore, was to limit the fine they should be entitled to exact for the future to the moderate amount of ten marks, or 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To that extent the act sanctioned the hitherto doubtful and disputed pretensions of the London merchant-adventurers, and gave them so far a legal right of control over the whole foreign trade of the country. We shall find that the powers which they thus acquired formed a fertile source of controversy and contention for ages afterwards.

An act of parliament made in 1504, to regulate the importation of foreign silk (19 Hen. VII. c. 21), indicates what branches of the silk manufacture were now established in England, by prohibiting all persons for the future from bringing into the realm to be sold "any manner of silk wrought by itself, or with any other stuff, in any place out of this realm, in ribbons, laces, girdles, corses, cauls, corses of tissues or points." All these articles of knit silk, "the people of England," as Bacon expresses it, "could then well skill to make." But the importation of "all other manner of silks" was freely permitted; "for that the realm," observes Bacon, "had of them no manufacture in use at that time." The historian praises this law as having the stamp of the king's wisdom and policy; and it "pointed," he says, "at a true principle, that, where foreign materials are but superfluities, foreign manufactures should be prohibited; for that will either banish the superfluity or gain the manufacture." But where would be the harm of having the superfluity, even without the manufacture? The superfluity could not be brought from abroad without the money to purchase it being acquired by some species of industry or other exercised within the realm. For the encouragement of the national industry, therefore, the acquisition of the superfluity by purchase comes to the same thing with its acquisition by the introduction of the manufacture. From the title of this act, "For Silkwomen," it may be inferred that the trifling branches of the silk manufacture, consisting merely of knitting, that had as yet been introduced into England, were exclusively in the hands of females.

We related, in a former Chapter, the misadventure that befel the Archduke Philip in 1506, when on his voyage to Spain with his wife, now, by the death of her mother, become Queen of Castile, he was driven by stress of weather into Weymouth, and found himself at once the guest and the prisoner of the English king.* The treaty that was wrung by Henry on this occasion from the captive sovereign of the Netherlands was called by the Flemings the Intercursus Malus, or evil treaty, by way of contrast with "the great treaty" of 1496. The terms of the new arrangement, however, are now of no interest; it is sufficient to state that they were somewhat more favourable to the English merchant than those of the former treaty.

A sort of charter of indemnity granted to certain Venetian merchants by Henry in 1507, with the view of screening them, it is conjectured, from prosecutions to which they had exposed themselves by the advantage they had taken of previous illegal grants made to them by the king, is preserved in Rymer, and may be noticed as containing an enumeration of the principal foreign nations then carrying on trade with and in this country. The Venetians are authorised to buy and sell, for ten years to come, at London and elsewhere, in England, Ireland, and Calais, woollen cloth, lead, tin, leather, &c., with the English, Genoese, Venetians, Florentines, Luccans, Spaniards, Portuguese, Flemings, Hollanders, Brabanters, Burgundians, German Hanseatics, Lombards, and Easterlings, and all other foreigners. The Scots and French are omitted in this list, probably because there were no merchants of those nations resident in England, though some trade was, no doubt, carried on with both.

A document of the following year, found in the same repository, affords us a list of what were then accounted the wealthiest and most important cities and towns in England—the security for the marriage portion of two hundred and fifty thousand gold crowns to be paid with Henry's daughter Mary, when it was proposed to marry her to the Emperor Maximilian's grandson, Charles (afterwards the Emperor Charles V.). On this occasion the towns that became bound for Henry's performance of his engagement were, London, Coventry, Norwich, Chester, Worcester, Exeter, York, Bristol, Southampton, Boston, Hull, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

The short space of time comprehended in the reign of Henry VII. of England is memorable for the two greatest events in the history of nautical discovery and of modern commerce,—the achievement of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and the revelation of the new world of America by the voyage of Columbus. Both these great discoveries were made in the search after the same object, a route to India by sea, which serves in some degree to account for the two having been so nearly coincident in point of time. Bartholomew Diaz returned to Portugal from the voyage in which he had rounded the southern extremity of Africa in December, 1487. Some years before this date, however, Columbus had conceived his more brilliant idea of reaching the oriental world by sailing towards the west; a course which, on his conviction of the earth's rotundity, he calcu-

* See ante, p. 315.

lated would bring him to the eastern confines of the same golden continent, the western parts of which were gained by proceeding in the opposite direction. Among the various states and crowned heads to which the illustrious Genoese proposed the glory of his great enterprise before he found a patroness in Isabella of Spain, one was our Henry VII., to whom he sent his brother Bartholomew in 1488. In his passage to England, Bartholomew was captured by pirates, plundered of everything, and made a slave. After some time he made his escape, and reached this country, but in such a state of destitution that he was obliged to apply himself to drawing sea-charts for a livelihood, and for the means of procuring himself decent clothes, before he could appear in the royal presence. King Henry so far listened to his proposals as to desire him to bring his brother to England; and he was on his way to Spain for that purpose, when, on reaching Paris, he learned that Columbus had already set out on his voyage under the patronage of the Spanish court. The capture of Bartholomew by pirates, it is remarked by the historian of commerce, "thus turned out, under the direction of Providence, the means of preserving the English from losing their industry and commercial spirit in the mines of Mexico and Peru." Columbus sailed on his memorable voyage, from the bar of Saltes, near Palos, in Andalusia, on Friday, the 3rd of August, 1492, and reached the island of San Salvador on the 12th of October. He afterwards discovered Cuba, Hispaniola, and others of the West Indian islands: and on the 15th of March, 1493, he again landed at Palos, bringing back to the astonished nations of Europe the tidings of his success, in having reached what he continued to believe to his dying day to be the eastern shore of the Indies—for it was not till twenty years after this time, and seven years after the original discoverer of the new world had been laid in his grave, that the Pacific was first seen from the mountains near Panama by Balboa. On the 25th of September, 1493, Columbus sailed from Cadiz on his second voyage, from which he returned to the same port on the 11th of June, 1496, after having discovered the Caribbee Islands, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica.

Meanwhile, the spirit of enterprise in the new direction thus pointed out had spread among the navigators and governments of other countries; and on the 5th of March, in this last-mentioned year, the King of England granted a patent to John Cabot, or Gabotto, a Venetian, then settled at Bristol, and to his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanches, authorising them to navigate the eastern, western, and northern seas, under the English flag, with five ships, and as many men as they should judge proper, at their own sole costs and charges, to discover the countries of gentiles or infidels, in whatever part of the world situated, which had hitherto been unknown to all Christians; "with power to them, or any of them," continued the patent, "to set up our banners in any town, castle, island, or continent, of the countries so to be discovered by them; and such of the said towns, castles, or islands, so found out and subdued by them, to occupy and possess, as our vassals, governors, lieutenants, and deputies; the dominion, title, and jurisdiction thereof, and of the *terra firma* or continent so found out, remaining to us." Henry characteristically added a provision to the effect, that out of the profits of their discoveries under this charter, the Cabots should be obliged to pay to him, after each voyage, one-fifth part, either in merchandise or in money. He is, therefore, entitled to very little credit for having promoted this expedition, in regard to which he merely interfered to secure to himself the lion's share in the results, without having contributed anything to the expense of the outfit. The Cabots—at least the father and his second son, Sebastian, the most scientific and enterprising of the family, although at this time only in his nineteenth year—sailed from Bristol in the beginning of May, 1497, in a ship of their own, called the Matthew; "with whom," according to Bacon, "ventured also three small ships of London merchants, fraught with some gross and slight wares, fit for commerce with barbarous people." On the 24th of June, they discovered what they supposed to be an island, but what appears to have been the coast of Labrador, in about latitude 56°. From this point they are said to have sailed northwards—in the hope of finding a passage to India or China—as far as latitude 67½°. Then, from an entry under date of 10th August, 1497, in the privy-purse expenses of Henry VII., of a donation of 10*l.* "to him that found the new isle," it is conjectured that the Cabots immediately returned to England. To the country they had discovered they gave the name of Prima Vista (First View), which, however, it soon lost, having been since successively called Corterealis, from Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese, who fell in with the same coast in 1500; Estotiland, from its having been supposed to be the country so denominated in the (probably fabulous) account of the voyage of the Zeni, about 1350; New France, after Canada was taken possession of and settled by the French; New Britain, by the English after their discoveries, in the early part of the seventeenth century, along the coasts of Hudson's Bay; and by the Portuguese Labrador, or Tierra di Labrador, said to be a corruption of *Laborador* (labour), from some traces of cultivation which the part of the coast they first saw seemed to present.

Sebastian Cabot appears to have made two more voyages in the two following years, in the second of which, taking a course declining towards the south, he reached the Gulf of Mexico.* Columbus also, on the 30th of May, 1498, sailed from

* In the notice of Remarkable Occurrences in the reign of Henry VII., in Kennet's Complete History, it is said, without any authority being given, that, in the seventeenth year of the reign, Sebastian Cabot brought three Indians into England, who were clothed in beasts' skins, and eat raw flesh. "Two of them," it is added, "were seen two years after, dressed like Englishmen, and not to be distinguished from them."

San Lucar de Barrameda, on his third voyage, in which he discovered the island of Trinidad and the country adjacent to the mouths of the Orinoco—his first view of the American continent, the northern coast of which, as we have just seen, had been reached about a year before by the Cabots. And contemporaneously with these voyages towards the west, by the Spanish and English navigators, those of Portugal were prosecuting the passage towards the east around the extremity of Africa, which had been laid open by Bartholomew Diaz. On the 8th of July, 1497, Vasco de Gama sailed from the Tagus on the first voyage by that route to India, the western coast of which, at Calicut, in Malabar, he reached on the 22nd of May, 1498. Gama returned to Lisbon in September, 1499. Finally, in the following year 1500, the coast of Brazil was accidentally discovered, by the Portuguese admiral, Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, being driven upon it by a storm, while following the course of Gama to Calicut, at the head of a fleet of thirteen ships, carrying a force to effect a settlement in Malabar—a circumstance, as has been remarked, which shows that America, even if Columbus had never existed, could not possibly have long remained concealed after the Portuguese began to navigate the southern part of the Atlantic Ocean.

Bacon states that, besides the patent to the Cabots, Henry, "again, in the sixteenth year of his reign (1500), and likewise in the eighteenth (1502), granted forth new commissions for the discovery and investing of unknown lands." The commission of 1500 has not been preserved; but that of 1502 is in Rymer, and it refers to the former as having been granted to Hugh Elliot and Thomas Ashurst, merchants of Bristol; to John Gunsalus and Francis Fernandus, natives of Portugal; and also to Richard Ward, John Thomas, and John Fernandus. In the second license the three last names are left out. In other respects the license is nearly of the same tenor with that granted some years before to the Cabots, except that it forbids the adventurers to concern themselves with or offer to molest such heathen and infidel countries as were already discovered and reduced to the obedience of the King of Portugal, or of any other prince the friend or ally of the king. This was all the respect that Henry chose to pay to the famous award of Pope Alexander VI. in 1493, by which, drawing a line from pole to pole through the middle of the Atlantic and the southern continent of the new world, he bestowed all the countries that should be discovered to the west of that boundary on the King of Spain, and all those to the east of it on the King of Portugal. None of these expeditions of discovery, however, patronised (if that term can be used) by Henry, were attended with any success—the natural consequence of the parsimony which made him refuse all pecuniary assistance to the adventurers, who were all apparently as ill able as projectors usually are to prosecute their ingenious schemes from their own resources. This very wary king was not to be induced to spend his money even in taking possession of a new country when it was discovered for him; no attempt seems to have been made to turn to account the discovery of North America by the Cabots; and as for the other adventurers he afterwards sent forth, none of them is recorded to have ever caught a glimpse of anything new in the shape of either continent or isle.

The more easy intercourse opened with India, by the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, produced almost immediately considerable changes in the current of European commerce. The Venetians, bringing home the spices and other productions of the East by land carriage, soon found themselves unable to compete with their rivals, the Portuguese, now enjoying the advantage of the much cheaper conveyance by sea; and Lisbon became what Venice had been—the great source of the supply of these commodities, and the resort of traders from every part of Europe. The Lisbon merchants also carried the productions of India in so much larger quantities than had ever before been known to the great intermediate mart of Antwerp, that the wealth and grandeur of the latter city also may be said to have commenced with this date. The reduction of price so prodigiously extended the consumption of these commodities all over Europe, that they now formed one of the chief branches of the Antwerp trade. Guicciardini, writing in the early part of the sixteenth century, calculates that the value of the spices alone brought to Antwerp from Lisbon exceeded a million of crowns yearly.* Tempted by the new trade, many German and other foreign merchants came to settle at Antwerp, and to contribute to its rising fortunes the aid of their resources and enterprise.

Marked effects, also, were not long in beginning to flow from the discovery of America and the West Indies. Herrera relates that, a few years after the commencement of the sixteenth century, the gold brought home by the Spaniards from Hispaniola amounted annually to about 460,000 pieces of eight, or above 100,000*l.* sterling. This, however, was an influx of wealth which did not tend to invigorate the nation that received it, or to give life to its industry, like that gathered by the busy hand of commerce. But the import of the cotton, sugar, ginger, and other productions of her West Indian possessions, also created a new branch of trade which Spain monopolised, and which gave employment to a considerable quantity of shipping.

In the benefit of all these new channels, along which the productions of distant parts of the earth were made to flow towards Europe, the English, though they had not yet embarked in the trade either to the east or to the west, could not fail indirectly to share. Accordingly, we find our historians testifying to the decided augmentation of the wealth of the country, and the more general diffusion of luxuries among all classes, in the course of the reign of Henry VII. Some of them, indeed, ascribe the improvement chiefly, or in great part, to the active encouragement given by

that king to commercial enterprise. "This good prince," says Hall, the chronicler, "by his high policy, marvellously enriched his realm and himself, and left his subjects in high wealth and prosperity, as is apparent by the great abundance of gold and silver yearly brought into the realm, in plate, money, and bullion, by merchants passing and repassing, to whom the king, of his own goods, lent money largely, without any gain or profit, to the intent that merchandise, being of all crafts the chief art, and to all men both most profitable and necessary, might be the more plentifuller used, haunted, and employed in his realms and dominions." The latter part of this statement (which is translated from Polydore Virgil) may warrant some scepticism; but it is possible that, seeing the taking of interest was forbidden by the law, Henry may have sometimes advanced money, on good security, to assist in adventures of which he was merely to have his corresponding share in the profits.

The increase of the foreign trade of the country, and of the wealth of the people and their command over the conveniences and luxuries of life, proceeded at an accelerated rate during the early part of the next reign. Of this there are various indications both in the notices of the chroniclers and in the pages of the Statute-book. An act, for instance, of 1512 (4 Henry VIII. c. 6), for regulating the sealing or stamping at the Custom-house, of cloths of gold and silver, of "bawdekin," velvet, damask, satin, sarcenet, "tartron," camblet, and every other cloth of silk and gold brought from beyond the seas, incidentally mentions that it was not unusual for 3000 or 4000 pieces of these fabrics to be brought over in one ship. Most of the artificers of the more costly description of articles, and also many of the persons who traded in these and other commodities, appear still to have been foreigners settled in England; and from the details that are given of a great insurrection of the native Londoners on May-day, 1517, against these strangers, we have some curious particulars of the branches of industry then carried on in the capital. The popular complaints against the foreigners were, according to Hall, "that there were such numbers of them employed as artificers that the English merchants had little to do by reason the merchant-strangers bring in all silks, cloths of gold, wine, oil, iron, &c., that no man almost buyeth of an Englishman; they also export so much wool, tin, and lead, that English adventurers can have no living; that foreigners compass the city round about, in Southwark, Westminster, Temple Bar, Holborn, St. Martin's (Le Grand), St. John's Street, Aldgate, Tower Hill, and St. Catherine's; and they forestall the market, so that no good thing for them cometh to the market; which are the causes that Englishmen want and starve, whilst foreigners live in abundance and pleasure." The importation of various articles from abroad, that interfered with home produce and manufactures, was also loudly cried out against; the Dutchmen in particular, it was asserted, brought over "iron, timber, and leather, ready manufactured, and nails, locks, baskets, cupboards, stools, tables, chests, girdles, saddles, and painted cloths." This proved a very serious tumult. Its chief instigator was one John Lincoln, styled a broker, by whom a Dr. Bell, a canon of the Spital, was prevailed upon in the first instance to read from the pulpit at the Spital, upon the Tuesday in Easter week, a bill or written detail of the popular grievances, and to follow up that text with a sermon, well adapted to blow up the feelings it had kindled into a blaze. "Cœlum cœli Domino," he begun, "terram autem dedit filiis hominum:"—"the heavens to the Lord of heaven, but the earth he hath given to the children of men." "And then he showed," says the chronicler, "how this land was given to Englishmen; and as birds defend their nests, so ought Englishmen to cherish and maintain themselves, and to hurt and grieve aliens for respect of their commonwealth." It now began to be whispered about that, on the coming 1st of May, there was to be a general massacre of the foreigners; in terror of which, many of the latter left the city. On this coming to the ears of the council, Wolsey sent for the lord mayor on May-eve, and ordered him to take measures to preserve the peace; whereupon a meeting of the aldermen was held; and, about half-past eight, each sent to his ward directing that no man after nine o'clock should stir out of his house, but keep his doors shut, and his servants within, until nine o'clock in the morning. "After this command was given in the evening," proceeds the account, "as Sir John Mundy, alderman, came from his ward, he found two young men in Cheap, playing at the bucklers; and a great many young men looking on them—for the command seemed to be scarcely published. He ordered them to leave off; and because one of them asked 'Why?' he would have them sent to the Compter. But the prentices resisted the alderman, taking the young man from him, and cried, 'Prentices! Prentices! Clubs! Clubs!' Then out of every door came clubs and other weapons, so that the alderman was put to flight. Then more people came out of every quarter, and forth came serving-men, watermen, courtiers, and others; so that by eleven o'clock there were in Cheap six or seven hundred; and out of St. Paul's churchyard came about three hundred." Then, while the rioters continued to receive accessions from all quarters, they proceeded to the Compter and Newgate, broke open both prisons, and took out some persons that had been committed for attacks on foreigners during the preceding few days. The mayor and sheriffs, to no purpose, made proclamation in the king's name: the mob soon fell from breaking open the prisons to plundering private houses, especially those of foreigners, and seeking for the owners, none of whom however they found, to strike off their heads. But at last, towards three o'clock in the morning, they began to

return home, and then about three hundred of them were intercepted by the authorities, and sent to the Tower, Newgate, and the Compters. In the height of the disturbance matters had looked so serious that Sir Roger Cholmeley, the Lieutenant of the Tower, had thought it necessary to fire off several pieces of ordnance against the city, which, however, did not do much damage. A few days after a number of the rioters were brought to trial, and, being found guilty, were condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; "for execution whereof ten pairs of gallows were set up in divers parts of the city, as at Aldgate, Blanchapleton, Grass-street, Leadenhall, before each of the Compters, at Newgate, St. Martin's, at Aldersgate, and Bishopgate; and these gallows were set upon wheels, to be removed from street to street, and from door to door, as the prisoners were to be executed." But, in the end, only Lincoln suffered; he was hanged on the 7th of May at the standard in Cheapside. About a fortnight after a general pardon was granted to the rest by the king, and the citizens were again received into favour; "though, as it is thought," concludes the chronicler, "not without paying a considerable sum of money to the cardinal (Wolsey) to stand their friend; for at that time he was in such power that he did all with the king." This day was long remembered in London under the name of "Evil May-day;" and it is recorded that the ancient Mayings and May games, with the triumphant setting up of the great shaft in Leadenhall-street before the church of St. Andrew, were never afterwards so commonly used as had been customary before.

In connexion with this affair we may mention an act of parliament, which was passed in 1525 (14 and 15 Hen. VIII. c. 2), for regulating the taking of apprentices by "strangers born out of the king's obeisance using any manner of handicraft within the realm." No such stranger, it was enacted, should in future, under a penalty of 10*l.* for each offence, take any apprentice who was not a native of the country, or should keep any more than two foreign journeymen at the same time. By a subsequent clause, also, all aliens exercising any handicraft in London or the suburbs were placed each under the superintendence—or "the search and reformation," as it is expressed—of the fellowship of his particular craft in the city of London, to which was to be associated for that purpose one alien householder of the same craft, to be chosen by the wardens of the company; and every such foreign artificer, being a smith, joiner, or cooper, was to receive a proper mark from his craft, which he was to stamp upon every article he fabricated. This clause is curious as giving us a list of the places that were then considered to form the suburbs of London; which are enumerated as being, besides the town of Westminster, the parishes of St. Martin's in the Field, of our Lady of the Strand, of St. Clement of Danes without Temple Bar, of St. Giles in the Field, and of St. Andrew's in Holborn, the town and borough of Southwark, Shoreditch, Whitechapel parish, St. John's-street, the parish of Clerkenwell, St. Botolph's parish without Aldgate, St. Catherine's, and Bermondsey-street. Most of these places, all of which are now included within the metropolis, were then separated from the city by fields, gardens, or other open spaces.

Some indications of a disposition on the part of the English to engage in the new branches of foreign trade, which had sprung out of the late nautical discoveries, begin about this time to present themselves. According to Lord Hubert, a proposition was even made, in 1527, by the Emperor Charles V., to sell to King Henry a right, which he pretended to have as King of Spain, to the Molucca Islands, which, however, came to nothing. The same year, also, this author tells us, the English king "sent out two fair ships to discover new regions, then daily found out by the Portuguese and Spaniard;" but in this attempt he met with no greater success than his father. It appears, moreover, from a passage in Hakluyt's Collection, that some merchants of Bristol had now for some years been in the habit of exporting cloth, soap, and other commodities to the Canary Islands, by means of the ships of San Lucar in Spain, and of receiving back by the same conveyance dyeing drugs, sugar, and kid-skins. But the chief branch of the foreign commerce of the country still continued to be the trade with the Netherlands, where, at the great emporium of Antwerp, the English merchants both found purchasers for their native produce and manufactures of all kinds, and were enabled to supply themselves in return with whatever quantities they required of the productions of all parts of the globe. Accordingly, the apprehended interruption of this trade on Henry's declaration of war against the emperor, in 1528, threatened to derange the whole system of the national industry. "Our merchants," says Lord Herbert, "(who used not the trade to the many northern and remote countries they now frequent), foreseeing the consequences of these wars, refused to buy the cloths that were brought to Blackwell Hall, in London; whereupon the clothiers, spinners, and carders, in many shires of England, began to mutiny." To appease this clamour of the manufacturing population, Wolsey issued his commands to the merchants that they should take the cloths at a reasonable price from the poor men's hands, with a threat that, if they did not, the king himself should buy them and sell them to foreigners. This procedure may let us into the secret of the means by which, in the quarrel with the government of the Netherlands in the last reign, the merchants of London were induced, as related in a preceding page, during the three years that the quarrel lasted, to continue their purchases in the home-market, notwithstanding the stoppage of the usual great vent of exportation. On that occasion the interests of peace were forced to give way to those of war; but it was different now. "The sullen merchants,"

Lord Herbert goes on to inform us, little moved with the cardinal's menaces, said they had no reason to buy commodities they knew not how to utter. Propositions were thrown out for the establishment of a new continental mart at Calais or Abbeville; but the "sullen merchants" would not understand any of these schemes. At last, the council being advised with, told the king "that the resultance of war in the Low Countries could be nothing but a grievance to his subjects, a decay of trade, a diminution of his customs, and addition to the greatness of Francis, who would have the advantage of all that was undertaken in this kind:" on which it was resolved that the war should be suspended for the present. This result shows very strikingly how completely its foreign commerce was now become part of the very life-blood of the nation; and it should also seem to warrant the inference that the trade with Antwerp had considerably risen in importance within the last thirty years,—the consequence, doubtless, in great part, of the general commercial revolution that had been wrought by the discovery of the new route to the East.

The spirit of mercantile adventure in England, however, was now turning likewise to other quarters, though its excursions out of its accustomed track were still somewhat timid or desultory. Among the notices collected by the industrious Hakluyt are the following:—About 1530 Captain William Hawkins, of Plymouth, made a trading voyage to Guinea for elephants' teeth, &c., and thence proceeded to Brazil, where he also traded. Two years after he is noted to have made another such voyage to Brazil. Trading voyages, both to Brazil and Guinea, became common soon after this date. From about 1511 to 1534 divers tall ships of London, Southampton, and Bristol, carried on an unusually great trade to Sicily, Candia, and Chio, and sometimes to Cyprus, to Tripoli, and to Barutti in Syria. Their exports were woollen cloths, calf-skins, &c.; their imports silks, camblets, rhubarb, malmsey, muscadel, and other wines, oils, cotton-wool, Turkey carpets, galls, and Indian spices. One of these voyages up the Mediterranean usually occupied a whole year, and was accounted exceedingly difficult and dangerous. Sundry foreign vessels, such as Candiots, Ragusans, Sicilians, Genoese, Venetian galleasses, and Spanish and Portuguese ships, were also employed by the English merchants in this trade.

An important act of parliament affecting commercial transactions was passed in 1546, the last year of this reign (stat. 37 Hen. VIII. c. 9), which, although entitled "An Act against Usury," in fact repealed all the old laws against lending and borrowing money on interest, and allowed interest to be taken at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum. The preamble recites that the former statutes against usury have "been so obscure and dark in sentences, words, and terms, and upon the same so many doubts, ambiguities, and questions have risen and grown, and the same acts, statutes, and laws been of so little force and effect, that by reason thereof little or no punishment hath ensued to the offenders of the same, but rather hath encouraged them to use the same." It is most certain, indeed, that no law could prevent the taking of interest, which did not put down the lending of money altogether.

A few notices that have been preserved relating to the shipping of the early part of the sixteenth century may here be introduced. The royal navy of England, properly so called, takes its rise from the reign of Henry VIII. At first Henry possessed only one ship of war of his own, the Great Harry; to which a second was added by the capture from the Scottish captain, Andrew Barton, of his ship called the Lion, in June, 1511,—an incident which led, two years after, to the war between the two kingdoms, the battle of Flodden, and the death of James IV.* The next year, 1512, Henry built another ship at Woolwich, the Regent, weighing 1000 tons, and described as the greatest ship that had yet been seen in England. From an indenture drawn up between the king and his admiral, Sir Edward Howard, for the victualling of the fleet fitted out this year to aid in the war against France, it appears that the Regent was to carry 700 soldiers, mariners, and gunners.† A ship apparently still larger than this, however, is described as having been sent to sea this same year by the Scottish king in a fleet which he equipped for the assistance of France, but which was, in a storm, scattered and destroyed on its way to that country. This Scottish ship, the largest that had been built in modern times, was 240 feet in length by 56 in breadth,—dimensions, however, which, in the latter direction especially, were materially diminished by the thickness of the planking, which, that it might be proof against shot, was not less than 10 feet. This great Scottish ship carried 35 guns (all on the upper deck), besides 300 smaller pieces of artillery called culverins, double-dogs, &c.; and her complement consisted, besides officers, of 300 seamen, 120 gunners, and 1000 soldiers.‡ But Henry did not satisfy himself with merely building ships; he laid the necessary foundations for the permanent maintenance of a naval force by the institution of the first Navy Office, with commissioners, or principal officers of the navy, as they were styled, for the superintendence of that particular department of the public service. He also established by royal charter, in the fourth year of his reign, the "Corporation of the Trinity House of Deptford," for examining, licensing, and regulating pilots, and for ordering and directing the erection of beacons and lighthouses, the placing of buoys, &c.; to which he afterwards added subordinate establishments of the same kind at Hull and Newcastle. The navy-yards and storehouses at Woolwich and Deptford also owe their origin to this king; who

* See ante, p. 322. † Fœdera, vol. xiii.

‡ See note on Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, by Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 42, and the authorities there referred to.

has a very good right, therefore, to the title of the creator of the English navy. Henry's great ship, the Regent, was blown up, with the 700 men on board of her, in a battle fought with the French fleet off Brest, a few months after she put to sea; on which he caused another, still larger, to be built, which he called the Henry Grace de Dieu. Several others were afterwards added, so that, at the close of the reign, the entire navy belonging to the crown amounted to about 12,500 tons. Henry, also, about 1525, erected at a great expense the first pier at Dover; and in 1531 an act of parliament was passed (31 Hen. VIII. c. 8) "for the amending and maintenance" of the havens and ports of Plymouth, Dartmouth, Tinmouth, Falmouth, and Fowey. In the preamble it is asserted that these ports had been, in time past, the principal and most commodious havens within the realm for the preservation of ships resorting from all parts of the world, as well in peril of storms as otherwise; but that, whereas, formerly ships of 800 tons might easily enter them at low water, "and there lie in surety, what wind or tempest soever did blow," they were now in a manner utterly decayed and destroyed by means of certain tin-works, called stream-works, which had so choked them up that a ship of 100 tons could "scantly enter at the half-flood." The act, however, did not provide for the "amending" of the harbours further than by prohibiting the working of such stream-works, except under certain specified regulations, for the future.

The latter part of this reign is marked by the commencement of a course of public improvements intimately connected with the internal trade of the country—the reparation of streets and highways. The first act in the Statute-Book on this important subject is the 14 and 15 Hen. VIII. c. 6, passed in 1523, authorising the proprietor of the manor of Hempstead, in the weald of Kent, to enclose an "old common way or street for carriages, and all other passages and business," on laying out another at the least as broad and as commodious in a different line; and also, "in consideration that many other common ways in the said weald of Kent be so deep and noyous by wearing and course of water and other occasions, that people cannot have their carriages or passages by horses, upon or by the same, but to their great pains, peril, and jeopardy," permitting all other persons that might be so disposed, to lay out new and more commodious roads, by oversight and assent of two justices of peace of the county, and twelve other discreet men inhabiting within the hundred or the hundred adjoining. In 1534, by the 26 Hen. VIII. c. 7, this act was extended to the county of Sussex. About the same time began the paving of the streets of London, the first act for that purpose being the statute 24 Hen. VIII. c. 11, passed in 1532-3, "for paving of the highway between the Strand Cross and Charing Cross,"—that is, the greater part of the line of way now known as the Strand, the Strand Cross having stood at the church of St. Clement Danes. But this road, indeed, was hardly as yet accounted one of the streets of the metropolis; it was rather a country road leading to the village of Charing, with many houses, indeed, built on both sides of it, but yet with the line of building everywhere broken by fields and gardens. This "common highway" is described in the preamble of the act as "very noyous and foul, and in many places thereof very jeopardous" to all people passing and repassing, "as well on horseback as on foot, both in winter and in summer, by night and by day;" the occasion of which is affirmed to be that "the landlords and owners of all the lands and tenements next adjoining, on both sides of the said common highway, be and have been remiss and negligent, and also refuse and will not make and support the said highway with paving every of them after the portion of his ground adjoining to the same." It appears that the part of the Strand between the church of St. Clement Danes and Temple Bar was already paved; and the act directs that the owners of lands adjoining to the rest of the road shall each pave in the same manner the part lying along his lands or tenements as far as to the middle; which it is declared will be "a great comfort," not only to all the king's subjects thereabouts dwelling, but also to all others that way passing and repassing, especially to all persons coming and going between the city and the town of Westminster about the deeds of the laws there kept in the term season. The following year another act (25 Hen. VIII. c. 8) was passed for the repaving of Holborn. This street is described as being the common passage for all carriages carried from west and north-west parts of the realm, and as having been, till of late, so well and substantially paved that people had good and sure passage through it; but now, proceeds the complaint of the inhabitants to the king, recited in the preamble of the act, "for lack of renewing of the said paving by the landlords, which dwell not within the city, the way is so noyous and so full of sloughs and other incumbrances, that oftentimes many of your subjects riding through the said street and way be in jeopardy of hurt, and have almost perished." The same enactment is thereupon made as in the statute for paving the Strand; and a general power is given to the mayor and aldermen to see the pavements maintained upon the same principle in all the streets of the city and suburbs, and also of the borough of Southwark. Yet a few years after this, in 1540, we find a new act (the 32 Hen. VIII. c. 17) directing the repavement of part of Holborn and various other streets, which are described as still "very foul and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noyous, as well for all the king's subjects through and by them repairing and passing, as well on horseback as on foot, as also with carriage." These streets were—1. The causeway or highway leading from Aldgate to Whitechapel Church: 2. The causeway from the bridge at Holborn Bars "unto the end of High Holborn westwards as far as any

habitation or dwelling is on both the sides of the same street:" 3. Chancery-lane, "from the bars* besides the Rolls late made and set up by the Lord Privy Seal unto the said highway in Holborn:" 4. Gray's Inn lane, "from Holborn Bars northward as far as any habitation is there:" 5. Shoe-lane: and 6. Fewter (now Fetter) lane: the two last being described as "thoroughfares and passages from Fleet-street into Holborn within the liberties of the city of London." This appears to have been the first time that Holborn was paved to the west of the city bars; nor was the street all built on both sides for any considerable way beyond that point till many years later. With regard to the general state of the roads in the country about this date we have little or no information; but we may be certain that the condition of the best of them, as was the case long afterwards, was wretched enough. It appears, however, from the diplomatic correspondence of the time, that, towards the end of the reign of Henry VIII., letters were conveyed by the government expresses from London to Edinburgh in about four days.

Sebastian Cabot, the discoverer, with his father, of North America, on finding himself neglected by Henry VII., had entered the service of the Spanish government in 1512, but appears to have returned to his native country soon after the death of King Ferdinand in 1516. He is known to have been employed by Henry VIII., in 1517, in conjunction with a Sir Thomas Perte, to make another attempt in quest of a north-west passage, in the course of which he is said to have again reached the latitude of 67½°, and to have entered Hudson's Bay, and given English names to sundry places on its coasts. These discoveries, however, were soon forgotten, like those which their author had made in the same regions twenty years before; and Cabot again offered his services to the government of Spain, by which he was for some years employed in various distinguished capacities. He remained abroad till the accession of Edward VI., and then, in 1548, once more made his appearance at the English court, where he was received with much welcome by the young king. In the beginning of the following year Edward bestowed upon him a pension of 250 marks (166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*), which he enjoyed during the rest of the reign: and he continued to be consulted in all affairs relating to navigation and trade. In 1553, on the suggestion of Cabot, some merchants of London formed themselves into a company, of which he was chosen the governor, for the prosecution of maritime discovery, with a particular view to the anxiously desired passage by the northern seas to China and the other countries of the East. Three vessels were forthwith sent out, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, to whom Cabot gave a paper of remarkably judicious instructions, and King Edward letters addressed to all kings and princes, requesting their friendship. One of the ships is stated to have been sheathed with thin plates of lead, a contrivance which is spoken of as a new invention. Willoughby, after having reached the 72nd degree of north latitude, took refuge for the winter in a harbour in Russian Lapland, where he and the crews of two of his ships, seventy in number, were frozen to death; but the third ship, commanded by Richard Chancellor, found its way into the White Sea, then entirely unknown to the English, though a correct description of it had been given to Alfred by Ohthere nearly 700 years before.* Chancellor landed near Archangel, from whence he travelled on sledges to Moscow, and there obtained from the Czar, John Basilowitz, letters for King Edward, and valuable trading privileges for his employers. This was the origin of the English Russia Company, which was incorporated the next year by a charter from Queen Mary, and soon became a very flourishing and important association. Its affairs appear to have continued, at least for three or four years, to be superintended by Cabot, its originator, of whom, however, the last thing recorded is, that in 1557 the half of his pension was given to another person, to whom, at the same time, all his maps and papers were delivered over. He probably died within a year or two after this date.

Cabot's first voyage, in 1497, may possibly have given rise to another branch of trade, which was now carried on to some extent—the cod-fishery of Newfoundland. In 1517 there are said to have been about fifty Spanish, French, and Portuguese ships engaged in this fishery; but the first attempt of the English to obtain a share of the trade was not made till 1536. From an Act of Parliament passed in 1542 (the 33d Hen. VIII. c. 2) it appears that fish were then commonly imported into England from Newfoundland, or New-land, as it is called in the Act, as well as from Iceland, Scotland, the Orkneys, Shetland, and Ireland, and also from the Flemings, the Zealanders, the people of Picardy, and the Normans; from all of whom, however, the act directs that no more fresh fish should be brought, sturgeon, porpoise, and seal excepted, on the alleged ground of many disastrous consequences that followed to the towns by the sea-side in the counties of Kent and Sussex, and to the whole commonwealth, from the fishermen of the said towns abandoning their proper craft, and, instead of filling their boats from their own nets, purchasing the commodity from the fishermen of the opposite coasts. The growing importance of the Newfoundland fishery is attested by an Act passed in 1548 (the 2nd and 3rd Edw. VI. c. 6), by which it is enacted, that whereas for a few years past there had been levied by the officers of the Admiralty, from merchants and fishermen resorting to Iceland, Newfoundland, Ireland, and other places commodious for fishing, "divers great exactions, as sums of money, doles or shares of fish and other like things, to the great discouragement and hindrance of the same merchants and fishermen, and no little damage to the whole commonweal," all such exactions should henceforth cease.

* See vol. i., p. 267.

We are probably to reckon among the religious reforms of the reign of Edward VI., an act which was passed in 1552 (5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 20), under the title of "A Bill against Usury." In this statute it is declared that the law of the late reign, allowing the taking of interest upon money lent to the amount of ten per cent., "was not meant or intended for maintenance or allowance of usury, as divers persons blinded with inordinate love of themselves have and yet do mistake the same, but rather was made and intended against all sorts and kinds of usury as a thing unlawful; and yet, nevertheless, the same was by the said act permitted for the avoiding of a more ill and inconvenience that before that time was used and exercised." "But, forasmuch," it is added, "as usury is by the word of God utterly prohibited, as a vice most odious and detestable, as in divers places of the Holy Scripture it is evident to be seen, which thing by no godly teachings and persuasions can sink into the hearts of divers greedy, uncharitable, and covetous persons of this realm, nor yet, by any terrible threatenings of God's wrath and vengeance, that justly hangeth over this realm for the great and open usury therein daily used and practised, they will forsake such filthy gain and lucre, unless some temporal punishment be provided and ordained in that behalf;" it is enacted that the late statute be "utterly abrogate, void, and repealed," and that whoever shall henceforth lend any sum of money "for any manner of usury, increase, lucre, gain, or interest, to be had, received, or hoped for," over and above the sum so lent, shall forfeit the money, and shall besides suffer imprisonment, and make fine and ransom, at the king's will and pleasure. The subsequent history of this act is very instructive. Like all attempts to force back or turn aside by statute the natural and ordinary course of human transactions, it wholly failed in accomplishing its object; and, like all laws that so aim at effecting what is impracticable, it only added to the evil it was designed to cure. Accordingly, after nearly twenty years' trial of how it worked, we find the legislature, in 1571, declaring, in a new act (the 13th Eliz., c. 8), that "it hath not done so much good as it was hoped it should, *but rather the vice of usury hath much more exceedingly abounded.*" The new statute, therefore, repeals the said act of Edward VI., and revives the act of Henry VIII., allowing interest at ten per cent. And such continued to be the law throughout the remainder of the present period. Yet, strangely and absurdly enough, this act of 1571 is also entitled "An Act against Usury," touching the iniquity of which it actually sermonises in the usual phraseology at the very moment of permitting and legalising it. The tenor of the principal enacting clause is as follows:—"And forasmuch as *all* usury, being forbidden by the law of God, is sin, and detestable," be it enacted that all exaction of usury or interest, above the rate of ten per cent., shall be punished by the forfeiture of the whole sum so exacted. It would require dexterous casuistry to demonstrate that if to take interest at eleven per cent. was a detestable sin, to take interest at ten per cent. was allowable. If there was to be a law against usury at all, however, the penalty here denounced against the said detestable sin was certainly not of objectionable severity, even with the taddition made by a subsequent clause, that offenders against the act might be further punished and corrected in the spiritual court. But that provision, in fact, merely went to restrain the spiritual court from proceeding against usury when it did not exceed ten per cent., and was really therefore protective, and not penal, in its nature.

The most important measure that was taken in relation to the foreign trade of the country by the government of Edward VI. was the abolition of the privileges of the Steelyard Company. We have in the two preceding Books given an account of the rise and nature of this famous association of the German or Hanseatic merchants resident in England, and have brought down their history to the treaty of Edward IV. with the Hanse Towns, in 1475.* Since that date various causes, and especially the new direction given to European commerce by the discovery of the route by sea to India, had very greatly reduced the eminence of that once powerful confederacy. Antwerp had now far distanced Lubeck, and Hamburgh, and Dantzic, in the race of commercial activity and prosperity; other trading associations had arisen in various countries, to share what was once almost the monopoly of the Hanseatic League; and as order and good government had become everywhere better established, even individual merchants, in many cases, carried on their operations as successfully as any company. In England, however, the Hanse merchants of the Steelyard, from the privileges which they enjoyed under their ancient charters and more recent treaties, continued almost to monopolise certain branches of trade in which they were exempted from duties payable by other traders, and from their superior combination and capital were even sometimes enabled to engage in other branches with such advantages as nearly precluded all competition. Thus, on the stoppage of the direct trade with the Netherlands, in 1493, it is recorded that great quantities of Flemish manufactures were still imported into England by the merchants of the Steelyard from their own Hanse towns; and that this activity of the foreigners, in a trade from which they were themselves excluded, so enraged the native merchants that they incited the London journeymen and apprentices to rise in a tumult, in which they attacked and rifled the warehouses of the obnoxious Germans. In 1505, when Henry VII. granted the charter of incorporation to the Company of Merchant-Adventurers of England, whose proper business was described to be to trade in woollen-cloth of all kinds to the Netherlands, the merchants of the Steelyard, or Easterlings, as they were called, were expressly prohibited from interfering with that branch of

* See ante, p. 179, and vol. i. p. 834.

commerce; and the aldermen or governors of the association were obliged to enter into a recognisance of two thousand marks that none of the members should carry any English cloth to the place of residence of the English Merchant-Adventurers in the Low Countries. Disputes between the two rival interests, however, continued to arise from time to time; and, at last, in 1520, we find King Henry appointing commissioners to treat at Bruges with others to be appointed by the Hanse Towns, concerning the several privileges at any time granted to the Hanseatic League by the king or his predecessors; for the removal of the abuses, unjust usages, extensions, enlargements, restrictions, and other misinterpretations of their rights with which the Hanseatic merchants in England might be chargeable, and for the conclusion of a new treaty of commerce between England and the said Hanseatic League. What was the issue of this congress does not appear. Meanwhile the Merchant-Adventurers, as they grew in wealth and power, became less disposed than ever to tolerate with patience either the irregular encroachments of the foreign company, or even the existence of its invidious privileges within their legal limits. The first movement for the suppression of the Steelyard Company appears to have been made by an application of the Merchant-Adventurers to the government about the close of the year 1551. An answer to this information having been given in by the aldermen and merchants of the Steelyard, both statements were put into the hands of the solicitor-general and the recorder of London—upon whose report the council, on the 23rd of February, 1552, resolved that the Steelyard merchants had forfeited their liberties, and should for the future be held to stand in regard to the duties upon their exports and imports upon the same footing with any other strangers. The alleged grounds of this decree, as we gather them partly from King Edward's Journal, partly from other accounts, appear to have been, that the charters of incorporation of the Steelyard Company were contrary to the laws of the realm; that, no particular persons or towns being mentioned in their grants of privileges, it was uncertain to what persons or towns the said privileges extended, by reason of which uncertainty the company admitted to their immunities whomsoever they pleased, to the great prejudice of the king's customs and to the common hurt of the realm; that they had been in the habit of colouring the good of other foreigners, that is, of getting such goods passed through the Custom-house as their own; that the condition had been broken on which their privileges when formerly forfeited had been restored by Edward IV., namely, that English subjects should enjoy the like privileges in Prussia and other Hanseatic parts; that, whereas for a hundred years after the first pretended concession of their privileges, they used to transport no merchandise out of the realm, but only to their own countries, nor import any but from their own countries, they now not only conveyed English merchandise into the Netherlands, but also imported into England the merchandise of all foreign countries; and, lastly—which was no doubt a chief reason, though one rather stronger, it must be confessed, in policy than in law—that, from small beginnings, they had so increased their trade, that it now constituted almost the entire trade carried on by foreigners in the kingdom;—they began, according to the statement in the king's Journal, by shipping not more than 8 pieces of cloth; then they sent out 100; then 1000; then 6000; till now there was exported in their name no less a quantity than 44,000 pieces, while no more than 1100 pieces were exported by all other foreigners together. Not much dependence, however, can be placed upon the correctness of these numbers. Other charges made against them, also, according to some accounts, though not mentioned by the king, were, that having for the last forty-five years had the sole control of the commerce of the kingdom, they had reduced the price of English wool so low as to 1*s.* 6*d.* per stone; and that they had likewise greatly depressed the home corn-market by the quantities of foreign grain they had imported. In addition to the native mercantile interest, therefore, they had arrayed against them the whole strength of the agricultural interest, including both the corn-grower and the wool-grower. The principal commodities which they were wont to import, besides grain, are stated to have been cordage and other naval stores, flax and hemp, linen cloth, wax, and steel.*

The immediate effect of the abolition of the privileges of the Steelyard merchants is said to have been, that the English Merchant-Adventurers the same year shipped off for Flanders no less quantity than 40,000 pieces of cloth. The abolition of their privileges, however, did not extinguish the community of the Hanse merchants in England. In 1554, after Queen Mary's marriage had established a more intimate connexion with the empire, their privileges were restored, on the request of the ambassadors of the Hanse towns. It is affirmed, however, though the fact is not quite certain, that, after a year or two, they were again withdrawn. The Steelyard Company, at all events, seems never to have completely recovered from its sudden unsettlement, as just related; and, though it continued to subsist as a trading association throughout the greater part of the present period, its circumstances were those of a struggling and gradually declining body, till at last Elizabeth, in the year 1597, took advantage of a mandate issued by the Emperor Rodolph, for shutting up all the factories of the English Merchant-Adventurers in Germany, to direct the lord-mayor and sheriffs of London to shut up the house occupied by the merchants of the Steelyard, which put an end to the

* See Strype's Eccles. Mem. iii. 77, &c., where are printed the entries respecting the affair of the Steelyard Company, from the Council Book.—Burnet, Hist. Ref. under 1552.—King Edward's Journal.—Wheeler's Treatise of Commerce, 1601.—Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, ii. 109, &c.

existence of the company. In this proceeding, although the queen made a show of acting on the principle of retaliation, and went through the form of demanding a revocation of the imperial decree before she took the final step in the business, she was very well pleased that her application was rejected, and that she was thus afforded a fair pretext on which to ged rid of an association, the services of which, however useful they might have been in earlier times, the country no longer stood in need of. The company of late, indeed, had been only an annoyance and a source of strife: to the last the Hanse merchants, on the one hand, continued to clamour importunately for the renewal of their ancient privileges, while the merchant-adventurers, on the other, were as incessantly exclaiming against the unfairness of any association of foreign traders being suffered to reside in the kingdom, and to interfere with its commerce at all. The time was certainly now come in which native capital and enterprise were quite vigorous enough to dispense with any foreign aid.

The trade that had been opened with Russia in 1553 was vigorously prosecuted in the reign of Mary, from which sovereign the Russia Company, as already noticed, obtained its charter of incorporation in 1554. By this charter Sebastian Cabot was appointed, during his life, the first governor of the company, which was authorised, to the exclusion of all other English subjects, to trade not only to all parts of the dominions of the Russian emperor, but to all other regions not already known to English merchants. The following year two more ships were sent out, which sailed up the Dwina as far as Vologda, from which port Chancelor, who was in command, proceeded again to Moscow, and there arranged a commercial treaty with the Czar, in which all the usual privileges were accorded to the English traders. In 1556 the company again sent out two ships, which returned the same year, bringing along with them the two that had been frozen up in Lapland in 1553, in one of which was Sir Hugh Willoughby's body. They also brought an ambassador to the King and Queen of England from the Czar; but the vessel in which he sailed being shipwrecked on the coast of Scotland, he lost nearly the whole of the valuable presents for their majesties of which he was the bearer. The next year four vessels were dispatched, one of which carried back the ambassador, and along with him Mr. Anthony Jenkinson, as agent for the company, the interests of which were afterwards greatly promoted by his exertions. After reaching Russia, Jenkinson set out on a voyage down the Volga to Astracan, from whence he crossed the Caspian Sea to Persia, and made his way to the city of Bokhara, or Boghar, as he calls it, which he found to be the resort of merchants not only from Russia, Persia, and India, but from Cathay or China, from which last country the journey occupied nine months. Jenkinson, whose object was to establish a trade between the company's Russian factories and Persia, returned from this journey in 1560, and, coming home to England the same year, published the first map of Russia that had ever been made.* He is said to have made no fewer than six subsequent voyages to Bokhara by the same route; yet the prospect of the trade which he thus opened to the company, Anderson remarks, "was dropped some few years after, and remained as if it had never been thought of, until the reign of King George II. in 1741, when it was revived by an act of parliament enabling the Russian company to trade into Persia; upon which considerable quantities of raw silk were brought home by the very same way that Jenkinson took from Persia to Russia, and from thence to England." "Yet," adds the historian, "the continual troubles and ravages in Persia have since suspended the good effects of this law." In 1566 the Russia company obtained from the Sophi of Persia immunity from tolls and customs for their merchandise in that kingdom, and full protection for their goods and persons. The same year also their charter was ratified by an act of parliament, which is said to have been the first English statute which established an exclusive mercantile corporation.† In 1571 Jenkinson went out to Russia with the appointment of ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Czar, and succeeded both in obtaining the restoration of the company's privileges, which the Czar had suspended, and in reinstating its affairs, which, from losses and mismanagement, had fallen into great disorder.

The event in the reign of Mary which most affected the foreign commerce of the country was the loss of Calais in 1558. This continental town, which England had held for two hundred and eleven years, however useless, or worse than useless a possession it might be, politically considered, was, as Anderson remarks, "extremely well situated for a staple port, to disperse, in more early times, the wool, lead, and tin, and in later times the woollen manufactures of England, into the inland countries of the Netherlands, France, and Germany." The staple for the above-mentioned articles of native produce was now transferred to Bruges, and helped somewhat to check the decline of that famous emporium, whose ancient grandeur had been for some time fast becoming pale under the overshadowing ascendancy of Antwerp.

We may consider as an indication of the growing internal trade of the country in this reign the passing of the first general statute for the repair of the highways (the 2 and 3 Phil. and Mary, c. 8). This act directs that two surveyors of the highways shall be annually elected in every parish, as is still done, and that the parishioners shall attend four days in every year for their repair with wains or carts, oxen, horses, or other cattle, and all other necessaries, and also able men with the same, according to the quantity of land occupied by each; householders, cottagers, and others, not having

* See Jenkinson's Voyage in Purchas and Hakluyt.

† Of this act the title only is printed among the Statutes of the Realm;—"An Act for the Corporation of Merchant-Adventurers for the Discovery of New Trades."

land, if they be not hired labourers, by themselves or sufficient substitutes giving their personal work or travail. Upon this statute were founded all the highway acts that were subsequently passed before the introduction of tolls or turnpikes in the reign of Charles II. Of these there were six in all passed in the reign of Mary, and about nineteen in that of Elizabeth.

In the course of the long reign of Elizabeth the commerce and navigation of England may be said to have risen through the whole of the space that in the life of a human being would be described as intervening between the close of infancy and commencing manhood. It was the age of the vigorous boyhood and adolescence of the national industry, when, although its ultimate conquests were still afar off, the path that led to them was fairly and in good earnest entered upon, and every step was one of progress and buoyant with hope. In the busier scene, however, that now opens upon us, the crowd of recorded facts is too great to be marshalled within our limited space, and, passing over many things that would properly enter into a complete chronological deduction of our commerce from the point at which we are now arrived, we must confine ourselves to a selection of a few of the most indicative particulars.

An act was passed by Elizabeth's first parliament (the stat. 1 Eliz. c. 13) which is remarkable for a liberality of view going far beyond the notions that were clung to by our commercial legislation in much later times. The preamble is a confession of the loss and inconvenience that had already avenged the interference of the legislature with the natural freedom of commerce by the introduction of the principle of what have been called the navigation laws.* Since the making of these statutes prohibiting the export or import of merchandise by English subjects in any but English ships, "other foreign princes," says this recital, "finding themselves aggrieved with the said several acts, as thinking that the same were made to the hurt and prejudice of their country and navy, have made like penal laws against such as should ship out of their countries in any other vessels than of their several countries and dominions; by reason whereof there hath not only grown great displeasure between the foreign princes and the kings of this realm, but also the merchants have been sore grieved and endamaged." The damage sustained by the merchants of course consisted in the monopoly freights they were obliged to pay for the carriage of their goods, the effect of which was to diminish trade by diminishing consumption, and a share in the pressure of which was borne by every consumer in the kingdom. The law was now so far relaxed that merchandise was allowed to be exported and imported in foreign bottoms upon the payment of aliens' customs; and the two great companies of the Merchant-Adventurers and the Merchants of the Staple, were further empowered, twice in the year, to export goods from the river Thames in foreign vessels, on payment only of the ordinary duties.

* See ante, p. 72.

Many particulars respecting the foreign commerce of England at the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth have been preserved by Ludovico Guicciardini (nephew of the great historian of Italy) in his Description of the Netherlands, which was written about this time. The Dutch, he tells us, were wont to import annually to Bruges upwards of 1200 sacks of English wool, worth 250,000 crowns. And "it is marvellous," he adds, "to think of the vast quantity of drapery imported by the English into the Netherlands, being undoubtedly, one year with another, above 200,000 pieces of all kinds, which, at the most moderate rate of 25 crowns per piece, is 5,000,000 of crowns, or 10,000,000 of Dutch guilders (above 1,000,000*l.* sterling); so that these and other merchandise brought to us by the English, and carried from us to them, may make the annual amount to be more than 12,000,000 of crowns, or 24,000,000 of guilders (about 2,400,000*l.* sterling), to the great benefit of both countries, neither of which could possibly, or not without the greatest damage, dispense with this, their vast mutual commerce; of which the merchants on both sides are so sensible, that they have fallen into a way of insuring their merchandise from losses at sea by a joint contribution."* These last words are said to be the earliest notice of marine insurance, which they would seem to imply was first adopted in the trade between the Netherlands and England. The magnitude of that trade, as here described, greatly surpasses any conjectural estimate of its extent which could reasonably have been hazarded from the common notions entertained of the general state of commerce at this date. In fact, if we take into account the difference in the value of money, there is probably no single country, not even the United States of America, with which England in the present day carries on a larger commerce than she appears, from this statement, to have done with the Netherlands nearly three hundred years ago.

Of all the great commercial towns of the Netherlands, Antwerp, as we have already stated, was at this time the most eminent. Exclusive of the French, who, next to the native merchants, were the most numerous class of resident traders, it contained, according to Guicciardini, above a thousand foreigners engaged in commerce, consisting of Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, Germans, Danes and other Easterlings, and English. His account of the commerce carried on by Antwerp with the British Islands is as follows:—"To England Antwerp sends jewels and precious stones, silver bullion, quicksilver, wrought silks, cloth of gold and silver, gold and silver thread, camblets, grograms, spices, drugs, sugar, cotton, cummin, galls, linens fine and coarse, serges, demi-ostades, tapestry, madder, hops in great quantities, glass, salt-fish, metallic and other merceries of all sorts to a great value, arms of all

* Translation in Macpherson's Anderson, ii. 127.

kinds, ammunition for war, and household furniture. From England Antwerp receives vast quantities of fine and coarse draperies, fringes and other things of that kind to a great value, the finest wool, excellent saffron in small quantities, a great quantity of lead and tin, sheep and rabbit skins without number, and various other sorts of fine peltry and leather, beer, cheese, and other sorts of provisions in great quantities; also Malmesey wines, which the English import from Candia. To Scotland Antwerp sends but little, as that country is chiefly supplied from England and France: Antwerp, however, sends hither some spicery, sugars, madder, wrought silks, camblets, serges, linen, and mercery; and Scotland sends to Antwerp vast quantities of peltry of many kinds, leather, wool, indifferent cloth, and fine large pearls, though not of quite so good a water as the Oriental ones. To Ireland Antwerp sends much the same commodities and quantities as to Scotland; and Antwerp takes from Ireland skins and leather of divers sorts, some low-priced cloths, and other gross things of little value." This minute, complete, and authentic account of the chief branch of our national commerce must be regarded as one of the most curious and instructive records of the present period.

From other parts of Guicciardini's description of Antwerp, a few additional particulars may be gleaned of interest in the history of English commerce. The English Bourse or Exchange was the place where the merchants of the several nations that were congregated in this great mart used to meet for an hour every morning and evening, to buy and sell all kinds of merchandise, with the assistance of their interpreters and brokers. The English cloths, stuffs, and wool brought to Antwerp were exported thence to Venice, Naples, Milan, Florence, Genoa, and other parts of Italy; English cloths were sent to Germany "as a rare and curious thing, and of high price." Large quantities of the same merchandise also went to Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Eastland, Livonia, and Poland; some to France; and a small portion also to Spain. To the last-mentioned country, indeed, is stated to have been sent everything produced by human industry and labour; "to which," says Guicciardini, "the meaner people of Spain have an utter aversion." A considerable quantity of English wool, however, probably still continued to be exported direct from England to Spain, and was there worked up into finer fabrics than the looms of this country could yet produce.

A memorable branch of English commerce is believed to have begun in the year 1562—the detestable African slave-trade. It is related that Mr. John Hawkins—the same who under the name of Sir John Hawkins was afterwards so distinguished as a naval commander—having learned that negroes brought a very good price in Hispaniola, assisted by the subscriptions of sundry gentlemen, now fitted out three ships, of which the largest was 120 tons, the smallest only 40, and, proceeding to the coast of Guinea, there made up his cargo with human beings, and sailed with them to Hispaniola, where he sold his Africans and his English goods, and, loading his ships with hides, sugar, ginger, and many pearls, returned home the next year, having made a very prosperous adventure. Other two voyages of the same kind are recorded to have been made by Hawkins who, in commemoration of his priority over all his countrymen in this line of enterprise, received as an addition to his arms "a demi-moor proper, bound with a cord;" but we do not hear much more of the African slave-trade as carried on by the English, till after the close of the present period.

It was in the year 1566 that the building of the Royal Exchange, in the city of London, was begun by the famous Sir Thomas Gresham, styled the queen's merchant, according to Anderson, "because he had the management of all her remittances, and her other money concerns with foreign states, and with her armies beyond sea." Before this the merchants of London used to meet in Lombard-street in the open air. Sir Thomas was the son of Sir Richard Gresham, also an eminent London merchant, who is said to have been the original author of the project of building an exchange or covered walk for the merchants of his native capital, similar to what he had seen in Antwerp and other foreign cities, but who died before he could carry his design into execution. His son received a university education, having studied at Caius (or, as it was then called, Gonville) College, Cambridge, but was from the first intended by his father for a commercial life, and accordingly became a member of the Mercers' Company, the same to which Sir Richard himself, and also his brother Sir John Gresham, belonged. Sir Thomas was employed, as his father had been, in negotiating foreign loans, and managing other money transactions, by Edward VI., and enjoyed the distinguished favour both of that king and of his successors, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, from the latter of whom he received his knighthood in 1559. Ten years after, by his advice, the experiment was first tried of raising a loan for the crown at home, instead of resorting, as had always hitherto been done, to foreign capitalists; and from that time the new plan continued usually to be followed, to the great advantage both of the crown and of the public. Sir Thomas proposed to the lord mayor and citizens of London to erect a commodious building for the merchants to meet in at his own charge, provided they would find him a site; and, his offer being at once accepted, a piece of ground, then covered with three streets, called New-alley, Swan-alley, and St. Christopher's-alley, was purchased for 3532*l.* The houses, it is related, about eighty in number, being cried by a bellman, and sold to persons who agreed to take them down and carry away the materials, brought the sum of 478*l.*; after which the ground was levelled at the charge of the city, and possession of it given by the lord

mayor and aldermen to Gresham, who laid the first stone of the new building on the 7th of June, 1566; and by November of the following year the edifice, which was of brick, was covered with a roof of slate. It was at first called the *Bourse* or *Burse;* but in 1570, soon after it was finished, as Holinshed tells us, "the three-and-twentieth of January, the queen's majesty, accompanied with her nobility, came from her house at the Strand, called Somerset Place, and entered the city of London by Temple Bar, Fleet-street, Cheape, and so by the north side of the Burse, to Sir Thomas Gresham's in Bishopsgate-street, where she dined: after dinner her grace returned through Cornhill, entered the Burse on the south side, and after her highness had viewed every part thereof above-ground, especially the Pawn, which was richly furnished with all sorts of the finest wares in the city, she caused the same Burse, by an herald and a trumpet, to be proclaimed the Royal Exchange, so to be called from thenceforth, and not otherwise." Gresham, by his will, devised the Exchange which he had thus erected in equal shares to the corporation of London and to the Mercers' Company, and so the property continues to be held to the present day. The original building, a quadrangular arcade surrounding an open court, with galleries above containing shops, &c., perished in the great fire of 1666; after which the stone building on a more extensive scale, that was lately burned down, was erected by the city and the Mercers' Company at a cost of 80,000*l.* Sir Thomas Gresham, who died in 1579, and who, as we have seen, was a scholar as well as a merchant, is also illustrious as the founder of the civic college known by his name, originally established in his house in Bishopsgate-street, which stood where the Excise Office now stands.

Sir Thomas Gresham's Exchange, London. From a Print in the Guildhall Library.

In 1567 the series of voyages of discovery, chiefly undertaken in pursuit of a new passage to India, which illustrates the reign of Elizabeth, commenced with the first voyage of Martin Frobisher, who entered upon his adventurous expedition with two barks of only twenty-five tons each, and a pinnace of ten tons; in the fitting out of which he was assisted by several persons of rank, and especially by Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick (elder brother of Leicester). The government, however, and Queen Elizabeth herself, also took a warm interest in the expedition, upon which the sanguine and intrepid commander is said to have set out with a determination either to discover the north-west passage, or to perish in the attempt. Frobisher and his companions sailed from Deptford on the 8th of June, the queen, who was then at Greenwich looking on from a window of the palace as they passed by, and waving her hand to them by way of expressing her good wishes and bidding them farewell. Proceeding along the eastern coast, they reached Fara, one of the Shetland Islands, from whence they directed their course westward till they came within sight of the coast of Greenland, upon which, however, they were not able to effect a landing. After this Frobisher entered the strait leading to Hudson's Bay which still bears his name, and landed on some of the adjacent coasts, which he took possession of for the English crown. The loss of some of his men, however, now made him resolve to return home; and, after encountering a terrible storm, he arrived at Harwich on the 2nd of October. A circumstance that happened a

short time after the return of this expedition suddenly produced a general excitement respecting it, much greater than had been awakened by the geographical discoveries in which it had resulted. Among other specimens of the produce of the lands he had added to the queen's dominions, Frobisher had brought home with him a piece of heavy black stone, a fragment of which the wife of a person into whose hands it had fallen threw into the fire, when, being taken out again, and quenched in vinegar, it glittered like gold, and, it is said, was afterwards, upon being fused, actually found to contain a portion of that metal. As soon as this was known numbers of people eagerly offered their subscriptions to enable Frobisher to proceed on a second expedition; the queen herself placing at his disposal one of the ships of the royal navy, of two hundred tons burden. With this, and two barks of about thirty tons each, he again set out from Harwich on the 31st of May, 1577. This time no further attempt was made to penetrate to India: the adventurers had been expressly commanded to make the collection of gold ore their only object; and, accordingly, after having reached Frobisher's Strait, as before, and found a quantity of the black stone on some of the islands where they landed, they prepared to return to England, which they reached in the end of September. Commissioners were now appointed by the queen to report on the whole affair; and although it does not appear that anything could be got out of the pieces of black stone, it was still deemed expedient that another expedition should be sent out, either to make search for more genuine specimens of gold ore, or at least to prosecute the pursuit of the north-west passage, of which the discovery of Frobisher's Strait had appeared to open a prospect. Accordingly, on the 31st of May, 1578, Frobisher again sailed from Harwich with twelve ships in addition to the three he had commanded on his last voyage, that he might bring or send home an abundant importation of the black ore. This attempt, however, proved wholly unsuccessful; it was only after having been carried far out of their course by storms and currents, that about half the number of the ships at last reached the mouth of the strait, when the season was too far advanced for a longer continuance in these inclement regions; so that, having collected as much of the black stone as he could find, Frobisher, without having added anything to his former discoveries, again set sail for England, which he reached about the beginning of October. It is unnecessary to say that the supposed ore appears to have only proved another exemplification of the truth of the old remark—that all is not gold that glitters. To Frobisher, however, geography owes the first penetration into these Polar seas, and the discovery both of the strait that bears his name, and of various islands, sounds, and points within and around it. Frobisher was afterwards employed in other naval commands, and was one of the chief captains of the fleet fitted out against the Spanish Armada, after one of the engagements with which his valour was recompensed by the lord high admiral with the honour of knighthood. He died in 1594 of a wound which he received in an attack upon a fort near Brest, which was held by a party of leaguers and Spaniards against Henry IV. of France, to whose assistance he had been sent with four men-of-war.

At the same time that Frobisher was engaged in his third and last expedition of discovery in the seas to the north of the American continent, the celebrated Francis Drake was performing the second circumnavigation of the globe, the first having been accomplished more than half a century before by the Portuguese navigator Fernando de Magalhanes, the discoverer of the strait which still bears his name. We have nothing to do in this place with the political circumstances in which Drake's enterprise originated; there is little doubt that it had the secret sanction of Elizabeth, although its primary object was to attack the possessions and plunder the ships of the Spaniards, with whom this country was then at peace. The vessels employed were the property of private individuals, friends of Drake; they were five in number, the largest, the Pelican, in which the commander of the expedition sailed, being of a hundred tons burden; the smallest, a pinnace of fifteen tons; and, including several gentlemen, the younger sons of noble families, the entire number of persons whom they carried was only one hundred and sixty-four. The little fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 15th of November, 1577. After making the coast of Brazil and entering the Rio de la Plata, Drake's ship and two others had passed through the Strait of Magalhanes, or Magellan, by the beginning of September, 1578. The southern coast of Tierra del Fuego was afterwards discovered by Drake, who then ran up along the western coast of America, as far as to latitude 48° north, collecting, at the same time, immense booty by a succession of exploits against the Spaniards, the relation of which does not belong to our present subject. Drake was the first navigator who had ever advanced to nearly so high a latitude along the North American coast. He afterwards sailed across the Pacific to the Molucca Islands and Java, and, steering thence for the Cape of Good Hope, finished his voyage round the world by returning to Plymouth, which he reached on Monday the 26th of September, 1580, after an absence of nearly two years and ten months. "The queen," says Camden, "received him graciously, and laid up the treasure he brought by way of sequestration, that it might be forthcoming if the Spaniard should demand it. His ship she caused to be drawn up in a little creek near Deptford, upon the Thames, as a monument of his so long sailing round the world, where the carcass [illegible] And having, as it were [illegible] memorial with great ceremony, she [illegible] it, and conferred on Drake [illegible] hood. At this time a br[illegible] they came aboard the [illegible]

of people, and fell down with an hundred men upon it, who, notwithstanding, had none of them any harm. So that that ship may seem to have been built under a lucky planet." Drake's ship was preserved at Deptford till it was quite decayed; and at last, when it was broken up, a chair was made of one of the planks, and presented to the University of Oxford. As for the treasure brought home by the great navigator, it is probable that, although a considerable sum was afterwards paid out of it in satisfaction of claims made in the name of some Spanish merchants, the greater part of it was divided among the captors. Camden goes on to tell us that, although the common people admired and highly commended Drake, as judging it no less honourable to have enlarged the bounds of the name and glory than of the empire of their country, yet "nothing troubled him more than that some of the chief men at court refused to accept the gold which he offered them as gotten by piracy." The queen, however, stood firmly by him, and when Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, complained in passionate terms of his having so much as dared to sail in the Indian Sea, she boldly replied, that she understood not why her subjects, or those of any other prince, should be debarred from the Indies (that is, the Americas), to which she could not admit that the Spaniard had any just title, either by the Bishop of Rome's donation or by any other claim. She maintained that no imaginary right of property, asserted either by the Spaniards or the Portuguese, could hinder other princes from trading to those countries, and, without any breach of the law of nations, from transporting colonies into such parts of them as were not already settled. Nor, she concluded, could she or any other prince be with any reason prevented from freely navigating that vast ocean, seeing the use of the sea and air is common to all; "neither can a title to the ocean belong to any people or private persons, forasmuch as neither nature nor public use and custom permitteth any possession thereof." This high tone, never before so distinctly taken by the English government, and never afterwards lowered, was mainly inspired by Drake's brilliant exploits.

The next voyages of discovery that fall to be mentioned after Drake's circumnavigation are the three made by John Davis in quest of a north-west passage; the first in 1585, in which he [illegible]ailed as far north as to the 73rd degree of latitude, [illegible]nd discovered the strait to which he has left his [illegible]ame; the second, in 1586, in which he made the attempt to penetrate to the Pacific at a point farther to the south; the third, in 1587, in which [illegible] again ascended the strait he had discovered two [illegible] before, with no better success than at first. [illegible] atte[illegible] [illegible]avis was encouraged and [illegible] [illegible]al members of the mer[illegible] [illegible]y, but by Burleigh, Walsingham, [illegible] queen's ministers and the [illegible] [illegible]ge round the world was performed by another Englishman, Mr. Thomas Cavendish, the son of a gentleman of property in Suffolk, who sailed from Plymouth with three vessels on the 21st of July, 1586, and, after a course both of navigation and of hostilities against the Spaniards strongly resembling that pursued by Drake, finished his circumnavigation by returning to the same port on the 9th of September, 1588, having thus been absent little more than two years and one month. This voyage, however, was not productive of any geographical discoveries of importance, though it corrected some of the statements of preceding navigators. In a second South-Sea voyage, undertaken by Cavendish in 1591, Captain John Davis, mentioned above, who commanded one of the ships, had the fortune to discover the Falkland Islands.* Other South-Sea voyages, made by Andrew Merrick in 1589, and by Sir Richard Hawkins in 1593, added little or nothing to geographical knowledge; and the same may be said of the voyage for the discovery of a north-west passage, undertaken in 1602, by Captain George Weymouth, at the joint expense of the Russia and Turkey companies.

By this time, also, a direct commercial intercourse with India had been opened by the English. In 1581 a number of eminent merchants were incorporated into a company for trading to Turkey, to which country the charter declared that they had, at their own great costs and charges, found out and opened a trade "not heretofore in the memory of any man now living known to be commonly used and frequented by way of merchandise." Wishing to engage in the trade to India, this company, in 1583, dispatched Messrs. Newbery and Fitch to Tripoli in Syria, from which they proceeded to Bagdad, and thence down the Tigris and the Persian Gulf to Ormus, where they embarked for Goa. Newbury died in India, but Fitch, after having visited Agra, Bengal, Pegu, Ceylon, and Cochin, returning by Goa, Ormus, and Aleppo, arrived again in England in April 1591. A trade, however, carried on by this overland route, could never have enabled the English merchants to compete with their Portuguese rivals; and before Fitch's return this had come to be generally felt. It appears that, in 1589, a petition was presented to the queen from sundry merchants, requesting permission to make a trading adventure to India by sea. On the 10th of April, 1591, nearly at the very moment at which Fitch made his reappearance, three ships, fitted out by the chief members of the Turkey Company, sailed from Plymouth for the Cape of Good Hope, one of which, commanded by Captain Lancaster, after suffering many disasters, reached India, and took in a cargo of pepper and other spices at Sumatra and Ceylon. But having afterwards set out for the West Indies, Lancaster there lost his ship, and was left with his crew on the uninhabited island of Mona, near Hispaniola, from which he was brought home to Europe by a French vessel in

* See Burney's Discoveries in the South Sea, vol. ii. p. 103.

May, 1594, after having been absent about three years and two months. Three other ships, sent out for India and China in 1596 by Sir Robert Dudley and some other London merchants, were still more unfortunate. Meanwhile the war with Spain and Portugal had cut off the usual supply of Oriental productions by the medium of the latter country, in consequence of which the price of pepper is said to have been raised from three to eight shillings a pound, and the prices of other commodities in the same proportion, none being to be had except from the Dutch, who had gone into the India trade in 1595, and were already carrying it on with great success. In 1599 the merchants of the Turkey Company made another attempt to establish a land trade with India by dispatching a Mr. Mildenhall to the court of the Great Mogul at Agra; but he did not reach that capital till the year 1603, and, although he afterwards obtained important commercial privileges for the company from the Mohammedan emperor, his proceedings do not belong to the history of the present period. In the mean time the scheme of an East India trade, to be carried on by sea, and independently of the Turkey Company, had at last been taken up with effect. On the 22nd of September, 1599, the lord mayor, aldermen, and principal merchants of London, to the number of about a hundred, assembled at Founders' Hall, and united themselves into an association for trading to India, for which purpose they subscribed on the spot a capital of above 30,000*l.* At a subsequent meeting they drew up a petition to the privy council, in which they represented that, stimulated by the success which had attended the voyages to the East Indies already made by the Dutch, who were then fitting out another voyage, for which they had bought ships in England, the associated merchants had resolved upon making a voyage of adventure of the same kind, and for that purpose entreated that her majesty would grant them letters patent of incorporation, succession, &c., seeing that the proposed trade, being so remote, could not be managed but by a joint and united stock. This movement led, after a delay occasioned by the prospect of a peace with Spain, to the grant by the queen, on the 31st of December, 1600, of a charter to a great number of gentlemen therein named, constituting them one body corporate and politic, by the name of "The Governor and Company of the Merchants of London trading into the East Indies," Mr. Thomas Smith, alderman of London, one of the leading members of the Turkey Company, being appointed the first governor. The charter, among other privileges, conferred the exclusive right of trading, for fifteen years, to all parts of Asia, Africa, and America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope eastward as far as to the Strait of Magellan, excepting such countries or ports as might be in the actual possession of any Christian prince in amity with the queen. The new company lost no time in sending out their first adventure. Four ships, the best that could be found in England, although the largest was only of six hundred tons burden, the smallest of not more than two hundred and forty tons, and carrying in all four hundred and eighty men, having been put under the command of Lancaster, who was styled Admiral of the little fleet, and invested by the queen with the power of exercising martial law, dropped down from Woolwich on the 13th of February, 1601, but did not take their departure from Torbay till the 22nd of April, and did not reach Acheen, in Sumatra, till the 5th of June in the following year. In consequence of the time thus lost Lancaster did not return home till after the death of Elizabeth, so that the history of all but the mere opening of the commerce of the English with India belongs to the next period.*

A beginning was also made in the latter part of the present reign in the attempt to effect settlements in some of the newly discovered parts of the earth, although the proper foundation of the colonial empire of England must be referred to a later date. In 1576 Sir Humphrey Gilbert (stepbrother of Sir Walter Raleigh) had published a treatise on the subject of the north-west passage, and, two years after, had obtained a patent, empowering him to occupy and colonise such parts of the North American continent as were not already in the possession of any of the queen's allies. Gilbert, accordingly, accompanied by Raleigh, made an attempt the same year to carry his project into execution; but he had not long put out to sea when he was obliged to return with the loss of one of his best ships. No better success attended a second attempt of the two brothers in 1583: after having reached Newfoundland, Gilbert, who has been called "the father of our plantations," perished with his ship in a storm on his voyage home; and of four other vessels, of which the expedition consisted, only one reached England. The next year, however, Raleigh, not discouraged by this disastrous failure, having obtained letters patent from the queen, granting to him all such countries as he should discover in full property, with the reservation only to the crown of a fifth part of the gold or silver ore that might be found in them, again fitted out two ships, and dispatched them to the North American coast, with directions to take a more southerly course than that which had been followed by Gilbert. The result of this voyage was the discovery of the part of the American continent which Elizabeth honoured, in allusion to herself, with the name of Virginia.† Raleigh's patent was now confirmed by act of parliament, and, early in 1585, he sent out another fleet of seven vessels, under the conduct of his relative, Sir Richard Grenville, a most distinguished person, alike as a seaman and as a soldier, to take complete possession of and effect a settlement on the newly-acquired territory. Grenville actually left a colony of one hundred and eight men on the island of Roanoak, adjacent to the

* Macpherson's History of the European Commerce with India, 4to. 1812, pp. 72—82.

† Virginia originally comprehended both the present state of that name and the adjoining country of North Carolina.

coast of Virginia; but scarcely had the ships that brought them out taken their departure when the settlers became involved in hostilities with the natives, in consequence of which they were glad to embark in the fleet of Sir Francis Drake, who chanced to touch at the place on his return from another expedition against the Spanish possessions, and who brought them home to England about the end of July, 1586.* Within a fortnight after they had sailed Grenville arrived with three ships laden with all necessaries, which Raleigh had dispatched for their use, and, finding them gone, he left fifteen men in the place with provisions for two years. When the next year Raleigh sent out three more vessels, with a governor, Mr. John White, and twelve assistants, to whom he gave a charter, incorporating them by the name of the Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia, no remains of these unhappy settlers were to be found, except their bones scattered on the beach: they had all been put to death by the savages. An attempt was made by White and his companions to repair the buildings which had been laid in ruins; but new hostilities with the natives, and dissensions among the settlers themselves, soon arose, and the governor eventually determined upon returning for further supplies to England, where he arrived in the beginning of November. At this moment the public mind in England was occupied with one object—the grand Spanish armament that was already afloat for the invasion of the kingdom; Raleigh himself was busy among the foremost in devising the necessary arrangements for the national defence; he found means, in the first instance, to send back White with supplies in two vessels, which, however, were attacked by a Spanish privateer, and so much disabled as to be incapable of proceeding on their voyage; but after this no further attempt was made to relieve the unhappy colonists of Virginia, who, men, women, and children, to the number of nearly a hundred and twenty, that had been left by White, must all speedily have perished of want if they were not destroyed by the tomahawks of the barbarous aborigines upon whose wilderness they had intruded. And thus terminated the work of colonization as prosecuted by the English in the reign of Elizabeth.

We will now add a few notices respecting the navy and commercial shipping of the kingdom in this reign. Very soon after she came to the throne, Camden tells us, "this wise and careful princess, in order to prevent any hostile attempts, and secure herself and her subjects in the fruition of a settled peace, though her treasure ran low, yet began to stock her armoury with all necessary ammunition, expending a vast sum for arms in Germany, because those she bought up at Antwerp were stopped by the Spaniard." She also, he adds, caused a great number of iron and brass pieces to be cast; and in this she was aided by the discovery both of great abundance of calamine, or zinc, in different parts of England, and of a vein of copper near Reswick, in Cumberland, so rich that it afforded a sufficient supply not only for the home demand but for exportation. She likewise introduced the manufacture of gunpowder, and made the military service popular by raising the pay of the soldiers. Further, the historian goes on, "she rigged out her fleet with all manner of tackling and ammunition, so that it may be allowed to have been the best equipped navy that was ever set out by the English. For the defence whereof she built a castle on the banks of the Medway near Upmore, the usual harbour for the fleet, and augmented the sailors' and mariners' pay; so that she was justly styled by strangers the Restorer of the Naval Glory, and the Queen of the North Seas. Neither had she occasion to hire ships from Hamburgh, Lubeck, Dantzic, Genoa, and Venice, which was her predecessors' case. The wealthier inhabitants of the sea-coasts did likewise follow the queen's example in building ships of war with all imaginable cheerfulness, insomuch that in a little time the queen's fleet, in conjunction with her subjects' shipping, was so potent that it was able to furnish out twenty thousand fighting men for sea service." The ships thus built by private individuals were of course merchant-ships, though liable to be pressed into the public service in cases of emergency. In 1572 it is stated that the entire navy of England consisted of 146 vessels of all sizes, of which one carried a hundred guns, 9 from eighty-eight to sixty, 49 from fifty-eight to forty, 58 from thirty-eight to twenty, and the remaining 29 from eighteen to six.* Of these, however, only 13 belonged to the crown; the rest consisted of the mercantile shipping of the country, which was still esteemed the principal part of its maritime power. In the year 1582 the English merchantmen are said to have been 135 in number, many of them being of 500 tons burthen. The fleet equipped to encounter the Spanish Armada, in 1588, consisted, according to the most authentic account, of 117 ships, having on board 11,120 men.† Of these vessels eighteen are stated to have been merchant adventurers from the river Thames, but of the rest by far the greater number must have been merchantmen hired or pressed for the occasion. Another account makes the entire number of ships to have been 181; namely, 34 men-of-war, of which five were from 800 to 1100 tons burthen each; the 18 private adventurers; 33 furnished by the city of London; 43 hired ships; and 53 coasters, sent by various sea-ports.‡

* "These men," says Camden, "who were thus brought back, were the first that I know of that brought into England that Indian plant which they call *tabacca* and *nicotia*, or tobacco, which they used against crudities, being taught it by the Indians. Certainly from that time forward it began to grow into great request, and to be sold at a high rate, whilst in a short time many men everywhere, some for wantonness, some for health sake, with insatiable desire and greediness, sucked in the stinking smoke thereof through an earthen pipe, which presently they blew out again at their nostrils; insomuch that tobacco-shops are now as ordinary in most towns as tap-houses and taverns."

* Burchet's History of Transactions at Sea, as quoted by Anderson.

† Original List in the State Paper Office, as quoted in Tytler's Life of Raleigh, p. 84.

‡ Burghley State Papers, u. 615 &c.

These last seem to be omitted in the other enumeration. According to a work published in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the writer of which appears to have derived much of his information from Pepys, the then Secretary of the Admiralty (and author of the well-known Diary), Queen Elizabeth in 1588 had at sea 150 sail of ships, of which only 40 were the property of the crown.* Besides the 110 hired vessels, however, the mercantile shipping of the kingdom amounted to 150 sail, measuring on an average 150 tons, and carrying 40 seamen each. Each of the queen's own ships carried about 300 men, and each of those hired by her about 110. It is added that, by the end of the reign, both the quantity of the shipping and the number of the seamen belonging to the kingdom had decreased about a third. According to an account presented by the Navy Office in 1791, in obedience to an order of the House of Commons, the royal navy amounted in 1547, at the end of the reign of Henry VIII., to 12,455 tons; in 1553, at the end of the reign of Edward VI., to 11,065; in 1558, at the end of the reign of Mary, to 7110; and in 1603, at the end of the reign of Elizabeth, to 17,110. The largest of Queen Elizabeth's ships at her death is said to have measured 1000 tons, and to have carried 340 seamen, and 40 cannon.

A new species of maritime adventure in which the English began to engage in the reign of Elizabeth was the whale-fishery. Hakluyt, under the year 1575, reports the "request of an honest merchant, by letter to a friend of his, to be advised and directed in the course of killing the whale;" with the friend's answer, stating that there ought to be provided a ship of 200 tons burthen, with proper utensils and instruments, and that all the necessary hands were to be obtained from Biscay, the people of which country appear to have been, with the exception perhaps of the inhabitants of some of the most northern regions, the earliest whale-fishers in Europe. The first notice in Hakluyt of any actual whale-fishing by the English occurs under the date of 1593, in which year it is stated that some English ships made a voyage to Cape Breton to fish for morse and whales; and before the close of the century we find the ships of the Russia Company engaged occasionally in fishing for whales in the seas in the neighbourhood of Spitzbergen. It appears that the oil was the only thing for which the whale was then valued; at least there is no mention at this early date of any trade in the fins or whalebone.

In 1577, according to Hakluyt, the ships engaged in the Newfoundland fishery were 150 from France, 100 from Spain, 50 from Portugal, and 15 from England; the Biscayans had also 20 or 30 ships engaged in the whale-fishery; but the English, he says, had the best ships, and therefore gave the law to the rest, and were their protectors in the bays from pirates and other intruders; for which it was then, and had been of old, a custom to make them a sort of acknowledgment by a boat-load of salt or other present of that nature. The ships of the Spaniards were the next best to those of the English. Hakluyt accounts for the small number of the English ships that resorted to Newfoundland by the number employed in the Iceland fishery.

A new mercantile company of a peculiar nature was incorporated by Elizabeth in 1579, by the name of the Fellowship of Eastland Merchants, with the exclusive right of trading to Norway, Sweden, Poland, Prussia, and all the other countries along the coasts of the Baltic. "This," says Anderson, "was what is called in England a regulated company—that is, a company trading, not on a joint stock, but every one on his separate bottom, under certain regulations." The exclusive privileges of this association were extinguished at the Revolution by the act called the Declaration of Rights; but in Anderson's time the Eastland merchants, and also the Merchants of the Staple, another company similarly circumstanced, continued to exist in name, and to elect their annual officers—their capital being reduced to a small stock in the public funds, the interest of which defrayed the expenses of their yearly meetings. The once famous South Sea Company, of which this writer was one of the officers, is now, we believe, reduced to the same condition of a merely nominal existence.

We have seen the rise of Antwerp, soon after the commencement of the present period, to the rank of being the most eminent commercial city in the world—the principal impulse which carried it to this height being originally derived from the opening of the Portuguese trade by sea with India. In 1585 the capture and sack of this great emporium by the Spanish commander, the Duke of Parma, gave a shock to the whole system of European commerce. About six thousand of the inhabitants perished in the devastation of their noble and opulent city; and of those that survived its fall the greater number of those whose wealth, enterprise, and industry had hitherto chiefly sustained it, fled from its ensanguined streets and blackened ruins. To quote the compendious summary of Anderson, "The ruin of this famous city gave the finishing blow to the commerce of the Spanish Netherlands. The fishing trade removed into Holland. The noble manufactures of Flanders and Brabant were dispersed into different countries. The woollen manufacture settled mostly in Leyden, where it still flourishes. The linen removed to Haerlem and Amsterdam. About a third part of the manufacturers and merchants who wrought and dealt in silks, damasks, taffeties, bays, sayes, serges, stockings, &c., settled in England, because England was then ignorant of those manufactures." The rise, indeed, of the

* Happy Future State of England, fol. Lon. 1689, p. 127. For these statements the author quotes a remonstrance of the Corporation of the Trinity House, in 1602, to the Lord High Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham, extant in Sir Julius Cæsar's Collections. The author of the Happy Future State of England has been said to be James Annesley, Earl of Anglesey; according to another account, the work was written by Sir Peter Pet.

manufacturing industry of this country may be said to date from the fall of Antwerp. In commercial importance Amsterdam now became what Antwerp had been, the grand emporium of Europe.

A curious evidence of how much the internal trade of England was still dependent upon the periodical fairs or markets held in the great towns is afforded by a proclamation issued in 1593, prohibiting the holding of Bartholomew fair in the usual manner for that year in consequence of the plague being then in London. The proclamation speaks of there being wont to be a general resort to the fair of all kinds of people out of every part of the realm, who would, therefore, carry the sickness back with them over the whole country, if the fair were to be kept as usual. It was too necessary, however, to the public convenience to be altogether suppressed even for a single year; all that was attempted, therefore, was, to establish certain regulations to diminish as much as possible the concourse of people, or the danger thence arising. These regulations give a good view of what Bartholomew fair was two hundred and fifty years ago. Her majesty commands, "That, in the usual place of Smithfield, there be no manner of market for any wares kept, nor any stalls or booths for any manner of merchandize, or for victuals, suffered to be set up; but that the open place of the ground called Smithfield be only occupied with sale of horses and cattle, and of stall wares, as butter, cheese, and such like, in gross, and not by retail; the same to continue for two days only. And for vent of woollen cloths, kerseys, and linen cloths, to be all sold in gross, and not by retail, the same shall be all brought within the Close Yard (afterwards called the Cloth Fair) of St. Bartholomew's, where shops are there continued, and have gates to shut the same place in the nights, and there such cloth to be offered for sale, and to be bought in gross, and not by retail; the same market to continue but three days. And that the sale and vent for leather be kept in the outside of the ring in Smithfield, as hath been accustomed, without erecting any shops or booths for the same, or for any victualler or other occupier of any ways whatsoever." From this we may gather that Bartholomew fair was in those days a great annual mart to which merchants used to come up from the various parts of the country, and perhaps from other countries, to make their wholesale purchases, just as some of the continental fairs still are. The object of the regulations was to prevent the holding of the retail market, by which, of course, the crowd of visitors was chiefly attracted; but the wholesale market was too indispensable to the general trade of the country to be interfered with.

Our space will only allow us to add a few out of many particulars that have been preserved relating to the commerce of Scotland during the present period. In the early part of the period commercial legislation in that country was directed by the same spirit and to the same objects as in England. Thus, among the acts passed by the first parliament of James IV., in 1488, was one enforcing the importation of a certain quantity of money by every merchant exporting Scottish commodities: wool, cloth, salmon, and herrings, are the descriptions of native produce and manufactures that are specified as being wont to be sent abroad. At this time the general tendency of the laws that were made was rather to check than encourage foreign trade. This same parliament, by another act, prohibited vessels coming from abroad, whether foreign or belonging to the country, from putting in at any other ports than those of what are called the free burghs—of which Dunbarton, Irvine, Wigton, Kirkcudbright, and Renfrew—all in the western part of the country—are mentioned as the chief; and further made it illegal for foreigners to carry on any trade whatever except at the said burghs. Foreign merchants were also expressly prohibited from buying any fish in Scotland till they were salted and barrelled. The navy of Scotland at this time appears to have consisted of only two vessels, the Flower and the Yellow Carvel. "They were adapted," observes Macpherson, "chiefly for war, being well provided with guns, crossbows, lime-pots, fire-balls, two-handed swords, and also with good seamen, under the command of Sir Andrew Wood, a brave and experienced officer; but I cannot venture to affirm whether they belonged to the public or were Wood's own private property." In the course of his reign, however, James made great efforts to raise the maritime power of his kingdom; and we afterwards find the list of his distinguished naval commanders increased by the names of the two Bartons (father and son), Alexander Mathisson, William Merrimouth of Leith, styled King of the Sea, and others. The ships in which these adventurers sailed, however, appear to have been for the most part their own property. A late writer has drawn a glowing picture of the naval eminence to which their exertions and the fostering patronage of the king raised their country: "They were encouraged to extend their voyages, to arm their trading-vessels, to purchase foreign ships of war, to import cannon, and to superintend the building of ships of force at home. In these cases the monarch not only took an interest, but studied the subject with his usual enthusiasm, and personally superintended every detail. He conversed with his mariners,—rewarded the most skilful and assiduous by presents,—visited familiarly at the houses of his principal merchants and sea-officers,—practised with his artillerymen, often discharging and pointing the guns,—and delighted in embarking on short voyages of experiment, in which, under the tuition of Wood, or the Bartons, he became acquainted with the practical parts of navigation. The consequences of such conduct were highly favourable to him: he became as popular with his sailors as he was beloved by his nobility; his fame was carried by them to foreign countries;

shipwrights, cannon-founders, and foreign artisans of every description, flocked to his court, from France, Italy, and the Low Countries."* The Statute-book shows the anxiety evinced by the legislature in this reign for the encouragement of one great branch of maritime enterprise and industry. An act of 1493 directs that ships and busses should be built in all sea-ports for the fishery, none of which were to be under twenty tons burden; that they should be provided with nets and other necessary implements; and that the magistrates of the said towns should compel all idle persons to serve in them. Another act of 1499, entitled "Anent (concerning) the great innumerable riches that is tint (lost) in fault of ships and busses" renews the same regulations. Other enactments, however, prompted by the prevalent jealousy of foreigners, tended to check the extension of the fishing-trade fully as much as these did to force it. Thus, in 1540, the parliament altogether prohibited the sending of white fish beyond sea, declaring that strangers should only be permitted to come and buy them of merchants and freemen of burghs with ready gold and silver, or merchandise; and an act of the fourth parliament of James VI. enjoined all fishers of herring, or other white fish, to bring their fish to free ports; there to be sold, first in common to all subjects, and afterwards the remainder to freemen, that the king's own subjects might be first served, and that, if abundance remained, they might be salted and exported by free burgesses. Here we have the spirit of the mercantile and that of the corporation system in operation at the same time—the exclusion of the foreign in favour of the native producer or capitalist, and of the non-freeman in favour of the burgess. The interest of the general class of consumers was as little thought of as if no such class had existed.

The Danish historians record that, in 1510, when Denmark was invaded by a squadron from Lubeck, King John provided a fleet for himself by purchasing ships, at a great expense, from his allies, the English, French, and Scots, all of which nations, it is stated, had then many vessels in the Baltic. But the most considerable Scottish fleet of the earlier part of the sixteenth century of which we have an account is that which is stated to have been fitted out by James V., in 1540, for an expedition to the islands on the north-west coast of his kingdom. It consisted of twelve stout ships, with which the king himself, attended by several of his chief nobility and a military force (Lord Herbert says that the vessels, which he makes fifteen in number, carried two thousand men), landed in all the principal islands, and, carrying away with him the chiefs as hostages for the obedience and orderly behaviour of their clans, in that way, for the first time, reduced those dependencies under real subjection to the Scottish crown. On this occasion James carried with him an excellent navigator and hydrographer, named Alexander Lindsay, who drew from his observations in this voyage the first known chart of Scotland and the adjacent islands; a work that has been repeatedly engraved, and is not only very accurate for that age, but much superior to some drawn at a later date.*

Veer, otherwise called Campvere, or Terveer, in Zealand, had now become the Scottish staple in the Netherlands, and Ludovico Guicciardini states that it owed its principal commerce to that circumstance. The principal foreign trade of Scotland, as of England was, during the whole of this period, with the Netherlands. The office of conservator of the nation's mercantile privileges in that country is mentioned in an act of parliament passed in one of the first years of the sixteenth century, and is thought to be of still earlier origin; an act of 1579 imposes a payment of 10*l.* Flemish (about 6*l.* sterling) as entrance money upon every person becoming a member of the association of merchants trading to the Netherlands; and another act of the same year (repeated in 1597) confiscates all the goods of non-freemen trading thither, two-thirds to go to the crown and the remaining third to the conservator. This office, which was similar to that of a foreign consul, was preserved, it may be added, down almost to our own times. In the latter years of the sixteenth century mention is made of Scottish ships trading both to the Azores and the Canaries. Wine was probably the principal commodity which they brought from those islands.

The commercial legislation of the northern kingdom continued to be of the same restrictive character as ever to the end of the present period. In 1579 the exportation of coals and of salted meat was strictly prohibited. In 1581 and 1582 certain sumptuary regulations were promulgated by the parliament for the avowed purpose of putting down or diminishing the use of foreign commodities, in the notion that thereby home manufactures would be encouraged and the poor better employed. All persons, not being dukes, earls, lords of parliament, knights, or landed gentlemen possessed of at least 2000*l.* of yearly rent (that is, 250*l.* sterling), were prohibited, under heavy fines, from wearing in their clothing or lining any cloth of gold or silver, velvet, satin, damask, taffeties, fringes, passments (a kind of lace), or embroidery of gold, silver, or silk; or (with the exception of certain officers and magistrates) any lawn, cambric, or woollen cloth made in foreign parts; and all persons under the above-mentioned degrees were also forbidden the use of confections, foreign drugs, and costly spices, which, it is affirmed, were wont to be lavishly used at weddings, christenings, and other banquets, by persons of low estate. At the same time the exportation of wool was absolutely prohibited. The admission of representatives of shires and burghs to seats in the Scottish parliament, which took place in 1587,† was soon fol-

* Tytler, Hist. Scot. v. 7.

* Note by Macpherson, on Anderson, vol. ii. p. 86.
† See ante, p. 165.

lowed by the enactment of various laws for confining both trade and manufactures, as far as possible, to the freemen of burghs—with so quick an instinct did the new class that had thus obtained a share in the legislature proceed to turn the power they had secured to account in the promotion of their own interests or selfish views! Towards the close of the present period, however, we begin to perceive symptoms of the relaxation or giving way of the old legislation against foreign commerce, as it may be correctly designated. In 1597 the parliament, while it renewed the prohibition against the exportation of wool, found itself obliged to allow the bringing over of craftsmen from foreign parts to work it up; and while it laid a duty of five per cent. upon all cloth and other merchandise imported from abroad, it permitted peers, barons, and freeholders both to send their own goods beyond sea without paying custom, and also to import wines, cloths, and other furniture, duty free, provided they did so, not for merchandise, but for their own particular use. This was a permission which we may be sure would be taken advantage of to introduce foreign commodities into the country to a much greater extent than the act professed to contemplate. Another of the acts of the parliament of this year, however, absolutely prohibited the importation into the country of English woollens, which, it was pleased to say, had, for the most part, only an outward show, and were wanting in that substance and strength which oft-times they appeared to have, besides being one of the chief causes of the transportation of gold and silver out of the realm.

The legal interest of money in Scotland was fixed in 1586, at ten per cent., or at five bolls of victual for 100*l.* by the year. The average price of five bolls of victual, that is, probably, oats, was therefore 10*l.*, or about 25*s.* sterling. In other words, oats at this time sold in Scotland for about 5*s.* per boll, which would be about 6*s.* 8*d.* per quarter.

The history of the coinage in England for the greater part of the present period exhibits a continuation of the process of depreciation which had been going on throughout the preceding century

Process of Coining.

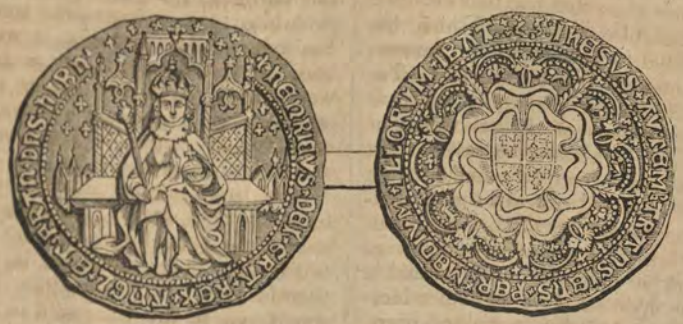
From a wood-cut engraved by order of the Emperor Maximilian, and published in his Life (Der Weiss Kunig) by Keiser.

with the introduction of a new mode of debasement still more ruinous.*

Henry VII. preserved the same standard which had been fixed by Edward IV. in 1464 and adhered to by Richard III., the pound of silver being still coined into 450 pennies, or thirty-seven nominal shillings and sixpence. Shillings, which had hitherto been only money of account, were first struck by this king in 1504; they were at first called, also, large groats, and afterwards testoons, the latter name (from the French *teste* or *tête*, a head) being given to them from the royal image being stamped upon them in the unusual form of a profile instead of a full face. "This silver money of Henry VII. with the half face," says Leake, "differs therein from all his predecessors after King Stephen; and in this his successors followed his

* See ante, pp. 184—187.

COINS OF HENRY VII.



SOVEREIGN.

ROSE-RIAL.

GROAT.

HALF-GROAT.

PENNY.

example, for we have none afterwards with the full face but the bad money of Henry VIII. and the good of Edward VI. He was the first, likewise, except Henry III., that added the number to his name to distinguish his money from the former Henries. He also left off the old Rose, as it is called, about the head, and, instead of the pellets and place of mintage on the reverse, he placed the arms, which is the first time we see it upon the English silver money."* A new gold coin appears in the reign of Henry VII., called the Sovereign, or sometimes the Rose Rial, or the Double Rose Noble, of the value of twenty shillings; and there were also half sovereigns and double sovereigns. As these gold coins, however, are exceedingly scarce, the writer last quoted thinks it probable that "they were struck upon extraordinary occasions, only in the nature of medals, and, perhaps, were first coined in honour of the king's coronation, as his figure thereon, in the attitude of that solemnity, seems to intimate." "We are told,"

* Hist. Ac. of English Money, p. 177.

he adds, "such were distributed at the coronation of Queen Mary, and sovereigns were coined in every reign afterwards to King James I. inclusive."

The state of Henry VIII.'s money, Leake observes, was, like his mind and humour, very changeable and uncertain. At first he observed the same standard as his father, but he afterwards debased both his gold and his silver coins, being, Camden says, the first king of England that mixed the money with brass, or rather copper. Some alloy, however, was of course used before his time; and the fact seems to be that he merely made a very considerable increase in the quantity, employing the copper not merely to harden the coin and make it fit for use, but to diminish its intrinsic value. According to the tables drawn up by Folkes from the sure authority of the indentures made with the Masters of the Mint, it appears that, whereas, hitherto, the minted pound had consisted of eleven ounces two pennyweights of silver, and only eighteen pennyweights of alloy, Henry, in 1543, changed the proportions to ten ounces of silver and two ounces of alloy. Two years after he reduced the amount of silver to six ounces, or only one-half of the entire metal; and in 1546 he adopted the still more monstrous proportion of only four ounces of silver with eight of alloy. The pieces struck in both these last-mentioned coinages can only be justly described by the name of base money. But in addition to this debasement of the coinage Henry very materially depreciated it; that is to say, he coined the pound of silver or mixed metal into a greater nominal amount of money than it had previously been made to produce. Instead of 37*s.* 6*d.*, or 450 pennies, into which it had been coined ever since the fourth year of Edward IV., he made it yield 45*s.*, or 540 pennies, in 1527; and in 1543, 48*s.*, or 576 pennies. So that, taking the effect of the two operations together, he at last, instead of the former rate of 450 pennies out of eleven ounces and two pennyweights of silver, produced 576 pennies out of only four ounces of that metal. Henry's gold coins were sovereigns, half-sovereigns, or rials, half and quarter rials, angels, angelets or half angels, and quarter angels, George nobles, forty penny pieces, crowns of the double rose, and half-crowns.* The George noble was so called from its having on the reverse St. George killing the dragon; its value was 6*s.* 8*d.*, or two forty penny pieces, the old value of the angel, which in 1527 was raised to 7*s.* 6*d.*, an alteration rendered necessary in order to maintain the old relation between the gold and silver coinage after the similar depreciation of the latter. Gold was at this time valued, in the operations of the English Mint, at twelve times its weight in silver.†

But the depreciation and the debasement of the coinage were carried still farther by Edward VI. than they had been by his father. At first, indeed, he diminished the quantity of alloy from eight to six ounces in the pound; but in 1551 he increased it to nine, leaving only three ounces of silver in the pound of mixed metal out of which the different pieces of money were struck. Then, instead of 48*s.*, as in the last reign, 72*s.* were now coined out of the pound. That is to say, instead of the old rate of 450 pennies out of more than eleven ounces of silver, three ounces were now made to yield 864 pennies. The public inconvenience and confusion, however, that resulted from this prodigious depreciation came at length to be so severely felt that, towards the end of the reign, vigorous measures were taken to restore the coinage to its ancient standard; and in 1552 the alloy in the pound of silver was reduced to nineteen pennyweights, or to within one pennyweight of what it had always been down to the thirty-fourth year of Henry VIII. At the same time the number of shillings into which the pound of metal was coined was reduced from 72 to 60. The gold coin, which had been as much depreciated as the silver, was likewise restored to the same extent. Edward VI. was the first English king that issued crowns, half-crowns, and sixpences, if we except a crown struck by his father, which does not seem to have been intended for circulation.

One of Queen Mary's first proceedings was to issue a proclamation for the regulation of the coinage, in which she dilated upon the great mischiefs that had ensued from the base money of the two preceding reigns; but in her own first coinage, nevertheless, she once more slightly reduced the fineness of the metal, making the alloy of the pound of silver an ounce instead of nineteen pennyweights, and adding also two pennyweights more of alloy to the pound of gold. The coins struck after her marriage bear her husband's head and name as well as her own. Some authorities state that crowns of gold were struck by Philip and Mary; but no such pieces are now known to exist.

The complete restoration of the coinage was reserved for Queen Elizabeth. In the second year of her reign the silver coin recovered the whole of its ancient fineness by the alloy in the pound being reduced to eighteen pennyweights, a proportion which has ever since been retained. The number of shillings struck out of the pound of silver, however, was not lessened; on the contrary, after having continued to be 60, as in the preceding reign, till 1601, it was then increased to 62, as it remained ever after till 1816, when it was farther increased to 66, which it still is. The debased money of her father and brother was also recalled

* Leake, p. 195.

† A groat and a half groat coined by Cardinal Wolsey, as Archbishop of York, are among the curiosities of the coinage of this reign. These pieces on the sides of the shield containing the royal arms, displayed the letters T. W., for Thomas Wolsey, and underneath the cardinal's hat. "It was an article of the cardinal's impeachment," says Leake, "that he presumptuously imprinted the cardinal's hat under the king's arms upon his majesty's coins of groats made at York, which had never been done by any subject before. So that his crime was not for coining money with the cardinal's hat thereon —for the smaller coins, which bore the same stamp, are not taken notice of—but for coining groats, which had never been done by any subject before; but, as to small money, it had been immemorially coined in the bishop's mints at Canterbury, York, and Durham. But this power dwindled away with the pope's authority here, and was discontinued after this reign; Edward Lee, Wolsey's successor, being the last that used this privilege."

COINS OF HENRY VIII.

GEORGE (GOLD) NOBLE.

GOLD CROWN.

GOLD HALF-CROWN.

SHILLING.

WOLSEY'S GROAT.

WOLSEY'S HALF-GROAT.

PENNY.

and melted in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign; so much of it as was received at the Mint is computed to have passed current for above 638,000*l.*, its real value being only about 244,000*l.* The gold coins of Elizabeth are sovereigns and half sovereigns, crowns and half crowns, angels, half angels, and quarter angels, nobles and double nobles. Of the sovereigns there are some remarkable as having milled edges, being the first English money so distinguished. There are also milled shillings, sixpences, and other silver coins belonging to almost every year of this reign. Besides the common silver money Elizabeth coined what were called portcullis crowns or dollars, being imitations of the Spanish dollar or piece of eight, and of the value of 4*s.* 6*d.*, for the use of the East India Company. These pieces are now very scarce. It appears also that, a short time before her death, she had intended to coin farthings and other coins of small value of copper, a metal which had not yet been made use of for money in this country.

The depreciation of the Scottish money, which had already proceeded so far before the commencement of the present period, was carried during its course farther and farther in each successive reign. The debasement of the metal of the Scottish coinage, however, never approached the point to which that of the English was carried by Henry VIII. and

Edward VI. As in England, the ancient standard of fineness had been eighteen pennyweights of alloy in the pound of silver; in 1529, the sixteenth year of James V., the proportion of alloy was for the first time increased to one ounce; in 1571 it was made three ounces, and in 1576 four ounces; but three years later it was restored to the former proportion of one ounce, at which it remained throughout the rest of the period. But whereas the pound of silver had originally, as in England, been coined into 20 shillings, or rather into 240 pennies, and even after a century of progressive depreciation had in 1475 been made to produce only 144*s.*;* in

* See ante, p. 1817.

COINS OF EDWARD VI.

Gold Sovereign.

Crown.

Shilling.

Sixpence.

Groat.

Penny.

1529 it was coined into 192*s.*; in 1556 into 260*s.*; in 1565 into 360*s.*; in 1571 into 334*s.*; in 1579 into 440*s.*; in 1581 into 480*s.*; in 1597 into 600*s.*; and finally, in 1601, into 720*s.* In other words, what was originally only one pound had, by the steady operation of this nefarious and mischievous process, as practised by the government through a space of about three centuries, been made at last to pass current for no less than thirty-six pounds!

COINS OF QUEEN MARY.

GOLD SOVEREIGN.

GOLD RIAL.

SHILLING.

SIXPENCE.

GROAT.

PENNY.

The task of noticing the development of industry in agriculture, handicrafts, and manufactures, becomes more gratifying as we advance. If we contrast the close of the present period with the commencement of the last, we shall find that the two centuries that intervened were fruitful in important changes, the effect of which was gradually to improve the condition of the people. At the beginning of the present period the upper ranks of society still retained much of their old lawless spirit and turbulence, but at its conclusion they had become polished and courtly, and the mass of the people enjoyed a greater degree of personal freedom, and had risen into higher importance. The restraining hand of Henry VII. checked much of that arbitrary and oppressive spirit which had so frequently been detrimental to industry, and with the increase of security there came an increase of industry, the progress of which was never afterwards relaxed; so that, towards the close of this period, the work of improvement was everywhere in operation. In order to give a complete and intelligible view of the state and progress of agriculture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is necessary to begin by saying a few words respecting the accommodations and manner of living of the different classes of the country population.

We find that at the beginning of the period the yeomanry usually lived in a dwelling of timber, the walls of which were formed of wattled plaster. It had not always a chimney, and contained few conveniences. They slept on straw pallets covered only with a sheet and coarse coverlet, or perhaps upon a flock mattress and a bolster of chaff. Their servants slept upon straw, and had not always a coverlet to throw over them. All dined off wooden trenchers, and ate their pottage with a spoon of the same material. Even a substantial yeoman did not possess more than four or five pieces of pewter plate, and the sum of money which he could raise was insignificant. Harrison says that, if a farmer or husbandman, in his cups at the alehouse, could pull out a purse containing six shillings, an equal sum could not, perhaps, be raised by the whole of his companions, who were of the same rank as himself. Only the gentry could afford to eat wheaten bread the year through. The servants and the poorer class of people ate bread made of barley or rye; and in dear years their bread was made of beans, peas, or oats, or perhaps of all these together. In periods of still greater scarcity, artificers and labouring men had no better nourishment than such as tares and lentils supplied. Hence the proverb of those times, that "hunger setteth his first foot into the horse-manger." For clothing, the rustic housewife spun, from the wool and flax produced on the farm, sufficient cloth and linen of coarse texture for the use of the family; though Fitzherbert, to whom we owe the first English work on husbandry, writing in 1522, even in that day acknowledges that it was not profitable for a woman wholly to devote herself to the distaff; but, as he remarks, "it stoppeth up a gap, and must needs be had." According to this old writer, the farmers' wives must have been patterns of diligence and industry, and a variety of duties devolved upon them which have since ceased to be required or have fallen with more propriety upon the other sex. They had to measure out the quantity of corn to be ground, and see that it was sent to the miller. The poultry, swine, and cows were under their charge; and they superintended the brewing and baking. The garden was peculiarly the care of the farmer's wife. She had to depend upon it for various herbs which are no longer in use, but which could not be dispensed with when spices were rare and costly. Besides pot-herbs, strewing-herbs were required for the chambers, and herbs possessing medical virtues. The list of fruits at this date was confined to a few of indigenous growth, which were but little improved by skill and management. Tusser directs his housewife to transplant into her garden wild strawberries from the woods. All the writers on rural economy during this period recommend the farmer's wife carefully to attend to her crop of flax and hemp. When, however, Fitzherbert asserts that it is a wife's duty "to winnow all manner of corn, to make malt, to wash, and to make hay, shear corn, and, in time of need, help her husband to fill the muck-wain or dung-cart, drive the plough, to load hay, corn, and such other, to go to market and sell butter or pigs, fowls or corn," it is to be presumed that he had in his view the smallest class of yeomen, who had no hired servants.

Such were the general circumstances of the life and condition of the country population during the first years of this period. Harrison asserts that, notwithstanding their frugality ("if," as he shrewdly observes, "it may so be justly called"), "they were scarce able to live and pay their rents at their days without selling of a cow, or an horse, or more, although they paid but 4*l.* at the uttermost by the year." This want of money for the payment of their rents, however, was probably their greatest want. They seem to have enjoyed the principal necessaries of life in rude abundance; and, on the whole, when we know that at the end of the fifteenth century land was generally underlet, and when the mode of life which prevailed is taken into consideration, we cannot but presume that the yeomanry were not so badly off as Harrison describes them. The farmer of these times himself consumed the chief part of the produce which he raised, his servants taking their seats at his table. Luxuries were unknown, and the principal materials for clothing were not bought, but were obtained by the industry of each family. The instruments of agriculture were so simple that many of them were made, or at least kept in repair, by the farmer himself. Every yeoman was expected to know how to make yokes, ox-bows, and plough-gear. Such work afforded profitable employment in the winter evenings; and, if nothing

COINS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

GOLD RIAL

GOLD ANGEL.

CROWN.

SHILLING.

SIXPENCE.

GROAT.

PENNY.

of the kind needed to be done, the alternative recommended by Fitzherbert was to go to bed, in order that fire and candle might be saved. Considerably later, in Tusser's time, sole-leather was kept in farm-houses, with which shoes might be mended as occasion required; and, looking generally at the circumstances of the rural population, it may easily be seen that the causes which render agriculture purely commercial in all its objects were not very strongly developed.

After the commencement of the reign of Henry VII., and before the general rise in rents which took place in the succeeding reign, England must on the whole have presented more of such pictures as that which Latimer has drawn in one of his sermons of the condition of his father than of such

as resembled the description Harrison gives of the difficulties, bordering upon wretchedness, of the yeomen to whom he has alluded. Latimer's father was a yeoman, but had no land of his own. The rent of his farm was under 4*l.* a-year, yet he had as much land under tillage as kept half a dozen men, and a hundred sheep and thirty cows. He found a horse and man for the king's service when called upon. His son he sent to school, and afterwards to college; and, on the marriage of his daughters, he gave 5*l.* to each as a dower. He was, besides, hospitable to his neighbours, and gave alms to the poor; "and all this," Latimer asserts, "he did from the said farm." But soon after the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII. the indications of approaching social changes begin to appear, and, in the time of his son and successor, we find the farmer in new circumstances. Latimer tells us that now the person that had his father's farm paid for it 16*l.* by the year, or more, and was not able "to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, nor to give a cup of drink to the poor." Generally, he says, in the course of a few years, rents had increased from 20*l.* to 50*l.*, or more than doubled. The farm on which a yeoman of small means could live when the money-payments for rent and labour were inconsiderable therefore became insufficient to maintain him. "Hence," says Ascham, "so many families dispersed,—so many houses ruined. Hence the honour and strength of England, the noble yeomanry, are broken up and destroyed."* The numerous enclosures which now took place rendered the case of the yeoman-cottager hopeless, unless he became a day-labourer. The extent to which the former condition of the agricultural population was now changed for the worse may be gathered from what Latimer says, in one of his sermons,—"Let them (the peasantry) have sufficient to maintain them, and to find them their necessaries. A plough-land must have sheep to dung their ground for bearing of corn. They must have swine for their food to make their bacon of. . . . They must have other cattle, as horses, to draw their plough, and for carriage of things to market; and kine for their milk or cheese, which they must live upon and pay their rents. These cattle must have pasture, and pasture they cannot have if the land be taken and enclosed from them." These were the views of a benevolent man, and they were extremely popular, but there had not been wanting men who pointed out with great clearness the advantages of enclosures. Fitzherbert shows how a township that is worth twenty marks a-year may be made worth 20*l.*, and the ground-work of his plan is to enclose the land. "By enclosing," he says, "a farmer shall save meat, drink, and wages of a shepherd; the wages of the swineherd, the which may fortune to be as chargeable as his whole rent; and also his corn shall be better saved from eating or destroying by cattle." To the objection that many men would lose their ordinary means of maintaining themselves, he replies:—"There be many new occupations that were not used before, as setting of quickset, ditching, hedging, and plashing." In another work, written sixty years afterwards, it is expressly stated that "the counties where most enclosures be are most wealthy, as Essex, Kent, and Northamptonshire, &c."* It happened, also, at this time, that, while some of the old landowners had been compelled to sell portions of their estates, persons who had enriched themselves in trade became the purchasers, and settled upon their property, looking upon the business of farming with a commercial eye. King Edward, in his Journal, sneers at these "clothing knights," and observes "this country can bear no merchant to have more land than 100*l.* a-year." Edward notices, in his Journal, some of the most striking symptoms of the state of transition through which the country was now passing. Speaking of the gentry, he says, "their housekeeping is dearer; their meat is dearer; their liveries dearer; their wages greater." And he adds, "merchants have enhanced their ware; farmers have enhanced their corn and cattle; labourers their wages; artificers the price of their workmanship; and mariners and boatsmen their hire for service."

Another change which greatly affected the condition of the agricultural population was, the extensive conversion that now took place of tillage into pasturage, occasioned by the increasing demand for wool, and the consequently greater profits that were to be made by rearing sheep than by growing corn. Latimer affirms that, in many places, where householders were wont to be, there were now to be seen but a shepherd and his dog. The rise of wages, also, rendered tillage, in which much labour was required, more expensive than formerly. It was a popular saying that "it was never merry with poor craftsmen since gentlemen became graziers." These gentlemen graziers, also, instead of residing upon their estates in the country like their forefathers, are stated to have very generally betaken themselves to court or to town, and there lived, in the best way they could, upon the produce of their sales of wool and cattle. But the gentry were compelled to this step through the insufficiency of their revenues to defray their former bountiful mode of living. "Some," was the popular complaint, "get them chambers in London or about the court, and there spend their time, some of them with a servant or two where he was wont to keep thirty or forty persons daily in his house." Those of the gentry who remained on their estates, being unable to raise their rents until their tenants' leases fell in, were obliged in the mean time either to farm their own or rent another person's land, in order to raise their income up to the increased cost of necessaries.

The legislature vainly endeavoured to arrest the

* Ascham, Epist., p. 293.

* A Compendious or Brief Examination of certain ordinary Complaints of divers of our Countrymen in these our days. By W. S., Gentleman. 1581.

progress of these changes which were taking place in the occupation of the land. In 1533 an act was passed concerning farms and sheep, in which the practice of gathering farms into few hands and stocking them with cattle and sheep was strongly condemned, and it was enacted that no man should keep more than two thousand sheep, excepting on his own land, and that more than two farms should not be rented by one tenant.* On some sheep-farms, it is stated in this act, there were flocks of from ten thousand to twenty thousand. There had been passed in 1489 a statute for keeping in repair houses on farms,† but, its provisions having been neglected, a new act was made in 1536, which gave to the king a moiety of the profits of lands converted from tillage to pasture until a suitable house was erected.‡ In 1551 was passed a statute which enacted that on all estates kept in tillage for four years, at any time since the 1st of Henry VIII., there should be an equal quantity of land put wholly in tillage, and used and sown according to the custom of the country, so to continue "for ever."§ Several other similar enactments are to be found in the statutes to the close of the period.‖ In 1588 penalties were imposed upon the building of cottages for the agricultural population without having four acres of land attached to each, or allowing more than a single family to live in one cottage.¶ Fifty years before it was alleged, in an act of 1533, that the engrossing of farms and high prices had caused "a marvellous multitude and number of the people of this realm to be so discouraged with misery and poverty, that they fall daily to theft, robbery, and other inconveniences, or pitifully die for hunger and cold."** By an act passed in 1597, it was directed that all houses of husbandry decayed within seven years should be rebuilt, and from twenty to forty acres of land attached to them.†† At this time the number of persons without land was so large that cottages were building in all directions. Many poor people, it is stated in the act, had become "wanderers, idle, and loose." The act of 43 Eliz., for the relief of the poor, was the great attempt to cure these evils. As to the statutes relative to keeping land in tillage, and for the maintenance of houses of husbandry, Hume is of opinion, from the frequency with which they were enacted, that they were never executed.

But, however painful were some of the immediate effects of these changes, their operation, on the whole, was highly beneficial to many important interests, especially on agriculture. Harrison states that the soil had become more fruitful than in times past, and assigns, as the cause, that "our countrymen are grown to be more painful, skilful, and careful, through recompense of gain, than heretofore they have been." One acre produced now as much as two did formerly. Norden, who wrote towards the close of the period, speaks of the additional attention paid by husbandmen to the manuring of their lands. In Sussex they had lately begun to use limestone, which they fetched a distance of several miles, and burnt in kilns erected for the purpose. In Cornwall they fetched sand on horseback a still greater distance. The farmers of the counties around London were still more active in their efforts to increase the productive powers of the land. They had begun to purchase the sweepings of the streets of London, which, with the "stone-coal dust," was found to improve their clayey soils. The average yield of corn in Harrison's time was, on each acre well tilled and dressed, twenty bushels of wheat, thirty-two of barley, and forty of oats and pulse. The breed of live-stock partook of the general improvement. Cattle, from having been so scarce as to call for various statutes to prevent the killing of weanlings, were now in great abundance. Harrison asks, with some exultation, "Where are oxen commonly more large of bone, horses more decent and pleasant in pace, sheep more profitable in wool, swine more wholesome of flesh, and goats more gainful to their keepers, than here with us?" The people, on the whole, appear to have been gainers by the alterations which had been effected; and in many respects the change was from a desultory and idle life to a course of diligence and industry. They consumed a good deal of flesh-meat, and were fond of entertaining each other with good cheer. Harrison says that lard was not much used, "sith we do baste all our meat with butter, or suffer the fattest to baste itself by leisure."

Such are the vaunting terms in which this old writer speaks of the diet of the people after the middle of the sixteenth century; but we have other authority for the opinion that the power of commanding the necessaries and luxuries of life had increased in a statute of 1597, entitled "An Act to restrain the excessive use of Malt," in the preamble of which it is asserted that, "greater quantity of malt is daily made than either in times past or now is needful;" and which empowers justices in quarter-sessions to suppress the making of malt and the number of maltsters.

Comparing, however, the mode of living with that which prevails in the present day, we must not forget that there were many privations then which would now be felt as intolerable. For a great portion of the year the only animal food eaten was in a salted state. In the autumn as much meat was cured as would last the winter; and until the pastures had been for some time abundant, that is, not until Midsummer, there were no means of fattening cattle. After the winter months, veal and bacon were welcomed as the precursors of fresh beef; and those who lived near the sea-coast enjoyed the addition of fresh fish; but the state of the roads prevented the inland parts of the country partaking of this benefit. The consumption of fish during Lent and on other fast-days, comprising a great part of the year, being expressly directed by statute, the people, even after

* 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
† 4 Hen. VII. c. 19.
‡ 27 Hen. VIII. c. 22.
§ 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 5
‖ 5 Eliz. c. 2.
¶ 31 Eliz. c. 7.
** 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
†† 39 Eliz. c. 1.

the abolition of the old religion, provided themselves at several large fairs held almost expressly for the sale and distribution of salt-fish. The Christmas "husbandly fare" and enjoyments of the prosperous yeoman of Tusser's time were—

> Good bread, and good drink, a good fire in the hall;
> Brawn, pudding, and sauce, and good mustard withal;
> Beef, mutton, and pork, shred pies of the best;
> Pig, veal, goose, and capon, and turkey well drest;
> Cheese, apples, and nuts, jolly carols to hear
> As then in the country is counted good cheer.

But it was not only in the diet of the agricultural population that by the close of this period improvements had taken place; a decided advance in comfort was also apparent in their habitations and furniture. The houses began generally to be built of brick or stone; the rooms were more airy and capacious, and the out-buildings farther removed from the dwelling. In proof of their easy circumstances, the farmers could point to some articles of silver plate in their cupboards; to the pewter plates which had superseded their wooden trenchers; and the coarse mattress and bolster were replaced by good feather-beds. The substantial yeoman, besides being surrounded by additional comforts, had often several years' rent in hand. Some of these changes are lamented by Harrison, who remarks that when the walls of houses were of wattled willow we had oaken men, but that they were become effeminate with the increase of luxury—a complaint which has been made in every age of that which preceded it. Wood was gradually becoming scarce, and this was another motive for resorting to a different building material. Coal was becoming an article of greater consumption from the same cause; but just before this took place there was an increased use of such substitutes for wood as peat, turf, heath, gorse, and broom; in some parts of the country even neats' dung was resorted to. Harrison prophesies that, if the destruction of the woods should go on much longer to as great an extent as in past times, certain materials which he enumerates, fifteen in number, "*and* sea-cole" (mentioned last) "will be good merchandise even in the city of London."

The rotation of crops usually followed during this period indicated but little advancement in the art of agriculture. After a crop of wheat or rye, they sowed barley or oats in the spring, and then came a fallow. Clover was, however, introduced in the reign of Elizabeth from the Netherlands. Its great value consisted in supplying green food where natural pastures were scarce; in enabling the farmer to keep more cattle, and consequently to apply a greater quantity of manure to his land. It could not effect that improvement which was accomplished at a later period by the introduction of the turnip; but it was of unquestionable value in hastening the adoption of a better system than that which had heretofore prevailed. The high rent of meadow land during the former and present periods, beyond all proportion to that of arable, is a proof of the advantage which would ensue from the cultivation of clover. Ewes were milked; and Tusser mentions that five ewes were reckoned equal in value to a cow. A sow was also considered of the same value as a cow. These two facts show the inferior state of agriculture; both being occasioned by the difficulty of procuring winter food.

The art of gardening received greater improvements during this period than that of agriculture. The hop may be considered as a garden rather than a field plant at the date of its introduction from the Netherlands about 1524. From the same quarter, about the same time, we received salads, cabbages, the pale gooseberry, and also, according to some, the apricot, and the musk-melon. The artichoke was first cultivated some time in the reign of Henry VIII.; pippins were introduced about 1525; currants from Zante in 1555; the cherry about 1540; and several varieties of plums from Italy by Thomas Cromwell about 1510. The delights of the garden were heightened by the introduction of the gilly-flower, the carnation, and the rose of Providence, which the Flemings who settled in Norfolk introduced about 1567. The musk-rose and the damask-rose were also first grown in England in this period.

Among the national manufactures and handicrafts, the manufacture of woollen cloth preserved its old pre-eminence during the present period. The raw material was procured within the realm; and though the great demand for cloth was for home-consumption, several descriptions of cloth were also manufactured for the foreign market.

Several distinct classes of workmen were employed in the making of cloth. There were weavers, walkers, fullers, fulling-mill men, shearmen, dyers, forcers of wool, carders, and sorters of wool, and spinners, carders, and spullars of yarn.* The clothier was the capitalist who gave out work to the persons engaged in these different branches. He delivered wool to the weavers in portions not exceeding twelve lbs. avoirdupois, an allowance of a quarter of a pound being made for waste. If the weaver returned cloth which was not of honest weight, he was set in the pillory or in the cucking-stool.† In 1555 the weavers complained that the "rich and wealthy clothiers do many ways oppress them, some by setting up and keeping in their houses divers looms, and keeping and maintaining them by journeymen; some by engrossing looms into their hands and possessions, and letting them out at such unreasonable rents as the poor artificers are not able to maintain themselves."‡ Employment was given to considerable numbers of artificers and workmen in making the instruments and implements which were necessary in the various processes of converting wool into cloth. The foreign supply of cards for wool was prohibited in 1598, on the ground that, of the many thousand woollen cardmakers and cardwire-drawers in London, Bristol, Gloucester, Norwich, Coventry, and many other cities and towns, not more than one twentieth could find occupation in consequence of the large importation of woollen

* 1 Mary, st. 3. c. 7. † 3 Hen. VIII. c. 6.
‡ 2 and 3 Phil. and Mary, c. 8.

cards from France and elsewhere.* There is probably some exaggeration in these estimates, but they serve to show that considerable numbers of the people, not directly engaged in the making of cloth, were indebted for the means of subsistence to the flourishing state of this national staple.

The policy of the times discouraged the introduction of machinery, and thus the various operations connected with cloth-making, although on a larger scale, were still carried on in much the same manner as they had been when more strictly of a household character. In 1551 gig-mills had been "newly and lately devised, erected, builded, and used," but were prohibited, as the "true draping of cloth" was not considered to be improved by the management which it underwent at the mill.† The true motive of the prohibition was most probably a misapprehension of the effects of machinery.

Formerly, the manufacture of cloth for sale had been exclusively confined to cities and corporate and market-towns, the inhabitants of the villages and hamlets making little more than sufficed for the use of their respective families. But the towns could now no longer exercise their domination over trades to its former extent; and a numerous body of industrious men were gradually rising into importance who resided out of the towns, —"foreigners," as they are termed in the statutes, or "persons dwelling in the small towns of husbandry." Many of them were husbandmen or graziers who made their own wool into cloth, with the assistance of their wives and families. The sorting of wool was performed by women. The cloths made out of the towns were generally of a coarse description; and, if we may believe various authorities, the country clothiers were not very strict in maintaining the assize, which fixed the length and breadth of each piece. The condition of some of these manufacturers was humble enough. Many of them were only enabled to buy their wool in small quantities, as "eight pennyworth and twelve pennyworth at a time," and therefore could not make their purchases of the wool-grower. A statute, passed in 1551 and 1552,‡ which prohibited wool being bought except by the persons intending to use it themselves in the manufacture of cloth, did away with the intermediate dealers in wool, whose existence was of essential importance to the small clothiers; but it was eventually found necessary to make some relaxations on their account, so that wool might be bought by dealers and sold again in the open market.§ The clothiers of Halifax were relieved from this inconvenience in 1555, by an act, enabling the inhabitants of that town "to buy wool, and retail it to poor folk to work, but not to the rich and wealthy, nor to sell again."‖ The preamble of this statute describes, with considerable minuteness, the circumstances of the humbler class of country clothiers, and supplies details of some interest of the manner in which they carried on their trade. It recites that "the parish of Halifax and other places thereunto adjoining, being planted in the great wastes and moors, where the fertility of ground is not apt to bring forth any corn or good grass, but in rare places, and by exceeding and great industry of the inhabitants; and the same inhabitants altogether do live by cloth-making, and the great part of them neither getteth corn, nor is able to keep a horse to carry wools, nor yet to buy much wool at once, but hath ever used only to repair to the town of Halifax, and some other nigh thereunto, and there to buy upon the wool-driver, some a stone, some two, and some three or four, according to their ability, and to carry the same to their houses, some three, four, five and six miles off, upon their heads and backs, and so to make and convert the same either into yarn or cloth, and to sell the same, and so to buy more wool of the wool-driver; by means of which industry the barren grounds in those parts be now much inhabited, and above five hundred households there newly increased within this forty years past, which now are like to be undone and driven to beggary, by reason of the late statute made that taketh away the wool-driver, so that they cannot now have their wool by such small portions as they were wont to have; and that also they are not able to keep any horses whereupon to ride or set their wools further from them in other places, unless some remedy may be provided."

A struggle was continued during the whole of the present period between the clothiers whom the restrictions of the towns drove into the country, and those who were in possession of the advantages which the privileges of these towns conferred. In the towns were manufactured the superior cloths; for there the clothier found a greater number of skilful artisans in each of the branches into which the manufacturing processes were divided, and he could more readily avail himself of the various means of giving perfection to the work. In 1551 a statute was passed which it may be supposed chiefly aimed at repressing the advancing prosperity of the country clothiers, by enacting that, out of cities, no clothier should keep more than one woollen loom; no woollen weaver more than two looms; that no weaver should have a tucking-mill, nor any tucker a loom; and that, for the future, clothiers should only make cloth in cities, and that weavers out of cities should only have two apprentices.* However, it was soon found necessary to connive at the manufacture of cloth out of towns, and to permit such cloth to be sealed.

By a statute passed in 1557, it was provided that, except in Wales, the northern counties, and some other parts of the country that were specified, clothiers were not to practise their trade in any city or town in which the art of clothing had not been carried on for the ten previous years.† Subsequently special statutes were enacted for

* 39 Eliz. c. 14.
† 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 22.
‡ 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 7.
§ 1 Edw. VI. c. 6.
‖ 2 and 3 Phil. and Mary, c. 13.

* 2 and 3 Phil. and Mary, c. 11.
† 4 and 5 Phil. and Mary, c. 5.

enabling certain towns to become the residence of persons engaged in the making of cloth. The towns of Coggeshall, Bocking, West Barfold, and Dedham, in Essex,* and afterwards of Boxstead and Langham in the same county,† thus became clothing towns. A law, passed in 1551, which provided that all weavers of broad woollen cloth should have served an apprenticeship of seven years, was directed chiefly against the country weavers, many of whom had only been three or four years at the loom before commencing as masters.‡ This statute caused great hardship by its retrospective operation; and a statute was soon after passed suspending its provisions in the case of persons who had married clothiers' widows, or had been five or six years in their trade when the new regulation concerning apprenticeship became law.§ In the four northern counties of England, where the coarser cloths were made, and the system of household manufacture was general, the country people were allowed to have looms in their houses.‖ The clothiers of Devon and Cornwall were permitted to have three looms in their houses, and to use flocks, hair, and lambs' wool in certain cloths of a very poor and coarse quality, which they made almost wholly for exportation to the opposite shores of Brittany.¶ In the counties of Berks, Oxford, Surrey, Sussex, and Yorkshire, there were a great number of coarse kerseys made for exportation, each piece of the value of about 30*s.*, or 20*d.* or 22*d.* per yard, the proportion, according to the statement in an act of the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII., being 500 pieces of coarse for exportation to one piece for home consumption.** Friezes and "cottons," which last, however, were really a species of woollen fabric, were extensively made in Wales.†† Taunton, Bridgewater, Chard, and various towns of Wilts, Gloucester, and Somerset were famous for their broad-cloths. The cloths of Worcester, Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, Bromwich, and Coventry were in good repute, and also those of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. Manchester was known for its manufacture of rugs and friezes,—York for coverlets,—Lancashire and Cheshire for what were called "cottons." The means by which these various descriptions of cloth were brought into general consumption were by hawkers, pedlers, and traders who visited the fairs and kept their stalls in the open market-places.

After people had been so long accustomed to the assize of cloth, which prevented imposition in respect to measure and quality, those clothiers who resided beyond the jurisdiction of aulnegers would be able for some time to practise many deceits, and to infringe with impunity the regulations which had existed from a very early period for the management of their trade. The law enacted at the close of the last period‡‡ proved to be too stringent, and the penalties which it inflicted were abolished in 1509, on the ground that "the clothier, doing his true diligence, could not observe the same without many times offending."* During the present period, the increase in the number of clothiers, weavers, and others residing out of the immediate reach of the aulnegers, and the temptation which the rise in the price of the raw material threw in the way of the manufacturer, rendered new statutes necessary to prevent the "deceitful making of woollen cloth." By one of these the use of flocks or other inferior materials was prohibited; and pieces of cloth which shrunk in the wetting beyond a certain allowed proportion, were not to be offered for sale. The aulneger was to affix his seal to each piece of cloth in lead, and not in wax, as formerly, and each piece was to have the clothier's name woven in it;† and by a subsequent act, the length of each piece was to be specified on the official seal.‡ In the preamble of the latter statute it is remarked, that "great infamy and slander hath risen of late years in sundry outward parts beyond the sea, of the untrue making of woollen cloths within this realm." A few years afterwards, overseers or searchers were appointed throughout the kingdom, to search cloth and wools in every village and hamlet. Each piece of cloth in future was, in addition to the usual marks, to have the letter E, with a crown over it, worked into the cloth.§ In 1551 the complaints against the clothiers are again repeated. They do "daily," it is affirmed, "more and more study rather to make many than to make good cloths." The practices of which they were accused were, "mingling of yarns of divers spinnings in one cloth; some by mingling fell wool and lambs' wool, or either of them, with fleece wool; some by putting too little stuff; some by taking them out of the mill before they be full thicked; some by overstretching them upon the tenter, and then stopping with flocks such bracks (breaches, or rents) as shall be made by means thereof; finally, by using so many subtle sleights and untruths as when the cloths so made be put in the water to try them, they rise out of the same neither in length nor breadth as they ought to do, and in some places narrower than in some;" and yet, it is added, in spite of these and other "great and notable faults," the aulnegers set their seals to such cloth.‖

The worsted manufacture, in which wool by other processes is worked up into a fabric different from that of ordinary woollen cloth, was the staple of the eastern counties, but Norfolk was the principal seat of the trade; a great proportion of the inhabitants being engaged in "the making and weaving of worsteds and other cloths, which hath been made and woven of the yarn called worsted yarn, spun of the wool growing and coming of the sheep."¶ The same watchful and jealous

* 1 Eliz. c. 14.
† 27 Eliz. c. 23.
‡ 5 and 6 Edw. 6. c. 8.
§ 1 Mary, st. 3. c. 7.
‖ 2 and 3 Phil. and Mary, c. 11.
¶ 27 Eliz. c. 18.
** 33 Hen. VIII. c. 18.
†† 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 10.
‡‡ 1 Richard III. c. 8.

* 1 Hen. VIII. c. 11.
† 5 Hen. VIII. c. 22.
‡ 27 Hen. VIII. c. 12.
§ 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c.
‖ 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 6.
¶ 33 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

spirit which surrounded the woollen-cloth trade gave rise to regulations of a similar character for the protection of the worsted manufacture, which indeed stood next to it in value and national importance. In 1513 the dry calendering of worsteds, which had been introduced by aliens, was prohibited, and no person was allowed to follow the occupation of a calenderer unless he had served an apprenticeship to the trade, or unless his skill had been approved by the mayor of Norwich or the two wardens of the craft.* Complaint is made that the processes introduced by foreigners caused a piece of cloth not worth 26*s.* 8*d.* to *look* as if it were worth 40*s.* Previous to 1523 the manufacturers of the towns of Lynn and Yarmouth sent their goods to Norwich to be searched and sealed; but in that year an act was passed giving to the inhabitants of each place the right of electing their own wardens by whom the duty of inspecting was to be performed. But though this privilege was granted on the ground that it was "painful and costly" to send goods to Norwich to be searched and sealed, they were still required to be shorn, dyed, and calendered there. A proviso was made that, when there were fewer than ten householders in Lynn belonging to the craft of worsted weavers, the privilege of choosing a warden was to cease, and they were to be considered as under the jurisdiction of the wardens of Norwich or Norfolk. The worsted weavers, both in Lynn and Norwich, were to be Englishmen, who had served an apprenticeship to their trade, and they were required to weave their marks in their cloth, and were not to have more than two apprentices in their employment at the same time.† In 1541 none but the weavers of Norfolk were allowed to buy the worsted yarn spun in the country, and the exportation of yarn was strictly prohibited.‡

The woollen and worsted manufacturers of Norfolk, and particularly those of the city of Norwich, were probably more skilful and enterprising than those of any other part of the country. About 1554 the mayor of Norwich and some of the principal citizens engaged foreign artisans, and caused twenty-one of their own weavers to be instructed in the weaving of "russels satins, satins reverses, and fustians of Naples;" and they were completely successful in their attempt. The new stuffs were called "Norwich satins and fustians." At the same time an act was passed constituting the weavers of these stuffs into a fellowship, with power to elect their own wardens.§ In the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth the distracted state of the Netherlands drove many of the most skilful and industrious artisans to other countries, and numbers of them settled in England, particularly in the eastern counties. These foreigners introduced new manufacturing processes, and contributed to extend improvement wherever they went. In 1565 Queen Elizabeth granted letters patent to two of her subjects for the sole making of an oil expressed from herbs, roots, and seeds, and which was proper to be used in preparing wool for the manufacturer, and in the making and dressing of woollen cloth. The art of making soap, which is now much used by clothiers, was introduced in London about the year 1524, previous to which time white soap was imported from abroad; mottled soap, however, had been made before this at Bristol.

Closely connected with the woollen and worsted manufacture was the art of the dyer. According to the preamble of an act passed in 1532, England "had in times past, in all outward parts, been noted to have had the most substantial coloured woollen cloths of all realms christened;" but this act complains that aliens had introduced Brazil wood and other new dyes, "to the great deceit, hurt, and hindrance of the king's liege people;" and thereupon proceeds to prohibit the said innovation.* It was in vain, however, that the law endeavoured to prevent the use of the various new dyeing substances which the discovery of America had made known, and it soon became the interest of all concerned no longer to dye "according to the ancient usage." In 1552 the colours of the cloths sold in the kingdom by retail were settled by statute. These colours were "scarlet, red, crimson, murrey, puke, brown, blue, blacks, greens, yellows, blues, orange, tawny, russet, marble grey, sadnew colour, asewer, watchett, sheep's colour, lion colour, motley or iron gray." Wool intended to be made into broad cloth was at the same time forbidden to be boiled with galls, rinds, bark of trees or sawdust.† In an act passed a few years afterwards, several other colours are mentioned, as violet, azure, friar's gray, crane colour, purple, and old medley colour.‡

The linen manufacture was of little importance during this period. All the finer linens were obtained from abroad, and the coarser descriptions were for a long time chiefly made by industrious housewives for family use. By about the middle of the reign of Henry VIII., however, there were a sufficient number of persons engaged in the manufacture of linen to induce the legislature to afford them protection and encouragement; and an act was passed requiring every person occupying sixty acres of land in tillage to sow a quarter of an acre yearly in flax or hemp.§ About twenty-five years afterwards, in 1558, another act was passed, which subjected to the penalties of forfeiture and imprisonment manufacturers of linen who did not produce substantial goods.‖ The persons against whom the act was directed are accused of beating the material, and "ever casting upon the same certain deceitful liquors mingled with chalk and other like things, whereby the said cloth is not only made to seem much finer and thicker to the eye than it is indeed, but also the thread thereof be

* 5 Hen. VIII. c. 4.
† 14 and 15 Hen. VIII. c. 3.
‡ 33 Hen. VIII. c. 11.
§ 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary, c. 14.

* 24 Hen. VIII. c. 2.
† 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 6.
‡ 4 and 5 Phil. and Mary, c. 5.
§ 24 Hen. VIII. c. 4.
‖ 1 Eliz. c. 12.

so loosed and made weak, that after three or four washings it will scarcely hold together."

In 1562 the silk-throwsters of London were united into a fellowship; but we meet with few notices of the silk manufacture until the ensuing period. The stocking-frame was invented by William Lee, an Englishman, about 1589, but not receiving encouragement at home, he carried the improvement to France.*

It is singular that while improvements were taking place in textile manufactures, England long continued to be indebted to France and other foreign countries for sail-cloth for shipping and the

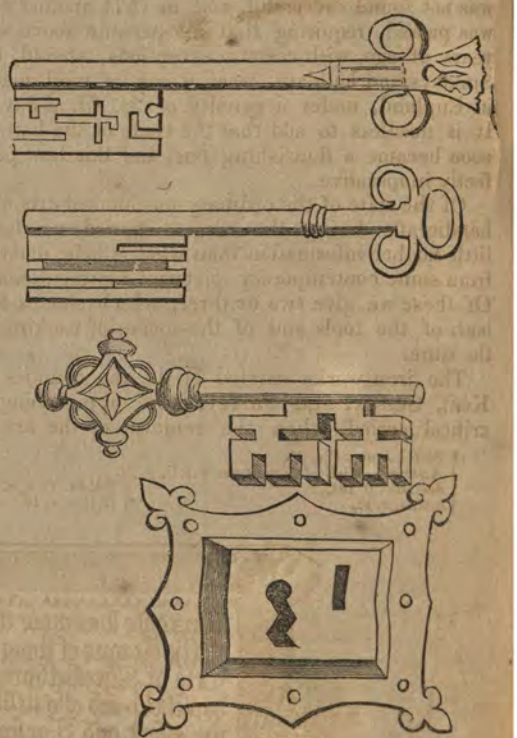
* Beckmann, vol. iv. p. 313.

Carpenters and their Tools.

From an old Wood-Cut engraved by order of the Emperor Maximilian, and published by Keiser, in "Der Weiss Kunig."

Lantern-Maker.

From a Print by Schopper, 1568.



Keys of Dover Castle.

From a Wood-Cut in the Bagford Collection, Brit. Mus.

navy; "the skill and art of making and weaving of the said cloths," says an act of parliament passed in the reign of James I., "not being known or used in England until about the thirty-second year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth."* Gunpowder, also, was not made in England, but was purchased of the merchants of the Steel-yard till after the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth. It is said that iron ordnance was first made in England by a Frenchman in the reign of Edward VI.† The making of cables and ropes for the navy and shipping generally was chiefly carried on at Bridport; and in 1530 an act was passed giving to the inhabitants of that place several privileges tending to secure to them a monopoly of the trade.

The making of woollen caps had formerly employed a great number of industrious persons in nearly every city and town; it had not been neglected by the legislature, which in 1482 had passed a law prohibiting the fulling and making of caps by machinery;‡ and this "good and laudable statute," as it was called, having expired, it was revived in 1552.§ Still this branch of industry continued to decline; and, at length, towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, woollen caps were nearly superseded by hats made of felt. In 1566 an attempt was then made to sustain the declining fashion by prohibiting the use of any foreign material in the making of caps;‖ but this was not found successful, and in 1571 another act was passed, requiring that all persons above six years of age, with certain exceptions, should, on Sundays and holidays, wear a cap of wool made in England, under a penalty of 3*s.* 4*d.* a-day.¶ It is needless to add that the trade of the hatters soon became a flourishing one, and this law perfectly inoperative.

Of the state of the ordinary mechanical arts and handicrafts during the present period, we have little farther information than what is to be derived from some contemporary pictorial representations. Of these we give two or three, which show a few both of the tools and of the modes of working of the time.

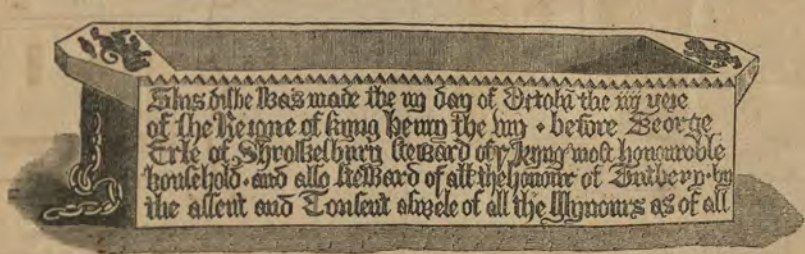
The iron works carried on in the counties of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, were approaching a critical period, when the removal of the art of smelting into another district, and the application of another description of fuel and other processes were about to be rendered necessay by the scarcity of wood, though that was still the fuel used in the smelting of iron ore down to the end of the period. In 1558 was passed "an act that timber shall not be felled to make coals for the making of iron;"* but this statute did not apply to those districts of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, in which iron works were established. In 1580, to prevent the threatened destruction of fuel in the above counties, new iron-works were prohibited from being erected within twenty-two miles of London, or within a certain distance of the Thames, or in certain parts of Kent and Sussex; but the wealds of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey were exempted from the operation of the act.† In 1584 an act was passed prohibiting the erection of any new iron-mill, furnace, finary, or blomary, in any part of the above counties.‡ A description of iron called Bilbao iron was frequently used in the manufacture of various articles; but, being of inferior quality, it rendered weapons and edge-tools, in which it was employed, of little value, and in 1548 it was prohibited. Before 1565 iron-wire had been made and drawn by strength of hand in the Forest of Dean; but in this year a company was incorporated for wire-drawing in the mill by machinery.

The ore of copper had not as yet been dug from the mine in England in quantities sufficient for the demand; and the exportation of this mineral or metal was, therefore, prohibited. Soon after the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, however, as has been already noticed, the discovery of a new copper-mine in Cumberland so greatly increased the supply, that it then began to be sent abroad. Alum had been frequently sought for, but without success. In 1566 Elizabeth granted letters patent to Cornelius de Vos and certain other Germans, to dig for alum and copperas, as well as for gold, silver, copper, and quicksilver. Lord Mountjoy having discovered copperas ore, the patent was, in 1565, assigned to him, with power to prevent any one working mines of copperas and alum, without his permission, for twenty-one years.§

Before the use of pins, the dress of females was fastened by ribbons, laces, clasps, hooks and eyes,

* Stat. 1 James I. c. 23.
† Anderson, Hist. of Commerce, vol. ii. p. 79.
‡ See ante, p. 194.
§ 7 Edw. vi. c. 8.
‖ 8 Eliz. c. 11.
¶ 13 Eliz. c. 19.

* 1 Eliz. c. 15.
† 23 Eliz. c. 5.
‡ 27 Eliz. c. 19.
§ 8 Eliz. c. 21.



MINERS' STANDARD DISH, WIRKSWORTH, DERBYSHIRE.

and "skewers" of brass, silver, or gold. The latter were, in fact, pins without the head. In an act of 1543, "to avoid the slight and false making of pins,"* it is enacted, that only such are to be sold as "are double-headed, and have the heads soldered fast to the shank of the pin, well smethed, the shank well shaven, the point well and round-filed, cauted, and sharped." Pins also are directed not to be sold above the prices which had been current in the two previous years. In 1544,† however, this clause was repealed, as there had since its passing been a "scarcity of pins within this realm."

Some improvements were made in the course of the period in the tanning of leather, by which the process was rendered more rapid. The tanners had been accustomed to keep hides in the tan-pit a year or fifteen months, but it was complained that they were now tanned in three weeks, a month, or six weeks. An act was, in consequence, passed in 1548, requiring tanners not to sell hides which had not been nine months in the tan-pit.* Most of the acts that were passed at various times for regulating the trade of the tanners, included along with them also the cordwainers, or shoemakers, the latter were ordered, by an act of the same year, 1548, to put "in the inner sole of double-soled shoes, boots, startoppes, and slippers, leather called the womb, well and sufficiently curried, and in the treswells of the double-soled shoes the flank of the hide or skin sufficiently curried."†

* 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 6. † 35 Hen. VIII. c. 17.

* 2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 11. † 2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 9.

Leathersellers' Hall, London.

From an Old View engraved in Malcolm's "History of London."

LORD SURREY, from a Painting by Holbein.
SIR T. MORE " " Holbein.
HOLBEIN " " Holbein.
SIR P. SIDNEY " " Ant. More.
BUCHANNAN " " Pourbus.
ASCHAM (Print), Brughers. SPENSER, Kinnoull Picture.

CHAPTER V.

THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE FINE ARTS.

THE literary history of the present period is, in its full extent, a subject vast enough for as many volumes as we have here pages to give to it; and our rapid survey must therefore be confined to the more striking and significant among the throng of facts that solicit attention, and almost exclusively to such as mark the intellectual progress of our own country.

In no age, as we have seen, even the darkest and most barren of valuable produce, that has elapsed since learning was first planted among us, had there failed to be something done in the establishment of nurseries for its shelter and propagation. The fifteenth century, though it has left us little enduring literature of any kind, is distinguished for the number of the colleges that were founded in the course of it, both in this country and in the rest of Europe.* This, indeed, was the natural and proper direction for the first impulse to take that was given by the revival of letters; the actual generation upon which the new light broke was not that in which it was to be expected it should do much more than awaken the taste for true learning, or at most the ambition of excel-

* See ante, p. 198.

lence; the power of accomplishment could only come in the next era. The men of the latter part of the fifteenth century, therefore, were most fitly and most usefully employed in making provision for the preservation and transmission to other times of the long lost wisdom and eloquence that had been found again in their day—in building cisterns and conduits for the precious waters that, after having been hidden for a thousand years, had burst their founts, and were once more flowing over the earth. The fashion of founding colleges, and other seminaries of learning, continued to prevail in this country in the present period, both before the Reformation in religion, and for some time after that mighty revolution. In the University of Oxford, Brazennose College was founded in 1511 by William Smith, Bishop of Lincoln, and Sir Richard Sutton, of Presbury in Cheshire; Corpus Christi in 1517, by Henry VII.'s minister, Richard Fox, successively Bishop of Exeter, of Bath and Wells, of Durham, and of Winchester; Cardinal College by Wolsey in 1525, which, however, before the buildings had been half finished, was suppressed by the king on the cardinal's fall in 1529; the College of Henry VIII. by that king in 1532, a continuation, but on a much smaller scale, of Wolsey's design, which was also dissolved in 1545, when that of Christ Church was erected in its stead by Henry, to be at the same time a college and a cathedral establishment for the new bishopric of Oxford; Trinity, on the old foundation of Durham College, by Sir Thomas Pope, in 1554; St. John's, on the site of Bernard College, by Sir Thomas White, alderman and merchant-tailor of London, in 1557; and Jesus, by Dr. Hugh Price, Queen Elizabeth also contributing part of the expense, in 1571. In Cambridge there were founded Jesus College, in 1496, by John Alcock, Bishop of Ely; Christ's College, in 1505, by Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII.; St. John's, by the same noble lady, in 1508; Magdalen, or Maudlin, begun in 1519 by Edward Stafford, the unfortunate Duke of Buckingham, and, after his execution for high treason in 1521, completed by the Lord Chancellor, Thomas Lord Audley; Trinity, in 1536, by Henry VIII., who at the same time endowed four new professorships in the University, one of theology, one of law, one of Hebrew, and one of Greek; Caius College, properly an extension of the ancient foundation of Gonville Hall, by Dr. John Caius, in 1557; Emanuel, in 1584, by Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and of the Exchequer; and Sidney-Sussex College, in 1594, by the Lady Frances Sidney, widow of Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex. In Scotland a new university was erected in Aberdeen, under the name of King's College, by a bull of Pope Alexander VI., granted at the request of King James IV., in 1494, the principal endower, however, being William Elphinstone, bishop of the see; a second college, that of St. Leonard's (now forming, with St. Salvator's, what is called the United College), was founded in the University of St. Andrew's, in 1512, by Alexander Stuart, archbishop of the see, and John Hepburn, prior of the metropolitan church; another college, that of St. Mary, now exclusively appropriated to the theological faculty, was founded in the same university in 1537, by Archbishop James Beaton; a fourth

Remains of the Gate-House of Wolsey's College, Ipswich. From an Original Drawing.

university, that of Edinburgh, was erected by King James VI. in 1582; and a fifth, that of Marischal College, Aberdeen, by George Earl Marischal, in 1593. In Ireland, the university of Trinity College, Dublin, was founded by Queen Elizabeth, in 1591. Along with these seminaries of the highest rank may be enumerated a great number of grammar schools; of which the chief were that of St. Paul's, London, founded by Dean Colet, in 1509; that of Ipswich, by Cardinal Wolsey, at the same time with his college at Oxford, the fate of which it also shared; Christ Church, London, by Edward VI., in 1553; Westminster School, by Queen Elizabeth, in 1560; and Merchant Tailors' School by the London Civic Company of that name, in 1568. In Scotland, the High School of Edinburgh was founded by the magistrates of the city in 1577.

Many of these colleges and schools were expressly established for the cultivation of the newly revived classical learning, the resurrection of which in the middle of the fifteenth century revolutionised the ancient studies everywhere as soon as its influence came to be felt. It scarcely reached England, however, as we have already intimated, till towards the close of that century. Indeed, Greek is said to have been first publicly taught in this country in St. Paul's School, by the famous grammarian William Lilly, who had studied the language at Rhodes, and who was appointed the first master of the new school in 1512. Dean

OLD ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL. Founded 1509.
As it appeared before the Great Fire.

Colet himself, the founder, although accounted one of the best educated men of his time, had, during the seven years he spent at Magdalen College, Oxford, only acquired a knowledge of some of the Greek authors through the medium of Latin translations. Among the most distinguished of the early patrons of the new learning after it had been thus introduced were the two prelates and statesmen Fox and his greater *protegé* and successor Wolsey, both of whom, in the colleges founded by them, that have just been mentioned, made especial provision for the teaching of the two classic tongues. The professor of Latin—or of Humanity, as he is designated—in Corpus Christi College, was expressly enjoined to extirpate *barbarism* from the new society (*barbariem a nostro alveario extirpet*). The Greek professor was ordered to explain the best Greek classics; "and the poets, historians, and orators in that language," observes Warton, "which the judicious founder, who seems to have consulted the most intelligent scholars of the times, recommends by name on this occasion, are the purest, and such as are most esteemed even in the present improved state of ancient learning."* Wolsey evinced the interest he took in the new studies, not only by his great school at Ipswich and his college at Oxford, but by founding in that university some years before, along with various other professorships, one for rhetoric and humanity, and another for Greek. "So attached was Wolsey," says the writer we have just quoted, "to the new modes of instruction, that he did not think it inconsistent with his high office and rank to publish a general address to the schoolmasters of England, in which he orders them to institute their youth in the most elegant literature." And the high eulogium of Erasmus on the great cardinal is, that "he recalled to his country the three learned languages, without which all learning is lame."

A violent struggle, however, was for some time maintained against these innovations by the generality of those who had been educated in the old system, and by the always numerous and powerful host of the enemies and mistrusters of all innovation, whether from self-interest or other motives. Colet, in a letter to Erasmus, relates that one of the prelates of the church, esteemed among the most eminent for his learning and gravity, had, in a great public assembly, censured him in the severest terms for suffering the Latin poets to be taught in his new seminary, which on that account he styled a house of idolatry. This last expression would almost warrant us in suspecting that the prelate, whose name is not mentioned, was one of those inclined to the new opinions in religion; and at this time the new learning was probably rather distasteful than otherwise to that class of persons, zealously patronised as it was by Fox, Wolsey, and others, the heads of the party attached to the ancient faith. A few years afterwards a change took place in this respect; the reformers in religion became also the chief supporters of the reformation in learning, as was fit and natural both from the sameness in the general character and direction of the two movements, and also for an especial reason, which operated with very powerful effect. This was the surpassing importance speedily acquired in the contest between the two religions by the great principle on which the Reformers took their stand, of the omnipotence of the authority of the Scriptures in regard to all the points in debate between them and their opponents. Not custom or tradition, not the de-

* Hist. Eng. Poet. Sect. xxxvi.

crees of popes or councils, not even the Latin Vulgate translation, but the original text of the Greek New Testament alone necessarily became, as soon as this principle was proclaimed, the grand ultimate criterion with them for the trial and decision of all doubts and disputes, and the armoury from which they drew their chief weapons both of defence and of assault. At first, it is true, this view does not appear to have been generally taken either by the one party or the other. The first editions of the Greek Testament that were given to the world were that contained in the Complutensian Polyglot, the magnificent present to

King's School, Canterbury. Founded 1542.
From an Old Print.

literature of Cardinal Ximenes, printed in 1514, but not published till 1522, and that of Erasmus, which appeared in 1516, both of which may be said to have proceeded from the bosom of the ancient church. Even from the first, however, many of the clergy, though principally rather from their extreme ignorance and illiteracy than from any fears they entertained of its unsettling people's faith, raised a considerable outcry against the New Testament of Erasmus; they seem to have seriously believed that the book was an invention of his own, and that he was attempting to establish a new religion. But the opposition to the Greek Scriptures, and to Greek literature generally, assumed a much more decided character when it was seen what use the friends of the new opinions in religion made of both, and how commonly an inclination in favour of the said new opinions went along with the cultivation of the new language. Erasmus for some time attempted to expound the Greek Grammar of Chrysoloras in the public schools at Cambridge; but his lectures were nearly unattended, and a storm of clamour was raised against him on all hands. His New Testament was actually proscribed by the authorities of the University, and a severe fine was denounced against any member who should be detected in having the book in his possession. Both in England and throughout Europe the universities were now generally divided into Greeks and Trojans; the latter class, who were those opposed to the new learning, usually comprehending all the monks and other most bigoted partisans of the old faith.*

Although, however, the revolt of Luther and his followers against the authority of Rome and many of the established doctrines in religion thus incidentally aided for a time the study and diffusion of classical scholarship, neither the subsequent progress of the Reformation in England nor its ultimate establishment operated with a favourable effect in the first instance upon the state of the universities or the general interests of learning. Henry VIII. himself, "from his natural liveliness of temper and love of novelty," as Warton puts it, or, as perhaps it might be more correctly expressed, from mere accident or caprice, was favourably disposed to the new studies, and his authority and influence were of considerable use in supporting them at first against their numerous and powerful opponents. Erasmus relates that, in 1519, when one of the university preachers at Oxford had harangued with great violence against the study of the Scriptures in their original languages, Henry, who happened to be resident at the time at the neighbouring royal manor of Woodstock, and received an account of the affair from his secretary, the learned Richard Pace, and Sir Thomas More, issued an order commanding that the said study of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures should not only be permitted for the future, but made an indispensable branch of the course of academical instruction. Some time after, one of the royal chaplains, preaching at court, having attacked the new Greek learning, was, after his sermon, commanded by the king to maintain his opinions in a solemn disputation with More, by whose wit and learning of course he was very speedily vanquished, and forced to make a humiliating admission of his errors and ignorance; he at last declared that he was now better reconciled to the Greek tongue, inasmuch as he found that it was derived from the Hebrew; but although he fell upon his knees and begged pardon for any offence he had given, Henry dismissed him, with a command that he should never again presume to preach before him. One of the first causes, however, although it was only of temporary operation, that interrupted the progress of classical learning at the universities, has been thought to have been the stir excited throughout Christendom by the question of Henry's divorce from Queen Catherine. "The legality of this violent measure," observes Warton, "being agitated with much deliberation and solemnity, wholly engrossed the attention of many able philologists, whose genius and acquisitions were destined to a much nobler employment, and tended to revive for a time the frivolous subtleties of casuistry and theology." Then, the still more eager and widely extended doctrinal discussions to which the progress of the Reformation itself gave rise, came to operate over a much longer period with a simi-

* The reader will recollect Addison's humorous notices of the modern Greeks and Trojans, in the 'Spectator.' Nos. 239 and 245.

lar effect. In this universal storm of polemics, "the profound investigations of Aquinas," continues Warton, "once more triumphed over the graces of the Ciceronian urbanity; and endless volumes were written on the expediency of auricular confession, and the existence of purgatory.

WESTMINSTER SCHOOL. From an Old Print.

Thus the cause of polite literature was for a while abandoned; while the noblest abilities of Europe were wasted in theological speculation, and absorbed in the abyss of controversy." Another great temporary check was now also given, Warton conceives, to the cause of the progress and diffusion of sound learning in England by the dissolution of the monasteries. "These seminaries," he observes, "though they were in a general view the nurseries of illiterate indolence, and undoubtedly deserved to be suppressed under proper restrictions, contained invitations and opportunities to studious leisure and literary pursuits. On this event, therefore, a visible revolution and decline in the national state of learning succeeded. Most of the youth of the kingdom betook themselves to mechanical or other illiberal employments, the profession of letters being now supposed to be without support or reward. By the abolition of the religious houses, many towns and their adjacent villages were utterly deprived of their only means of instruction. At the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, Williams, Speaker of the House of Commons, complained to her majesty, that more than an hundred flourishing schools were destroyed in the demolition of the monasteries, and that ignorance had prevailed ever since. Provincial ignorance, at least, became universal, in consequence of this hasty measure of a rapacious and arbitrary prince. What was taught in the monasteries was not always perhaps of the greatest importance, but still it served to keep up a certain degree of necessary knowledge." The many new grammar schools that arose in different parts of the country after the destruction of the monasteries were partly, no doubt, called into existence by the vacuum thus created; which, however, they did very little to fill up in so far as the rural population was concerned, although they may have sufficed for most of the great towns.

Both the old monastic schools and the new foundations, however, being considered, to a certain extent, as charitable institutions, were principally intended for the children of persons in humble, or at least in common, life; among the higher classes it seems to have been the general custom for boys as well as girls to be educated at home, or under the superintendence of private tutors. A notion of the extent and manner of training which youths of rank underwent in their earliest years may be obtained from some letters which have been lately printed, addressed to Henry's minister, Cromwell, by the tutor of his son Gregory.* This young man, whose capacity is described as rather solid than quick, divided his time under different masters among various studies and exercises, of which English, French, writing, playing at weapons, casting of accounts, and "pastimes

MERCHANT TAILORS' SCHOOL; the present Building. Engraved from an Original Sketch.

of instruments," are particularly enumerated. One master is stated to be in the habit of "daily hearing him to read somewhat in the English tongue, and advertising him of the natural and true kind of pronunciation thereof, expounding also and declaring the etymology and native signification of such words as we have borrowed of the Latins or Frenchmen, not even so commonly used in our quotidian speech." According to a common practice, two other youths, probably of inferior station, appear to have been educated along with young Cromwell; and between him and them, the account continues, "there is a perpetual contention, strife, and conflict, and in manner of an honest envy, who shall do best not only in the French tongue (wherein Mr. Vallence, after a wondrously compendious, facile, prompt, and ready way, not without painful diligence and laborious industry, doth instruct them), but also in writing, playing at weapons, and all other their exercises." In the end a confident hope is ex-

* King Henry the Eighth's Scheme of Bishoprics, &c. 8vo. Lon. 1838.

pressed that "whereas the last summer was spent in the service of the wild goddess Diana," the present shall be consecrated to Apollo and the Muses, to the no small profit of the young man, as well as to his father's good contentation and pleasure. This letter is dated in April; another written in September (apparently of the same year), by which time the boy had begun the study of some new branches, especially Latin and instrumental music, enters into some more minute and curious details of how he spent his time. "First," says his tutor, "after he hath heard mass, he taketh a lecture of a dialogue of Erasmus, colloquium called Pietas Puerilis, wherein is described a very picture of one that should be virtuously brought up; and for cause it is so necessary for him, I do not only cause him to read it over, but also to practise the precepts of the same; and I have also translated it into English, so that he may confer therein both together, whereof, as learned men affirm, cometh no small profect, which translation pleaseth it you to receive by the bringer hereof, that ye may judge how much profitable it is to be learned." From this it may be inferred that the original Latin would have been unintelligible to Cromwell, and that that able man was above being flattered by having a knowledge of the learned tongues ascribed to him which he did not possess. The letter goes on—"After that he exerciseth his hand in writing one or two hours, and readeth upon Fabian's Chronicle as long, the residue of the day he doth spend upon the lute and virginal." Vocal music at least, it may be observed, if not instrumental, was always one of the branches of education taught at the old monastic, cathedral, and other free schools; a circumstance originating, no doubt, in the connexion of those schools with the church, in the services of which singing bore so important a part. Lastly, the tutor gives an account of the out-of-door exercises followed by his pupil, intellectual instruction, however, being by no means disregarded even in some of these:—"When he rideth, as he doth very oft, I tell him by the way," he says, "some history of the Romans or the Greeks, which I cause him to rehearse again in a tale. For his recreation he useth to hawk, and hunt, and shoot in his long bow, which frameth and succeedeth so well with him that he seemeth to be thereunto given by nature." This training, as far as it is detailed, appears to have been judiciously contrived for laying the foundation of a good and solid education both of the mental and physical faculties.

The reforming spirit of the early part of the sixteenth century was, as always happens, in the shape it took in the popular mind, much more of a destructive than of a constructive character; and even the wisest of the persons in authority, by whom the mighty movement was guided and controlled, were necessarily, to a certain extent, under the influence of the same presumptuous temper, without a share of which, indeed, they would not have been fitted to restrain the more impetuous multitude to the extent they did. But in its application to the universities, as in other cases, this spirit of mere demolition, and contempt for all that was old and established, displayed itself in some things in a very rampant style. The scorn, in particular, with which it treated the whole mass of the ancient philosophy of the schools, was of the most sweeping description. The famous Duns Scotus, so long the lord of opinion, now underwent, in full measure, the customary fate of deposed sovereigns. A royal visitation of the two universities, by commissioners of Cromwell's appointment, took place in 1535, when injunctions were issued abolishing altogether the reading of the works of the most subtle Doctor. The tone of triumph in which Dr. Layton, one of the Oxford commissioners, announces this reform to Cromwell is highly characteristic. "We have set Dunce," he writes, "in Bocardo,* and have utterly banished him Oxford for ever, with all his blind glosses." The despised tomes, formerly so much reverenced, Layton goes on to intimate, were now used by any man for the commonest uses; he had seen them with his own eyes nailed upon posts in the most degrading situations. "And the second time we came to New College," he proceeds, "after we had declared your injunctions, we found all the great quadrant court full of the leaves of Dunce, the wind blowing them into every corner. And there we found one Mr. Greenfield, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, gathering up part of the same book leaves, as he said, therewith to make him sewers or blawnshers, to keep the deer within his wood, thereby to have the better cry with his hounds."† In fact, however, the scholastic philosophy, which was thus banished from the universities, was the whole philosophy, mental and physical, then taught, and its abolition consequently amounted to the ejection, for the time, of philosophical studies from the academical course altogether. The canon law was another of the old studies, hitherto of chief importance, that was at the same time put down: degrees in the canon law were prohibited; and in place of the canon lecture, a civil lecture, that is, a lecture on the civil law, was appointed to be read in every college, hall, and inn.

For a short space, the excitement of novelty, and the exertions of a few eminent instructors, made classical learning popular at Oxford and Cambridge, and enabled it in some degree to serve as a substitute for those other abandoned studies to which it ought only to have been introduced as an ally. The learned Ascham boasts, in one of his letters, that whereas almost the only classics hitherto known at Cambridge had been Plautus, Cicero, Terence, and Livy; all the chief Greek poets, orators, and historians, Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, were now universally

* A figure or form of syllogism of the school logic, which terminated in a negative conclusion. The expression, therefore, implies that Scotus was, as it were, annihilated.

† Strype, Eccles. Mem. i. 335.

and critically studied. This prosperous state of Greek scholarship was principally owing to the example and exertions of the two distinguished professors of that language, Thomas Smith and John Cheke: even the controversy about the proper pronunciation of the language that arose between the latter and Bishop Gardiner, who, as Warton observes, "loved learning, but hated novelties," contributing its share to excite a general interest about Greek literature, as well as to throw new light upon the particular subject in dispute. But both Cheke and Smith were soon withdrawn from their academic labours to other fields; and with them the spirit of true learning and taste, which they had awakened at Cambridge, seems also to have taken its departure. At Oxford the case was no better; there, Ascham remarks that a decline of taste in both the classic tongues was decidedly indicated by a preference of Lucian, Plutarch, and Herodian, in Greek, and of Seneca, Gellius, and Apuleius, in Latin, to the writers of the older and purer eras of ancient eloquence. Even divinity itself, as Latimer complains, ceased to be studied. "It would pity a man's heart," he says, "to hear what I hear of the state of Cambridge: what it is in Oxford I cannot tell. There be few that study divinity but so many as of necessity must furnish the colleges." So true is it that no one branch of learning or science can long continue to flourish amid the general neglect and decay of the other branches that compose along with it the system of human knowledge.

The first establishment of the Reformation under Edward VI., instead of effecting the restoration of learning, only contributed to its further discouragement and depression. "The rapacious courtiers of this young prince," as Warton observes, "were perpetually grasping at the rewards of literature. . . . . Avarice and zeal were at once gratified in robbing the clergy of their revenues, and in reducing the church to its primitive apostolical state of purity and poverty. The opulent see of Winchester was lowered to a bare title; its amplest estates were portioned out to the laity; and the bishop, a creature of the Protector Somerset, was contented to receive an inconsiderable annual stipend from the exchequer. The bishopric of Durham, almost equally rich, was entirely dissolved. A favourite nobleman in the court occupied the deanery and treasurership of a cathedral, with some of its best canonries. . . . . In every one of these sacrilegious robberies the interest of learning also suffered. Exhibitions and pensions were, in the mean time, subtracted from the students in the universities. Ascham, in a letter to the Marquis of Northampton, dated 1550, laments the ruin of grammar-schools throughout England, and predicts the speedy extinction of the universities from this growing calamity. At Oxford the public schools were neglected by the professors and pupils, and allotted to the lowest purposes. Academical degrees were abrogated as anti-christian. Reformation was soon turned into fanaticism. Absurd refinements, concerning the inutility of human learning, were superadded to the just and rational purgation of Christianity from the papal corruptions. The spiritual reformers of these enlightened days, at a visitation of the last-mentioned university, proceeded so far in their ideas of a superior rectitude, as totally to strip the public library, established by that munificent patron, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, of all its books and manuscripts."

A very curious account of the state of the University of Cambridge in this reign is contained in a sermon, preached in 1550, by a Thomas Lever, Fellow of St. John's College, some extracts from which Strype has preserved. Formerly "there were," says Lever, "in houses belonging to the University of Cambridge, two hundred students of divinity, many very well learned, which be now all clean gone home; and many young toward scholars, and old fatherly doctors, not one of them left. One hundred, also, of another sort, that, having rich friends, or being beneficed men, did live of themselves in hostels and inns, be either gone away or else fain to creep into colleges and put poor men from bare livings. These both be all gone, and a small number of poor, godly, diligent students, now remaining only in colleges, be not able to tarry and continue their studies for lack of exhibition and help." The description which follows of the studies and mode of living of the poorer and more diligent students is very interesting:—"There be divers there which rise daily about four or five of the clock in the morning, and from five till six of the clock use common prayer, with an exhortation of God's word in a common chapel; and from six until ten of the clock use ever either private study or common lectures. At ten of the clock they go to dinner, whereas they be content with a penny piece of beef among four, having a few pottage made of the broth of the same beef, with salt and oatmeal, and nothing else. After this slender diet they be either teaching or learning until five of the clock in the evening; whenas they have a supper not much better than their dinner. Immediately after which they go either to reasoning in problems, or to some other study, until it be nine or ten of the clock; and then, being without fires, are fain to walk or run up and down half an hour, to get a heat on their feet when they go to bed."* Latimer, in a sermon preached about the same time, expresses his belief that there were then ten thousand fewer students in the kingdom than there had been twenty years before.

In the reign of Mary, who was herself a learned queen, and a considerable benefactress of both universities, classical learning had a distinguished patron in Cardinal Pole, who was as illustrious for his literary acquirements, as he was for his birth and station. In his short tenure of power, however, he was not able to accomplish much against the adverse circumstances of the time. It appears that to him Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of

* Eccles. Mem. ii. 422.

Trinity College, Oxford, which was endowed in this reign more especially for the cultivation of classical scholarship, submitted the statutes of his new institution. "My Lord Cardinal's Grace," says Sir Thomas, in a letter of his which has been preserved, "has had the overseeing of my statutes. He much likes well that I have therein ordered the Latin tongue to be read to my scholars. But he advises me to order the Greek to be more taught there than I have provided. This purpose I well like; but I fear the times will not bear it now. I remember when I was a young scholar at Eton, the Greek tongue was growing apace; the study of which is now alate much decayed." The fact here stated is especially honourable to Pole, seeing that by this time the Greek language, as that of the original text of the New Testament, to which the Reformers made all their appeals, had come to be regarded by the generality of Catholics as a peculiarly Protestant and almost heretical study. The return of the old religion, however, with its persecutions and penal fires, did not prove on the whole more favourable to the interests of learning than to any of the other interests of the national happiness and civilization.

Nor did the final establishment of the reformed church, nor all the prosperity of the next reign, for a long time bring back good letters to the universities. A few facts will show their state throughout a great part of that reign. In the first place, so few persons now received a university education, that for many years a large proportion of the clergy of the new church were mere artificers and other illiterate persons, some of whom, while they preached on Sundays, worked at their trades on weekdays, and some of whom could hardly write their names. In the year 1563, as we are informed by Anthony Wood, there were only three divines in the university of Oxford who were considered capable of preaching the public sermons. It has been sometimes alleged that the growing influence of Puritanism was one of the chief causes of the continued neglect and depression in which learning was now left; but it is a remarkable fact, that the three Oxford preachers were all Puritans, as were also many of the most distinguished ornaments of both universities at a later date. In 1567, so low was still the state of classical literature in the country, that when Archbishop Parker, in that year, founded three scholarships in Cambridge, the holders of which were to be "the best and ablest scholars" elected from the most considerable schools in Kent and Norfolk, all the amount of qualification he required in them was, that they should be well instructed in the grammar, "and if it may be," it was added, "such as can make a verse." As one instance of the extreme ignorance of the inferior clergy in the latter part of the fifteenth century, Warton mentions, on the authority of the episcopal register, that "in the year 1570, Horne, Bishop of Winchester, enjoined the minor canons of his cathedral to get by memory, every week, one chapter of St. Paul's Epistles in Latin; and this formidable task, almost beneath the abilities of an ordinary schoolboy, was actually repeated by some of them, before the bishop, dean, and prebendaries, at a public episcopal visitation of that church." The anecdote, at least, presents the bishops and minor canons of those times in a strange light. The accomplished critic we have just quoted is of opinion that the taste for Latin composition in the reign of Elizabeth had much degenerated from what it was in that of Henry VIII. The Latinity of Ascham's prose, he maintains, has no eloquence; and even Buchanan's Latin poetry, although he admits that its versification and phraseology are splendid and sonorous, he will not allow to be marked with the chaste graces and simple ornaments of the Augustan age. "One is surprised," he adds, "to find the learned Archbishop Grindal, in the statutes of a school which he founded and amply endowed (in 1583), recommending such barbarous and degenerate classics as Palingenius, Sedulius, and Prudentius, to be taught in his new foundation. These, indeed, were the classics of a reforming bishop; but the well-meaning prelate would have contributed much more to the success of his intended reformation by directing books of better taste and less piety."*

The whole of the present period, however, will deserve the epithet of a learned age, notwithstanding the state of the schools and universities, and of what are called the learned professions, if we look either to the names of eminent scholars by which every portion of it is adorned, or to the extent to which the study of the learned languages then entered into the education of all persons, women as well as men, who were considered to be well educated. In the earlier part of it, besides Cranmer, Ridley, Tunstal, Gardiner, Pole, and other churchmen of distinguished acquirements, we have Richard Pace, Sir John Cheke, and Sir Thomas Smith, Colet the founder and Lilly the first master of St. Paul's School,—all already mentioned; William Grocyn, another of the first and also one of the very greatest of the English Grecians; the equally elegant and industrious John Leland, the father of English antiquities, and the chief preserver in his day of the old knowledge that would otherwise have perished, as well as one of the most successful cultivators of the new; Doctor Thomas Linacer, the first English physician, and as a scholar scarcely second to any of his country or of his age; and the all-accomplished Sir Thomas More, perhaps the happiest genius of his time, the one of its profound scholars, at all events, unless we are to except his illustrious friend Erasmus, whose natural genius was the least oppressed by his erudition, and whose erudition was the most brightened with wit, and informed by a living spirit better than that of books. Of somewhat later celebrity are the names of Roger Ascham, who is more famous, however, for

* Hist. of Eng. Poet. iii. 283.

his English than for his Latin writings; of Dr. Walter Haddon, the most Ciceronian of English Latinists; of Buchanan, perhaps the most of a poet of all the modern writers of Latin verse; not to mention Archbishop Parker, Bishop Andrews, and other eminent churchmen. The number of very great English scholars, however, in the reign of Elizabeth was not so considerable as in that of her father, when classical studies were not only cultivated with perhaps a truer appreciation of the highest models, but afforded, besides, almost the only field for intellectual exercise and display. Still this kind of learning continued to be fashionable; and a familiar, if not a profound, acquaintance with both the Latin and the Greek languages was diffused to an unusual extent among persons of the highest rank. Henry VIII. was himself a scholar of considerable pretensions; he is said, being a younger son, to have been educated for the church: and to this accident, which gave the country its first pedant king, it may perhaps have been also indebted for its succession of learned princes, which lasted for more than a century, Henry, as it were, setting the fashion, which it afterwards became a matter of course to follow. His son, though born to the throne to which he succeeded, received a schoolmastering fit for a bishop; and so also did both his daughters. Erasmus has commended the Latin letters of Mary, some of which are preserved, as well as others in French and in Spanish. Elizabeth was not only a Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian scholar, but also a proficient in Greek, in which language her tutor Ascham tells us she used, even after she came to the throne, to read more every day than some prebendaries of the church read of Latin in a whole week. But this was especially the age of learned ladies; and every reader will remember the names of Lady Jane Grey, of whose studies in Plato the same writer we have just mentioned has drawn so interesting a picture, and some of whose Latin epistles are still extant, especially one to her sister, written the night before her death, in a Greek Testament, in which she had been reading; of Mary, Countess of Arundel, her daughter-in-law, Joanna Lady Lumley, and the younger sister of the latter, Mary Duchess of Norfolk, all of whom were the authoresses of various translations from the Greek into Latin and English; of the two Margarets, the female luminaries of the household of Sir Thomas More, the one who became the wife of her learned tutor, Dr. John Clement, and who is said to have so delighted in and almost worshipped More, that she would sometimes commit a fault purely that she might be chid by him —such moderation and humanity was there in his anger; the other, his affectionate and favourite daughter, who married his biographer, Roper, and was accounted the most learned woman of her time; and of the three wonderful daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke—Mildred, the eldest, married to Lord Burleigh, whose name has been embalmed by the muse of Buchanan; Anne, the second, the governess of Edward VI., and afterwards the wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and the mother of the illustrious Viscount St. Alban's; and the youngest, Catherine, who married Sir Henry Killigrew, and is celebrated not only for her Latin and Greek, but even for her Hebrew erudition. "It became fashionable in this reign (that of Elizabeth)," says Warton, "to study Greek at court. The maids of honour indulged their ideas of sentimental affection in the sublime contemplation of Plato's Phædo; and the queen, who understood Greek better than the canons of Windsor, and was certainly a much greater pedant than her successor, James I., translated Isocrates. But this passion for the Greek language soon ended where it began; nor do we find that it improved the national taste, or influenced the writings of the age of Elizabeth."

Old Harrison has a curious and characteristic passage on this learned court. "This further," he observes, "is not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and sexes of our courtiers here in England, that there are very few of them which have not the use and skill of sundry speeches, beside an excellent vein of writing, before time not regarded." He does not, however, seem to have a more favourable notion of the moral effect of these novel and showy accomplishments than Warton has expressed respecting their influence on the national literature and taste: "Would to God," he exclaims, "the rest of their lives and conversations were correspondent to those gifts! for as our common courtiers, for the most part, are the best learned and endued with excellent gifts, so are many of them the worst men, when they come abroad, that any man shall either hear or read of." Harrison's words, which are surprisingly bold to have been published at the time, seem here to be gallantly confined to the *men* of the court; but other contemporary testimonies do not disguise the fact that many of the females who formed the attendants of the virgin queen were as dissolute as their male associates. The honest old painter of the living manners of his time may be thought, perhaps, to hint at something of the kind in what follows:—"Truly it is a rare thing with us now to hear of a courtier which hath but his own language. And to say how many gentlewomen and ladies there are that, beside sound knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues, are thereto no less skilful in the Spanish, Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me; sith I am persuaded that, as the noblemen and gentlemen do surmount in this behalf, so these come very little or nothing at all behind them for their parts; which industry God continue, *and accomplish that which otherwise is wanting.*" Yet he winds up his description with a very laudatory flourish. "Beside these things," he proceeds, "I could in like sort set down the ways and means, whereby our ancient ladies of the court do shun and avoid idleness, some of them exercising their fingers with the needle, other in

8 The L Mary my sister came to me to wheslmuister
wheare after salutacions she was called wt my
counsel into a chambre, where was declared how
long i had suffered her masse ~~against my will~~
in hope of her reconchiations and how now
being no hope, wich i perceiued by her lettres
except i saw some short amendement, i could not
beare it. She answeriol that her soul was god
and her faith she wold not chaung, nor dissemble
hir opinion wt contrary doinges. It was said i
constrained not her faith, but willed her not as a king to rule but
to obey: ~~or els t~~ And that her as a subiect exaumple might
breed to much inconuenience.

Fac-simile from King Edward's Journal

Think your
Country your home, the inhabitants
your neighbours, all freinds your
children, and your children your
own Sowl endeuouring to surpass
all these in liberality and good
nature.

FAC-SIMILE FROM ELIZABETH'S TRANSLATION OF A DIALOGUE IN XENOPHON BETWEEN HIERO AND SIMONIDES.

caul-work, divers in spinning of silk, some in continual reading either of the Holy Scriptures, or histories of our own or foreign nations about us, and divers in writing volumes of their own, or translating of other men's into our English and Latin tongue, whilst the youngest sort in the mean time apply their lutes, citterns, pricksong, and all kind of music, which they use only for recreation sake, when they have leisure, and are free from attendance upon the queen's majesty, or such as they belong unto." Many of the eldest sort he goes on to celebrate as "also skilful in surgery and distillation of waters, beside sundry other artificial practices pertaining to the ornature and commendations of their bodies;" and "there are none of them," he adds, "but when they be at home can help to supply the ordinary want of the kitchen with a number of delicate dishes of their own devising." At last, coming directly to the morals of the court, he declares that, whereas some great princes' courts beyond the seas have been likened unto hell on account of the dissipation and debauchery prevailing in them, all such "enormities are either utterly expelled out of the court of England, or else so qualified by the diligent endeavour of the chief officers of her grace's household, that seldom are any of these things apparently seen there without due reprehension, and such severe correction as belongeth to those trespasses." "Finally," he concludes, "to avoid idleness, and prevent sundry transgressions otherwise likely to be committed and done, such order is taken that every office hath either a Bible, or the book of the Acts and Monuments of the Church of England, or both, beside some histories and chronicles, lying therein, for the exercise of such as come into the same; whereby the stranger that entereth into the court of England upon the sudden shall rather imagine himself to come into some public school of the universities, where many give ear to one that readeth, than into a prince's palace, if you confer the same with those of other nations."*

This flattering description of the English court is very different from that given by Ascham, in his Schoolmaster, who tells us that although it did indeed contain many fair examples for youth to follow, yet they were "like fair marks in the field out of a man's reach, too far off to shoot at well;" while the generality of persons to be found there were the worst of characters. Some private letters of the time of Elizabeth, also, which have been printed, describe the court as a place where there was "little godliness and exercise of religion," and where "all enormities reigned in the highest degree." But what it is more important for our present purpose to observe is, that the learning which existed in this age, however remarkably it may have shone forth in particular instances, was by no means generally diffused even among the higher classes, while the generality of the lower and many even of the middle classes remained to the end of the period almost wholly uneducated and illiterate. The father of Shakspeare, an alderman of Stratford, appears to have been unable to write his name; and probably, throughout the community, for one man that was scholar enough

* Description of England, b. ii. c. 15.

to subscribe his signature there were a dozen who could only make their marks. With all the advancement the country had made in many respects, it may be doubted if popular education was farther extended at the close of the reign of Elizabeth than it was at the commencement of that of her father or her grandfather. Even the length of time that printing had now been at work, and the multiplication of books that must have taken place, had probably but very little, if at all, extended the knowledge and the habit of reading among the mass of the people. The generation that grew up immediately after the discovery of the art of printing, and that first welcomed the Reformation and the translated Bible, perhaps read more than their grandchildren.

The French language had been familiar to all persons of education in England ever since the Norman Conquest; and the example of Chaucer may remind us that so early as the fourteenth century the Italian had begun to be studied. But in the present period the knowledge of the latter became a common accomplishment both among men of letters and persons of fashion; nor was an acquaintance with the Spanish unusual. Elizabeth, as we have just seen, spoke both tongues. The study of Italian, as we shall presently find, had a much greater influence upon the English literature of this period than that of Greek and Latin.

The English language in the course of the sixteenth century reached, in regard to both its vocabulary and its structural and syntactical character, very nearly the state in which it still exists, and which may therefore be assumed to be the full and final development of its formative genius and tendencies. Yet it did not attain this maturity till the latter part of the century. If the language of Shakspeare is, in almost all its forms, the language of the present day, that of Lord Surrey is not. But even the language of Surrey is modern as compared with that of Skelton and the other writers of the first quarter of the century. The process of the subsidence of the English tongue into the shape in which it ultimately remained fixed may, therefore, be regarded as having been going on nearly throughout the present period. The course of this process will be sufficiently exhibited by the following series of passages, arranged in chronological order, from contemporary documents, and the works of the principal English writers of the period, down to the latest whose language presents any forms, either lexicographical or grammatical, differing from those that are still in use.

Ancient Dutch Printing-Office. From a Design by Stradanus engraved by L. Galle.

MARKS OF THE EARLY ENGLISH PRINTERS.

RICHARD PYNSON, died 1530.

ROBERT COPLAND, died 1548.

WYNKYN DE WORDE, flourished 1493—1533.

JOHN DAY, died 1584.

THOMAS BERTHELET, died 1555.

ROBERT WYER, flourished 1527—1542.

A portion of the Instructions which King Henry VII. gave to Fox, Bishop of Durham, in 1497, when he sent him to Scotland to demand the person of Perkin Warbeck, is the only example of English prose which we shall quote of that reign. The whole may be seen in the Cottonian Manuscript Vespasian, C. xvi. fol. 141:—

First, where divers offers were made by the Earle of Aunguish and the Lord Home in a treatie lately had att Jenyn haugh: it is thought unto us and our Counsell that those offers in noe wise doth suffice to the conservation of our honor, nor yett for anie convenient recompence for such damages as hath beene done unto us and our subjects by our said Cosen: and therefore you shall demand and require on our behalf of our said Cosen that hee deliver unto us Perkin Warbeck, the which deliverance of him wee desire not for anie estimation that wee take of him, but because our said Cosen receives him within his land, and favourably hath entreated him and divers others of our Rebells during the peace concluded betwixt us both, and, over that, having him in his companie entred in puissance with in our land, the which was the cause and ground of breache of the said peace, and less therefore may wee not doe with our honor, then to have the deliverance of him [who] is of noe price or value. Howsobeit, for the good will and affection that wee beare unto our said Cosen, wee shalbe contented to take such a peace and intelligence with him as shalbe thought reasonable to our and his Comissioners, soe that hee make deliverance unto us of the said Perkin, and also doe send unto us such a solemne ambassage as was spoken of at the saide treatie had at Jenyn haugh. And whereas it was spoken in the said treatie that our said Cosen should send unto us such persons in ambassage, and at such tymes and places as wee would assigne and limitt: Wee shalbe contented that hee shall send unto us in ambassage incontinently and without delay att anie place with in this our realme, where wee shalbe att the tyme of theire coming, the reverend father in God the Bishopp of Murray, the Earle of Anguish, and the Lord Home his chamberlaine, with such other as shall please our said Cosen to send.

Item, if our said Cosen shall not bee aggreeable to the deliverance of the said Perkin unto us as is before rehersed, the which, as wee thinke (sith he is not the person that he surmised him to be when hee obtained his sauff-conduct of our said Cosen, as it is well knowne through all these parts of the world) hee might with his honor and with out his damage well doe, and soe satisfie our mynde for our honor on that behalf, Yet wee, having consideration to the loving mynde of our said Cosen in the tyme of rebellion of divers of our subjects, as it is showed unto us, att reverence of Almighty God, and in evyting of the effusion of Christian bloode, having in our remembrance the nighnes of bloode betwixt us and our said Cosen, be contented to take an other way for the peace betwixt us, though none other could be unto us more acceptable nor soe well satisfie our mynde and honor, that is to say, that it may lyke our said Cosen first to send his solemne ambassage (as is before rehersed) unto us, and also the same our Cosen to come in person unto our town of Newcastle, or further within this our realme, where wee may meet, comune, and conclude with him for the observation of the said peace, and of farther intelligence to bee taken betwixt us and him, bee it by way of alliance or otherwise, as also for the due ordering and reforming of such debats and attempt-ats as shall grow in tyme betwixt our subjects for the damage that they had by the throwing downe of their castles and Ffortlets at tyme of his first being with in this our land, having then with him the said Perkin and other rebells of ours as is before rehersed.

* * *

And, finally, you shall by all wise meanes to you possible, endevor your self to have the said Perkin to be delivered unto us, and also the saide solemne ambassage to bee sent unto us, as is before rehersed, the which to obtaine and have, should be to the conservation of our honnor, and most to our desire and pleasure. And in case our said Cosen will not bee aggreeable to the delivering of Perkin and the sending of the said ambassage, then you shall perswade and insist by all wise meanes to you possible that hee doe send the same his solemne ambassage unto us, and also to come in his owne person to the Newcastle or furder. And, over that, to bee bound in an obligation of Nisi, or att least uppon his oathe and to make satisfaction unto our subjects by him endomaged, and besides that to lay such pledges as is before more at large rehersed. And in case you can not induce him to deliver Perkin and to send the said ambassage, which is the first part and way of these your Instructions, then shall you resort to the seconde part and way, that is to say, Our said Cosen first to send unto us his ambassage, secondly to come into this our land in person, thirdly to be bound in the obligation of Nisi, or att least by his solemne othe, ffourthly to make a convenient recompence for such Castles and Piles as have beene throwen downe by him, and fiftlie to lay pleadges for the performing of his promisses as is before more largely rehearsed. And if our said Cosen will not be aggreeable to any of these two wayes soe before specified, then may you show unto them these our other articles of Instruction, to the entent they may well see that you have noe authority to doe anie thing further in this matter then is comprised in those articles. Howsobeit, if it be thought by your discretion behooffull, you may, rather then to fall to a breache, cause them to send to their Prince for furder understanding of his mynde in this behalf, and thereuppon advertise us with out delay to how many of these articles they wilbe aggreeable.

From the poetry of Henry VII.'s time we shall quote part of the character of the Book-Collector, from Barklay's Ship of Fools, an adapted translation from the 'Stultifera Navis' of Sebastian Brandt. Barklay's work first appeared from the press of Wynkyn de Worde, in 1508. That edition is of extreme rarity: we make our extract from the folio edition of 1570:—

I am the first foole of all the whole Navie
To keepe the Pompe, the Helme, and eke the Sayle
For this is my minde, this one pleasure have I,
Of bookes to have great plentie and apparayle.
I take no wisedome by them, nor yet avayle,
Nor them perceave not, and then I them despise:
Thus am I a foole, and all that sue that guise.

That in this Ship the chief place I governe,
By this wide Sea with fooles wandring,
The cause is plaine and easy to discerne,
Still am I busy bookes assembling,

For to have plentie, it is a pleasaunt thing
In my conceyt, and to have them ay in hande:
But what they meane do I not understande.

But yet I have them in great reverence
And honoure, saving them from filth and ordure,
By often brusshing and much diligence,
Full goodly bounde in pleasaunt coverture,
Of Damas, Sattin, or els of Velvet pure:
I keepe them sure, fearing least they should be lost,
For in them is the cunning wherein I me boast.

* * *

But if it fortune that any learned men
Within my house fall to disputacion,
I drawe the curtaynes to shew my bokes then,
That they of my cunning should make probation:
I kepe not to fail in alterication.
And while they commen, my bookes I turne and winde,
For all is in them, and nothing in my minde.

Why should I studie to hurt my wit therby,
Or trouble my minde with studie excessive?
Sithe many are which studie right busely,
And yet therby shall they never thrive:
The fruit of wisdome can they not contrive,
And many to studie so much are inclinde
That utterly they fall out of their minde.

Eche is not lettred that nowe is made a lorde,
Nor eche a Clerke that hath a benefice:
They are not all lawyers that plees do recorde,
All that are promoted are not fully wise.
On suche chaunce nowe fortune throwes her dice,
That though one knowe by the Yrishe game,
Yet would he have a gentleman's name.

So in likewise, I am in suche case
Though I nought can I woulde be called wise:
Also I may set another in my place,
Which may for me my bookes exercise,
Or els I shall ensue the common guise,
And say *concedo* to every argument,
Least by much speeche my Latin should be spent.

I am like other Clerkes which so frowardly them gyde,
That after they are once come unto promotion:
They geve them to pleasure, their study set aside,
Their avarice covering with fained devotion.
Yet daily they preache, and have great derision
Against the rude lay men, and all for covetise,
Though their own conscience be blinded with that vice.

But if I durst truth plainly utter and expresse,
This is the speciall cause of this inconvenience,
That greatest fooles and fullest of lewdnes,
Having least wit, and simplest science,
Are first promoted, and have great reverence.
For if one can flatter, and beare a hauke on his fist,
He shalbe made parson of Honington or Clist.

But he that is in study ay firme and diligent,
And without all favour preacheth Christes lore,
Of all the Cominaltie nowe a dayes is sore shent,
And estates threatned oft therefore.
Thus what avayle is it, to us to study more,
To knowe either Scripture, truth, wisedome, or vertue?
Since fewe or none without fauour dare them shewe.

But O noble Doctours, that worthy are of name,
Consider our olde fathers, note well their diligence:
Ensue ye their steppes, obtayne ye such fame,
As they did living, and that by true prudence;
Within their heartes they planted their Science,
And not in pleasaunt bookes: but now to fewe such be,
Therefore in this Ship come you and rowe with me.

Then follows Barklay's 'Envoy':—

Say woorthie Doctours and Clerkes curious,
What moveth you of Bookes to have such number:
Since divers doctrines, through way contrarious,
Doth mans minde distract and sore encomber.
Alas blinde men awake out of your slumber:
And if ye will needes your bookes multiplye
With diligence endeuour you some to occupye.

Our specimens of language in the reign of Henry VIII., for reasons which will presently appear, must, of necessity, be more copious. "The speche of Englande," says Andrew Boorde, "of late dayes is amended."

The first extract we shall make is from the 'Litle Boke of Philip Sparow, compyled by Mayster Skelton, poete laureate':—

Pla ce bo,
Who is there who,
Di le xi,
Dame Margery,
Fa re my my,
Wherfore and why whye
For the soule of Philip Sparow,
That was slaine at Carow,
Among the Nunnes blake.
For that sweet soules sake,
And for al sparowes soules,
Set in our bead roules,
Pater noster qui,
With an Ave Mari,
And with the corner of a creed,
The more shalbe your meed.

Whan I remembre agayne
How my Philip was slaine,
Never half the paine
Was betwene you twayne,
Pyramus and Thesbe,
As then befel to me.
I wept and I wayled,
The teares downe hayled,
But nothing it availed
To cal Philip againe,
Whom Gib our cat hath slaine.
Gib, I say, our cat
Worrowed her on that,
Which I loved best;
It cannot be exprest
My sorowful heauynes,
But al with out redres;
For within that stound,
Half slumbryng in a sound
I fel downe to the ground.
Unneth I kest mine eyes
Toward the cloudy skyes,
But whan I did behold
My sparow dead and cold,
No creature but that wold
Have rewed upon me

To behold and se
What heavines did me pange,
Wherwith my handes I wrange,
That my senowes cracked
As though I had ben racked;
So payned and so strained
That no life wel nye remained.

* * *

It had a velvet cap,
And would sit upon my lap,
And seke after smal wormes,
And sometime white bread crommes;
And many times and ofte
Betwene my brestes soft
It wold lye and rest;
It was propre and prest.
Sometime he wold gaspe
When he saw a waspe,
A flye or a gnat,
He wold fly at that,
And pretely he wold pant
When he saw an ant,
Lord how he wold pry
After the butterfly;
Lord how he would hop
After the gressop,
And when I sayd, Phyp, Phip,
Than he wold leape and skip
And take me by the lip;
Alas it wyl me sloe
That Philip is gone me fro.
Si in i-qui ta tes
Alas I was evil at ease.
De profundis clamavi
When I saw my sparowe dye.

We shall give another specimen of Skelton's poetry from his 'Whye come ye not to Courte?' The subject of the satire or invective, it will be perceived, is the arrogance of Wolsey:—

Once yet agayne
Of you I wold fraine
Why come ye not to Courte.
To which Courte?
To the King's Court,
Or to Hampton Court?
Nay to the Kinges Court;
The King's Court
Should have the excellence,
But Hampton Court
Hath the pre-eminence,
And Yorkes Place
With my Lordes Grace,
To whose magnifycence
Is all the confluence
Sutes and supplications,
Embassades of all nacyons.
Straw for law can on
Or for the law common,
Or for lawe civill,
It shall be as he wyll.
Stop at law tancrete,
An obstract or a concrete,
Be it soure, be it sweete,
His wisdome is so discrete
That in a fume or an hete
Warden of the Flete
Set him fast by the fete;
And of his royal poure,
Whan him list to loure,
Than have him to the Toure,
Sauns alter remedy,
Have him forth by and by
To the Marshalsy,
Or to the Kinges Benche,
He diggeth so in the trench
Of the Court royall
That he ruleth them all;
So he dothe undermynde,
And suche sleightes doth fynde,
That the Kinges mynde,
By him is subverted,
And so streatly coarted
In credensing his tales,
That all is but nutshales
That any other sayth,
He hath in him such faith.
Now yet al this myght be
Suffred and taken in gree
If that that he wrought
To any good end wer brought;
But al he bryngeth to nought,
By God that me deare bought.
He beareth the king on hand
That he must pyl his land
To make his cofers rych,
But he layeth al in the dyche,
And useth such abusion,
That in the conclusion
All commeth to confusyon.
Perceve the cause whye,
To tell the trouth plainlye,
He is so ambicious,
So shameles and so vicious,
And so supersticious,
And so much oblivious
From whens that he came,
That he falleth into Acisium:
Which truely to expresse
Is a forgetfulnes,
Or wylful blindnes,
Wherwith the Sodomites
Lost their inward sightes.
The Gommerians also
Were brought to deadly wo,
As Scripture recordes.
A cecitate cordis,
In the latyn synge we,
Libera nos Domine.
But this mad Amalecke,
Like to Amamelek,
He regardeth Lordes
No more than pot shordes;
He is in suche elacion
Of his exaltacion,
And the supportacion
Of our soveraine Lorde,
That God to recorde,
He ruleth al at wyl
Without reason or skyl.
Howbeit they be prymordyal
Of hys wretched orygynall,
And his base progeny
Ane his gresy genealogy,
He came of the sanke roial
That was cast oute of a bouchers stal.

From the First Book of Sir Thomas More's Works ('Dialogue concerning Heresies'), vol. i.

p. 134, chap. xiv., written in 1528, we give a prose specimen of the language of this reign :—

SOME prieste, to bring up a pilgrimage in his parishe, may devise some false felowe fayning him selfe to come seke a saint in hys chyrch, and there sodeinly say, that he hath gotten hys syght. Than shall ye have the belles rong for a miracle. And the fonde folke of the countrey soon made foles. Than women commynge thither with theyr candels. And the Person byenge of some lame begger iii. or iiii. payre of theyr olde crutches, with xii. pennes spent in men and women of wex, thrust thorowe divers places, some with arrowes, and some wyth rusty knyves, wyll make his offerynges for one vij. yere worth twise hys tythes.

Thys is, quoth I, very trouth that suche thynges may be, and sometime so be in dede. As I remember me that I have hard my father tell of a begger, that in Kyng Henry his daies the sixt, cam with his wife to Saint Albonis. And there was walking about the towne begging, a five or six dayes before the kinges commynge thither, saienge that he was borne blinde, and never sawe in hys lyfe. And was warned in hys dreame, that he shoulde come out of Berwyke, where he said he had ever dwelled, to seke Saynt Albon, and that he had ben at his shryne, and had not bene holpen. And therefore he woulde go seke hym at some other place, for he had hard some say sins he came that Sainct Albonys body shold be at Colon, and in dede such a contencion hath ther ben. But of troth, as I am surely informed, he lieth here at Saint Albonis, saving some reliques of him, which thei there shew shrined. But to tell you forth, whan the kyng was comen, and the towne full, sodaynlye thys blind man, at Saint Albonis shryne had his sight agayne, and a myracle solemply rongen, and *Te Deum* songen, so that nothyng was talked of in al the towne, but this myracle. So happened it than that duke Humfry of Glocester, a great wyse man and very wel lerned, having great joy to se such a myracle, called the pore man unto hym. And first shewing him self joyouse of Goddes glory so shewed in the getting of his sight, and exortinge hym to mekenes, and to none ascribing of any part the worship to him self nor to be proude of the peoples prayse, which would call hym a good and a godly man therby. At last he loked well upon his eyen, and asked whyther he could never se nothing at al, in all his life before. And whan as well his wyfe as himself affermed fastely no, than he loked advisedly upon his eien again, and said, I beleve you very wel, for me thinketh that ye cannot se well yet. Yea syr, quoth he, I thanke God and his holy marter, I can se nowe as well as any man. Ye can, quoth the Duke; what colour is my gowne? Then anone the begger told him. What colour, quoth he, is this man's gowne? He told him also; and so forthe, without any sticking, he told him the names of al the colours that coulde bee shewed him And whan my lord saw that, he bad him 'walke faytoure,' and made him be set openly in the stockes. For though he could have sene soudenly by miracle the dyfference betwene divers colours, yet coulde he not by the syght so sodenly tel the names of all these colours, but if he had known them before, no more than the names of all the men that he should sodenly se. Lo therfore I say, quod your frende, who may bee sure of such thynges whan such pageantes be played before all the towne?

The letter which Sir Thomas More wrote to his wife in 1528, after the burning of his house at Chelsea, affords one of the best specimens of epistolary style at this period :—

Maistres Alyce, in my most harty wise I recommend me to you; and whereas I am enfourmed by my son Heron of the losse of our barnes and of our neighbours also, with all the corn that was therein, albeit (saving God's pleasure) it is gret pitie of so much good corne lost, yet sith it hath liked hym to sende us such a chaunce, we must and are bounden, not only to be content, but also to be glad of his visitacion. He sente us all that we have loste: and sith he hath by such a chaunce taken it away againe, his pleasure be fulfilled. Let us never grudge ther at, but take it in good worth, and hartely thank him, as well for adversitie as for prosperite. And peradventure we have more cause to thank him for our losse, then for our winning; for his wisdome better seeth what is good for vs then we do our selves. Therfore I pray you be of good chere, and take all the howsold with you to church, and there thanke God, both for that he hath given us, and for that he hath taken from us, and for that he hath left us, which if it please hym he can encrease when he will. And if it please hym to leave us yet lesse, at his pleasure be it.

I pray you to make some good ensearche what my poore neighbours have loste, and bid them take no thought therfore: for and I shold not leave myself a spone, there shal no pore neighbour of mine bere no losse by any chaunce happened in my house. I pray you be with my children and your household mery in God. And devise some what with your frendes, what waye wer best to take, for provision to be made for corne for our household, and for sede thys yere comming, if ye thinke it good that we kepe the ground stil in our handes. And whether ye think it good that we so shall do or not, yet I think it were not best sodenlye thus to leave it all up, and to put away our folk of our farme, till we have somwhat advised us thereon. How beit if we have more nowe then ye shall nede, and which can get them other maisters, ye may then discharge us of them. But I would not that any man were sodenly sent away he wote nere wether.

At my comming hither I perceived none other but that I shold tary still with the Kinges Grace. But now I shal (I think) because of this chance, get leave this next weke to come home and se you · and then shall we further devyse together uppon all thinges, what order shalbe best to take. And thus as hartely fare you well with all our children as ye can wishe. At Woodestok the thirde daye of Septembre by the hand of

your louing husbande
THOMAS MORE Knight.*

Sir Thomas More had just returned from his embassy at Cambray.

Another satirist of Wolsey, beside Skelton, was found in the person of one Roy, whose

Rede me and be not wrothe,
For I say no thynge but trothe,

printed abroad soon after the burning of Tyndal's Testament at Paul's Cross, charged the Cardinal with almost every crime which comes within the scope of human turpitude. The first edition of

* Sir Thos. More's Works, by Rastell, 4to. 1557, pp. 1418, 1419.

this work, the head-title of which, already quoted, is printed in red letters, is of extreme rarity: beneath it is an heraldic invention of a coat of arms for Wolsey printed in black and crimson, thus described at the back of the title:—

Of the prowde Cardinall this is the shelde,
Borne up betwene two angels off Sathan.
The sixe blouddy axes in a bare felde
Sheweth the cruelte of the red man,
Whiche hathe devoured the beautiful Swan,*
Mortal enmy unto the white Lion,†
Carter of Yorke, the vyle butchers sonne.

The sixe bulles heddes in a felde blacke
Betokeneth his stordy furiousnes,
Wherfore the godly lyght to put abacke
He bryngeth in hys dywlisshe darknes.
The bandog in the middes doth expresse
The mastif curre bred in Ypswitch towne
Gnawynge with his teth a kynges crowne.

The cloubbe signifieth playne his tyranny
Covered over with a Cardinals hatt,
Wherein shalbe fulfilled the prophecy;
Arise up Jacke and put on thy salatt,
For the tyme is come of bagge and walatt,
The temporall chevalry thus throwen downe;
Wherfor prest take hede and beware thy croune.

The allusions through the volume to the burning of Tyndal's Testament, in the translation of which Roy was a coadjutor, are frequent and powerful.

O miserable monster, most malicious,
Father of perversite, patrone of hell!
O terrible tyrant, to God and man odious,
Advocate of Antichrist, to Christ rebell;
To thee I speake, O caytife Cardinall so cruell,
Causles chargynge by thy coursed commandment
To brenne Goddis worde, the wholy Testament

Godds worde, grownd of all vertue and grace,
The fructuous fode of oure faythfull trust,
Thou hast condempned in most carfull cace
Throwe furious foly, falce and unjust.
O feare Pharao, folower of flesshly lust,
What moved thy mynde by malyce to consent
To brenne Godds worde, the wholy Testament?

The tenoure of thy tyranny passeth my brayne
In every poynt evidently to endyght:
Nero nor Herod wer never so noyus certayne,
All though of Godds laws they had lytel lyght.
Shame it is to speake howe agaynst ryght
Thy hatefull hert hath caused to be brent
Goddis true worde, the wholy Testament.

O perverse preste, patriarke of pryde,
Mortherer with out mercy most execrable;
O beastly brothell, of baudry the bryde,
Darlynge of the devill, gretly detestable,
Alas what wretch wolde be so vengeable?
At eny tyme to attempte soche impediment
To brenne Godd's worde, the wholy Testament.

God of his goodenes grudged not to dye
Man to delyver from deadly dampnacion,
Whose will is that we shulde knowe perfetly
What he here hath done for oure salvacion.
O cruell Kayface, full of crafty conspiracion
Howe durst thou geve then falce iudgement
To brenne Godd's worde, the wholy Testament?

* Duke of Buckingham.
† Duke of Norfolk.

Thy leawednes of lyvynge is loth to heare
Christis gospell to come unto cleare light;
Howe be it surly it is so spred farre and neare,
That forto let it thou hast lytell myght.
God hath opened our dercke dimed syght,
Truly to perceave thy tyrannous intent
To brenne Gods worde, the wholy Testament.

Agaynst thyne ambicion all people do crye,
Pompously spendinge the sustenance of the pore;
Thy hault honoure hyly to magnify
Maketh theves, traytours, and many a whore.
Wo worth the wretche of wickednes the dore,
Forger of oure dayly damage and detriment,
To brenne Goddis worde, the wholy Testament.

O paynted pastoure, of Satan the prophet,
Ragyng courre wrapped in a wolves skynne,
O butcherly Bisshop, to be a ruler unmete,
Maker of misery, occasion of synne.
God graunt the grace now to begynne
Of thy dampnable dedes to be penitent
Brennyng Goddis worde, the wholy Testament.

Wolsey spared neither pains nor expense to buy up the copies of this work. It was reprinted at Wesel in 1546; but the second edition is almost equally rare with the first. It is known by having the arms upon the title-page in black only.

Our next specimen is from the Poems of Lord Surrey. "In the latter end of King Henry the Eighth's reign," says Puttenham, "sprung up a new company of courtly makers (poets), of whom Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, and Henry Earl of Surrey, were the two chieftains, who, having travelled into Italy, and there tasted the sweet and stately measures and style of the Italian poesy, as novices newly crept out of the schools of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch, they greatly polished our rude and homely manner of poesy."*

We give one of the Sonnets in praise of his mistress, the Fair Geraldine, from Dr. Nott's edition of his Poems.† The spelling is modernised:—

Give place, ye lovers, here before
That spent your boasts and brags in vain!
My lady's beauty passeth more
The best of yours, I dare well say'n,
Than doth the sun the candle-light,
Or brightest day the darkest night.

And thereto had a troth as just
As had Penelope the fair;
For what she saith ye may it trust,
As it by writing sealed were:
And virtues hath she many mo
Than I with pen have skill to show.

I could rehearse, if that I would,
The whole effect of Nature's plaint,
When she had lost the perfit mould,
The like to whom she could not paint:
With wringing hands, how she did cry,
And what she said, I know it, I.

* Arte of English Poesy, 4to. 1589, p. 48.
† Works of Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, and Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, vol. i. p. 4.

I know she swore with raging mind,
Her kingdom only set apart,
There was no loss by law of kind
That could have gone so near her heart;
And this was chiefly all her pain;
"She could not make the like again."

Sith Nature thus gave her the praise,
To be the chiefest work she wrought;
In faith, methink, some better ways
On your behalf might well be sought,
Than to compare, as ye have done,
To match the candle with the sun.

To Surrey we owe the obligation of introducing into our language the use of blank heroic verse. Whether he invented it or borrowed it from the Italian has been disputed. Dr. Nott is of opinion that he took the suggestion of it from Gawin Douglas's Scottish version of Virgil. Certain it is that Lord Surrey's efforts at blank verse were confined to a similar though more elevated translation of the Second and Fourth Books of the Æneid. These were printed in a little volume by Tottel in 1557.

The only manuscript of Surrey's Virgil we are acquainted with, and it is of the Fourth Book only, is preserved among the Law Manuscripts of the Hargrave Collection in the British Museum.* It differs materially from Tottel's printed copy, and has better readings. It is entitled 'Virgilii Maronis Æneidos Liber quartus Britannico Sermone donatus per Comitem S.'

We subjoin a specimen from the opening:—

But now the wounded quene with heavie care
Throwgh out the vaines doth nourishe ay the plage,
Surprised with blind flame, and to her minde
Gan to resort the prowes of the man
And honor of his race, whiles on her brest
Imprinted stake his wordes and forme of face,
Ne to her lymmes care graunteth quiet rest.
The next morowe with Phœbus lampe the erthe
Alightned clere, and eke the dawninge daye
The shadowe danke gan from the pole remove,
When all unsownd her Sister of like minde
Thus spake she to: Oh, Sister, An, what dremes
Be these that me tormenten, thus afraide?
What newcome gest unto our realme ys come?
What one of chere? how stowt of harte in armes?
Truelie, I thinke, ne vaine ys my beleife,
Of goddishe race some of springe shuld he seeme.
Cowardie noteth harts swarved owt of kinde
He driven, Lord, with how hard destenie!
What Battells eke atcheived did he tell!
And but my mind was fixt unmovablie
Never with wight in weddlocke for to joine
Sithe my first love me lefte by deth dissèverid,
Yf bridall bowndes and bed me lothed not,
To this one fawlt perchaunce yet might I yeld;
For I wyll graunt sithe wretched Syche's dethe
My spouse and howse with brother slaughter stain'd,
This onelie man hath made my senses bend,
And pricketh furthe the minde that gan to slide:
Felinglie I taste the steppes of mine old flame.
But first I wishe the erth me swallowe downe,
Or with thunder the mightie Lord me send
To the pale gostes of hell and darknes depe,
Or I the stayne, shamefastnes, or the lawes.
He that with me first coopled tooke awaie
My love, which still enjoy he in his grave.
Thus did she saye and with surprised teares
Bayned her brest, wherto thus An replied;—
O sister more beloved than the light,
Thi youth all sole in plaints will thow nedes spill,
Ne children swete ne Venus gifts wilt knowe?
Cindres thinkst thow? minde this, or graved ghosts?
Time of thie dole, thi spouse new dedd, I graunt
None might the move, Jarbas not to fere
The Libian King dispised eke by the,
And other Princes moe, whom the riche soyle
Of Afrike bredes in honours tryumphant.
Wilt thou allso withstand the love that likes the?
Come not to minde upon whose land thow dwelst,
On this syde loe the Getule towns behold,
A people bold unvanquished in warr;
Eke the undaunted Numides compas the;
Allso the Syrtes unfrindlie harboroughes.
On tother hand the desert realme of Scythe,
The Barceans whose furie stretcheth wide.
What shall I touch the wars that move from Tyre,
Or yet thie brothers threates.
By Godes sufferance yt blue, and Juno's helpe,
The Troiane shippes, I thinke, to ronn this cours.
Sister, what towne shalt thou se this become?
Throwgh such alie how shall our kingdome rise,
And by the ayde of Troiane armes how great
How manie waies shall Carthage glorie growe
Thow onelie now beseke the Godes of grace
By sacrifice; which ended, to thie howse
Receave him, and forge causes of abode,
Whiles winter feates the seas and watrie Orion
The shippes shaken, unfrindlie the season.
Such wordes inflamde the kindled hart with love,
Lewsed all shame, and gave the dowtfull hope,
And to the temples fyrst thei hast and seke
By sacrifice for grace, with offred steres
Chosen, as owght, to Cœres that gave lawes,
To Phœbus, Bacchus, and to Juno cheif
Which hath in care the bondes of mariage.

* MS. Hargr. Brit. Mus. 205.

We shall now present our readers with a specimen of homely prose, taken from Bishop Latimer's third sermon preached before King Edward VI. at Westminster, 22nd March, 1549. We copy the original edition, with all its spellings and provincialisms; a volume of so great rarity as not to be found in any of the libraries which have been brought together at the British Museum.

Syr, what forme of preachinge woulde you appoynt me to preache before a kynge? Wold you have me for to preache nothynge as concernynge a kynge in the kynges sermon? Have you any commission to apoynt me what I shall preach? Besydes thys, I asked hym dyvers other questions, and he wold make no answere to none of them all. He had nothyng to say. Then I turned me to the kyng, and submitted my selfe to his Grace and sayed I never thoughte my selfe worthy, nor I never sued to be a preacher before youre Grace, but I was called to it, would be wyllyng (if you mislyke me) to geve place to my betters. For I graunt ther be a great many more worthy of the roume than I am. And if it be your Grace's pleasure so to allowe them for preachers, I could be content to bere their bokes after theym. But if your Grace allowe me for a preacher I would desyre your Grace to geve me leave to discharge my concience. Geve me leave to frame my doctrine accordyng to my audience. I had byne a very dolt

to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your Grace. And I thanke Almyghty God, whych hath alwayes byne remedy, that my sayinges were well accepted of the kynge, for like a gracious Lord he turned into a nother communicacyon. It is even as the Scripture sayeth *Cor Regis in manu Domini*, the Lorde dyrected the kinges hart. Certaine of my frendes came to me wyth teares in their eyes, and told me they loked I should have bene in the Tower the same nyghte. Thus have I ever more bene burdened wyth the worde of sedition. I have offended God grevouslye, transgressyng hys law, and but for his remedy and his mercye I would not loke to be saved. As for sedicion, for oughte that I knowe, me thynkes I shoulde not nede Christe, if I might so saye. But if I be cleare in any thynge, I am cleare in thys. So farre as I knowe myne owne herte, there is no man further from sedicion then I, whyche I have declared in all my doynges, and yet it hath bene ever layed to me. An othher tyme, when I gave over myne offyce, I should have receyved a certayne dutye that they call a Pentecostall; it came to the summe of fyftye and fyve pound, I sent my Commissarye to gather it, but he coulde not be suffered. For it was sayed a sedicion should ryse upon it.

Thus they burdened me ever wyth sedicion. So thys gentilman commeth up nowe wyth sedicion. And wott ye what? I chaunched in my last Sermon to speake a mery worde of the Newe Shilling (to refreshe my auditory), howe I was lyke to put away my newe shillynge for an olde grote; I was herein noted to speake sediciously. Yet I comfort my self in onethyng, that I am not alone, and that I have a fellowe. For it is *consolatio miserorum*, it is the comforte of the wretched to have companye. When I was in trouble, it was objected an sayed unto me that I was syngular, that no man thought as I thought, that I love a syngularyte in all that I dyd, and that I tooke a way, contrarye to the kynge and the whole parliamente, and that I was travayled wyth them that had better wyttes then I, that I was contrary to them al. Marye syr thys was a sore thunder bolte. I thought it an yrkesome thynge to be a lone, and to have no fellowe. I thoughte it was possyble it myghte not be true that they tolde me. In the vii. of John the Priestes sente out certayne of the Jewes to bryng Christ unto them vyolentlye. When they came into the Temple and harde hym preache, they were so moved wyth his preachynge that they returned home agayne, and sayed to them that sente them, *Nunquam sic locutus est homo ut hic homo*, there was never man spake lyke thys man. Then answered the Pharysees, *Num et vos seducti estis?* What ye braynsycke fooles, yet hoddy peckes, ye doddye poulles, ye huddes, do ye beleve hym? are you seduced also? *Nunquis ex Principibus credidit in eum?* Did ye see any great man or any great offycer take hys part? doo ye se any boddy follow hym but beggerlye fyshers, and suche as have nothynge to take to? *Numquis ex Phariseis?* Do ye se any holy man? any perfect man? any learned man take hys parte? *Turba que ignorat legem execrabilis est.* Thys laye people is accursed, it is they that knowe not the lawe that takes hys parte, and none.

Lo here the Pharises had nothynge to choke the people wyth al but ignoraunce. They dyd as oure byshoppes of Englande, who upbrayded the people alwayes with ignoraunce, where they were the cause of it them selves. There were, sayeth St. John, *Multi ex principibus qui crediderunt in eum*: manye of the chyefe menne beleved in hym, and that was contrarye to the Pharisyes saying, Oh then by lyke they belyed him, he was not alone.

So thoughte I, there be more of myne opinion then I, I thought I was not alone. I have nowe gotten one felowe more, a companyon of sedytyon, and wot ye who is my felowe? Esaye the prophete. I spake but of a lytle preaty shyllynge; but he speaketh to Hierusalem after an other sorte, and was so bold to meddle with theyr coine. Thou proude, thou covetouse, thou hautye cytye of Hierusalem, *Argentum tuum versum est in scoriam;* thy sylver is turned into what? into testyons? *Scoriam*, into drosse. Ah sediciouse wretch, what had he to do wyth the mynte? Why should not he have lefte that matter to some master of policy to reprove? Thy silver is drosse, it is not fine, it is counterfaite, thy silver is turned, thou haddest good sylver, What pertayned that to Esay? Mary he espyed a pece of divinity in that polici, he threateneth them Gods vengeance for it. He went to the rote of the matter, which was covetousnes. He espyed two poyntes in it, that eythere it came of covetousnesse whych became hym to reprove, or els that it tended to the hurte of the pore people, for the noughtynes of the sylver was the occasion of dearth of all thynges in the realme. He imputeth it to them as a great cryme. He may be called a mayster of sedicion in dede. Was not this a sedyciouse harlot to tell them thys to theyr beardes? to theyr face?

Our last examples of language shall be taken from Sir Thomas Wilson, celebrated by Johnson for the politeness of his style and the extent of his knowledge. He wrote in 1551. His 'Arte of Rhetorique,' from which our specimens are taken, was published in 1553. The following passage describes—

By what meanes Eloquence is obtained.

First, nedefull it is that he which desireth to excell in this gift of Oratorie, and longeth to prove an eloquent man, must naturally have a wit and an aptnesse thereunto: then must he to his boke, and learne to be well stored with knowledge, that he maie be able to minister matter for all causes necessarie. The which when he hath gotte plentifully, he must use muche exercise, bothe in writyng and also in speakyng. For though he have a wit and learnyng together, yet shall thei bothe litle availe without much practise. What maketh the Lawyer to have such utteraunce? Practise. What maketh the Preacher to speake so roundly? Practise. Yea, what maketh women go so fast awaie with their wordes? Marie, Practise I warraunt you. Therfore in all faculties, diligent practise, and earnest exercise, are the onely thynges that make men prove excellent. Many men knowe the arte very well, and be in all poynctes throughly grounded and acquainted with the preceptes, and yet it is not their hap to prove eloquent. And the reason is, that eloquence it self came not up first by the arte, but the arte rather was gathered upon eloquence. For wise menne seyng by much observacion and diligent practise the compasse of diverse causes, compiled thereupon preceptes and lessons worthie to be known and learned of all men. Therefore before art was invented eloquence was used, and through practise made parfecte, the whiche in all thynges is a sovereigne meane most highly to excell.

The fact most deserving of remark in the progress of English literature, for the first half of the sixteenth century, is the cultivation that now came to be bestowed upon the language in the form of prose composition,—a form always in the order of time subsequent to that of verse in the natural development of a national language and literature. Long before this date, indeed, Chaucer, besides his wonderful poetry, had given another proof of how far his genius preceded his age by several examples of composition in prose, in which may be discerned the presence of something of the same high art with which he first elevated our poetry; but, besides that his genius drew him with greatest force to poetry, and that the French and Italian models, upon which he seems chiefly to have formed himself, led him in the same direction, the state of the English language at that day perhaps fitted it better for verse than for prose, or, rather, it had not yet arrived at the point at which it could be so advantageously employed in prose as in verse. At all events Chaucer had no worthy successor as a writer of prose, any more than as a writer of poetry, till nearly a century and a half after his death. Meanwhile, however, the language, though not receiving much artificial cultivation, was still undergoing a good deal of what, in a certain sense, might be called application to literary purposes, by its employment both in public proceedings and documents, and also in many popular writings, principally on the subject of the new opinions in religion, both after and previous to the invention of printing. In this more extended use and exercise, by persons of some scholarship at least, if not bringing much artistic feeling and skill to the task of composition, it must, as a mere language, or system of vocables and grammatical forms, have not only sustained many changes and modifications, but, it is probable, acquired on the whole considerable enlargement of its elements and powers, and been generally carried forward towards maturity under the impulse of a vigorous principle of growth and expansion. But it is not till some time after the commencement of the present period that we can properly date the rise of the classical prose literature of England. Perhaps the earliest compositions that are entitled to be included under that name are some of those of Sir Thomas More, especially his 'Life and Reign of King Edward V.,' which was written about the year 1513. Most of More's other English writings are of a controversial character, and are occupied about subjects both of very temporary importance, and that called up so much of the eagerness and bitterness of the author's party zeal as considerably to disturb and mar both his naturally gentle and benignant temper and the oily eloquence of his style; but this historic piece is characterised throughout by an easy narrative flow which rivals the sweetness of Herodotus. It is certainly the first English historic composition that can be said to aspire to be more than a mere chronicle. Along with More, as one of the earliest writers of classic English prose, may be mentioned his friend Sir Thomas Elyot, the author of the political treatise entitled 'The Governor,' and of various other works, one of which is a Latin and English Dictionary, the foundation of most of the compilations of the same kind that were published for a century afterwards. More was executed in 1535, and Elyot also died some years before the middle of the century. Next in the order of time among our more eminent prose writers may be placed some of the distinguished leaders of the Reformation in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. and in that of Edward VI., more especially Archbishop Cranmer, whose compositions in his native tongue are of considerable volume, and are characterised, if not by any remarkable strength of expression or weight of matter, yet by a somewhat unusually full and even flow both of words and thought. On the whole, Cranmer was the greatest writer among the founders of the English Reformation. His friends and fellow-labourers, Ridley and Latimer, were also celebrated in their day for their ready, popular elocution; but the few tracts of Ridley's that remain are less eloquent than learned, and Latimer's discourses are rather quaint and curious than either learned or eloquent. We have given above a specimen of these singular productions. Latimer is stated to have been one of the first English students of the Greek language; but this could hardly be guessed from his Sermons, which, except a few scraps of Latin, show scarcely a trace of scholarship or literature of any kind. In addressing the people from the pulpit, this honest, simple-minded bishop, feeling no exaltation either from his position or his subject, expounded the most sublime doctrines of religion in the same familiar and homely language in which the humblest or most rustic of his hearers were accustomed to chaffer with one another in the market-place about the price of a yard of cloth or a pair of shoes. Nor, indeed, was he more fastidious as to matter than as to manner: all the preachers of that age were accustomed to take a wide range over things in general, but Latimer went beyond everybody else in the miscellaneous assortment of topics he used to bring together from every region of heaven and earth,—of the affairs of the world that now is as well as of that which is to come. Without doubt his sermons must have been lively and entertaining far beyond the common run of that kind of compositions; the allusions with which they abounded to public events, and to life in all its colours and grades, from the palace to the cottage, from the prince to the peasant,—the anecdotes of his own experience and the other stories the old man would occasionally intersperse among his strictures and exhortations,—the expressiveness of his unscrupulous and often startling phraseology,—all this, combined with the earnestness, the piety, and real goodness and simplicity of heart that breathed from his every utterance, may well be conceived to have had no little charm for the mul-

titudes that crowded to hear his living voice; even as to us, after the lapse of three centuries, these sermons of Latimer's are still in the highest degree interesting both for the touches they contain in illustration of the manners and social condition of our forefathers, and as a picture of a very peculiar individual mind. They are also of some curiosity and value as a monument of the language of the period; but to what is properly to be called its literature, as we have said, they can hardly be considered as belonging at all.

With regard to the English prose of the earlier part of the sixteenth century generally, it may be observed that it is both more simple in its construction, and of a more purely native character in other respects, than the style which came into fashion in the latter years of the Elizabethan period. When first made use of in prose composition, the mother-tongue was written as it was spoken; even such artifices and embellishments as are always prompted by the nature of verse were here scarcely aspired after or thought of; that which was addressed to and specially intended for the instruction of the people, was set down as far as possible in the familiar forms and fashions of the popular speech, in genuine Saxon words, and direct, unincumbered sentences; no painful imitation of any learned or foreign model was attempted, nor any species of elaboration whatever, except what was necessary for mere perspicuity, in a kind of writing which was scarcely regarded as partaking of the character of literary composition at all. The delicacy of a scholarly taste no doubt influenced even the English style of such writers as More and his more eminent contemporaries or immediate followers; but whatever elegance or dignity their compositions thus acquired was not the effect of any professed or conscious endeavour to write in English as they would have written in what were called the learned tongues.

The age, indeed, of the critical cultivation of the language for the purposes of prose composition had already commenced; but at first that object was pursued in the best spirit and after the wisest methods. Erasmus, in one of his Letters, mentions that his friend Dean Colet laboured to improve his English style by the diligent perusal and study of Chaucer and the other old poets, in whose works alone the popular speech was to be found turned with any taste or skill to a literary use; and doubtless others of our earliest classic prose writers took lessons in their art in the same manner from these true fathers of our vernacular literature. And even the first professed critics and reformers of the language that arose among us proceeded in the main in a right direction and upon sound principles in the task they undertook. The appearance of a race of critical and rhetorical writers in any country is, in truth, always rather a symptom or indication than, what it has frequently been denounced as being, a cause of the corruption and decline of the national literature. The writings of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and of Quintilian, for instance, certainly did not hasten, but probably rather contributed to retard, the decay of the literature of ancient Greece and Rome. The first eminent English writer of this class was the celebrated Roger Ascham, the tutor of Queen Elizabeth, whose treatise entitled Toxophilus, the School or Partitions of Shooting, was published in 1545. The design of Ascham, in this performance, was not only to recommend to his countrymen the use of their old national weapon, the bow, but to set before them an example and model of a pure and correct English prose style. In his dedication of the work, To all the Gentlemen and Yeomen of England, he recommends to him that would write well in any tongue the counsel of Aristotle,—"to speak as the common people do, to think as wise men do." From this we may perceive that Ascham had a true feeling of the regard due to the great fountain-head and oracle of the national language—the vocabulary of the common people. He goes on to reprobate the practice of many English writers, who by introducing into their compositions, in violation of the Aristotelian precept, many words of foreign origin, Latin, French, and Italian, made all things dark and hard. "Once," he says, "I communed with a man which reasoned the English tongue to be enriched and increased thereby, saying, who will not praise that feast where a man shall drink at a dinner both wine, ale, and beer? Truly, quoth I, they be all good, every one taken by himself alone; but if you put malmsey and sack, red wine and white, ale and beer and all, in one pot, you shall make a drink neither easy to be known, nor yet wholesome for the body." The English language, however, it may be observed, had even already become too thoroughly and essentially a mixed tongue for this doctrine of purism to be admitted to the letter; nor, indeed, to take up Ascham's illustration, is it universally true, even in regard to liquids, that a salutary and palatable beverage can never be made by the interfusion of two or more different kinds. Our tongue is now, and was many centuries ago, not to the same extent, but yet in a certain degree, as substantially and constitutionally Norman or French as Saxon or Teutonic; it would be as completely torn in pieces and left the mere tattered rag of a language, useless for all the purposes of speaking as well as of writing, by having the French as by having the Saxon taken out of it. Ascham, in his own writings, uses many words of French and Latin origin (the latter mostly derived through the medium of the French); nay, the common people themselves of necessity did in his day, as they do still, use many such foreign words, or words not of Saxon etymology, and could scarcely have held communication with one another on the most ordinary occasions without so doing. It is another question whether it might not have been more fortunate if the original Saxon body of the national speech had remained in a state of celibacy and virgin purity; by the course of events

the Saxon part of the language has, in point of fact, been married to the French part of it; and what God or nature has thus joined together it is now beyond the competency of man to put asunder. The language, while it subsists, must continue to be the produce of that union, and nothing else. As for Ascham's own style, both in his Toxophilus, and in his Schoolmaster, published in 1571, three years after the author's death, it is not only clear and correct, but idiomatic and muscular. That it is not rich or picturesque, is the consequence of the character of the writer's mind, which was rather rhetorical than poetical. The publication of Ascham's Toxophilus was soon followed by an elaborate treatise expressly dedicated to the subject of English composition—'The Art of Rhetorick, for the use of all such as are studious of Eloquence, set forth in English, by Thomas Wilson.' Wilson, whose work appeared in 1553, takes pains to impress the same principles that Ascham had laid down before him with regard to purity of style and the general rule of writing well. But the very solicitude thus shown by the ablest and most distinguished of those who now assumed the guardianship of the vernacular tongue to protect it from having its native character overlaid and debased by an intermixture of terms borrowed from other languages, may be taken as evidence that such debasement was actually at this time going on; that our ancient English was beginning to be oppressed and half suffocated by additions from foreign sources brought in upon it faster than it could absorb and assimilate them. Wilson, indeed, goes on to complain that this was the case. While some "powdered their talk with oversea language," others, whom he designates as "the unlearned or foolish fantastical, that smell but of learning," were wont, he says, "so to Latin their tongues," that simple persons could not but wonder at their talk, and think they surely spake by some revelation from heaven. It may be suspected, however, that this affectation of unnecessary terms, formed from the ancient languages, was not confined to mere pretenders to learning. Another well-known critical writer of this period, Webster Puttenham, in his 'Art of English Poesy,' published in 1582, but believed to have been written a good many years earlier, in like manner advises the avoidance in writing of such words and modes of expression as are used "in the marches and frontiers, or in port towns where strangers haunt for traffic sake, or yet in universities, where scholars use much peevish affectation of words out of the primitive languages;" and he warns his readers that in some books were already to be found "many inkhorn terms so ill affected, brought in by men of learning, as preachers and schoolmasters, and many strange terms of other languages by secretaries, and merchants, and travellers, and many dark words, and not usual nor well-sounding, though they be daily spoken at court." On the whole, however, Puttenham considers the best standard both for speaking and writing to be "the usual speech of the court, and that of London, and the shires lying about London within sixty miles, and not much above." This judgment is probably correct, although the writer was a gentleman pensioner, and perhaps also a cockney by birth.

From these notices it will be seen that the first English critics did their duty faithfully in watching over the purity of the language, and lifting an admonitory voice against whatever threatened to deprave it, come from what quarter it might. That by this vigilance and boldness they did good service both to the immediate and also to the ultimate interests of the national literature, cannot be doubted. Yet, at last, a species of false taste and vitiated writing set in with so strong a tide, that all their efforts proved unavailing to prevent its temporary ascendancy. The singular affectation known by the name of Euphuism, was, like some other celebrated absurdities, the invention of a man of true genius—John Lyly, the first part of whose romance of 'Euphues' appeared in 1578 or 1579. "Our nation," says Sir Henry Blount, in the preface to a collection of some of Lyly's dramatic pieces which he published in 1632, "are in his debt for a new English which he taught them. Euphues and his England* began first that language; all our ladies were then his scholars; and that beauty in court which could not parley Euphuism, that is to say, who was unable to converse in that pure and reformed English, which he had formed his work to be the standard of, was as little regarded as she which now there speaks not French." Some notion of this "pure and reformed English" has been made familiar to the reader of our day by the great modern pen that has called back to life so much of the long-vanished past, though the discourse of Sir Piercie Shafton, in the Monastery, is rather a caricature than a fair sample of Euphuism. Doubtless, it often became a purely silly and pitiable affair in the mouths of the courtiers, male and female; but in Lyly's own writings, and in those of his lettered imitators, of whom he had several, and some of no common talent, it was only fantastic and extravagant, and opposed to truth, nature, good sense, and manliness. Pedantic and far-fetched allusion, elaborate indirectness, a cloying smoothness and drowsy monotony of phrase, alliteration, punning, and other such puerilities,—these are the main ingredients of Euphuism; which do not, however, exclude a good deal of wit, fancy, and prettiness, occasionally, both in the expression and the thought. Lyly, besides his prose works, wrote much dramatic and other poetry; and although he is always artificial to excess, his ingenuity and finished elegance are frequently very captivating. Perhaps, indeed, our language is, after all, indebted to this writer and his Euphuism for not a little of its present euphony. From the strictures Shakspeare, in Love's Labour's Lost,

* This is the title of the second part of the Euphues, published in 1581. The first part is entitled 'Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit.'

makes Holofernes pass on the mode of speaking of his Euphuist, Don Adriano de Armado—"a man of fire-new words, fashion's own knight—that hath a mint of phrases in his brain—one whom the music of his own vain tongue doth ravish like enchanting harmony"—it should almost seem that the now universally adopted pronunciation of many of our words was first introduced by such persons as this refining "child of fancy:"—"I abhor such fanatical fantasms, such insociable and point devise companions; such rackers of orthography as to speak *dout*, fine, when he should say *doubt*; *det*, when he should pronounce *debt*, *d*, *e*, *b*, *t*; not *d*, *e*, *t*; he clepeth a calf, *cauf*; half, *hauf*; neighbour voratur *nebour*, neigh, abbreviated, *ne*: this is abhominable (which he would call *abominable*); it insinuateth me of insanie." Here, however, the all-seeing poet laughs rather at the pedantic schoolmaster than at the fantastic knight; and the euphuistic pronunciation which he makes Holofernes so indignantly criticise was most probably his own and that of the generality of his educated contemporaries.

A renowned English prose classic of this age, who made Lyly's affectations the subject of his ridicule some years before Shakspeare, but who also perhaps was not blind to his better qualities, and did not disdain to adopt some of his reforms in the language, if not to imitate even some of the peculiarities of his style, was Sir Philip Sidney, the illustrious author of the Arcadia. Sidney, who was born in 1554, does not appear to have sent anything to the press during his short and brilliant life, which was terminated by the wound he received at the battle of Zutphen, in 1586; but he was probably well known, nevertheless, at least as a writer of poetry, some years before his lamented death. Puttenham, whose book, at whatever time it may have been written, was published before any work of Sidney's had been printed, as far as can now be discovered, mentions him as one of the best and most famous writers of the age "for eclogue and pastoral poesy." "The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia," as Sidney's principal work had been affectionately designated by himself, in compliment to his sister, to whom it was inscribed—the "fair, and good, and learned," lady, afterwards celebrated by Ben Jonson as "the subject of all verse,"—was not given to the world even in part till 1590, nor completely till 1593. His collection of sonnets and songs entitled 'Astrophel and Stella,' first appeared in 1591, and his other most celebrated piece in prose, 'The Defence of Poesy,' in 1595. The production in which he satirises the affectation and pedantry of the modern corrupters of the vernacular tongue is a sort of masque, supposed to pass before queen Elizabeth in Wanstead garden, in which, among other characters, a village schoolmaster called Rombus appears, and declaims in a jargon not unlike that of Shakspeare's Holofernes. Sidney's own prose is the most flowing and poetical that had yet been written in English; but its graces are rather those of artful elaboration than of a vivid natural expressiveness. The thought, in fact, is generally more poetical than the language; it is a spirit of poetry encased in a rhetorical form. Yet, notwithstanding the conceits into which it frequently runs—and which, after all, are mostly rather the frolics of a nimble wit, somewhat too solicitous of display, than the sickly perversities of a coxcombical or effeminate taste—and notwithstanding also some drowsiness arising from its want of variety, Sidney's is a wonderful style, always flexible, harmonious, and luminous, and on fit occasions rising to great stateliness and splendour; while a breath of beauty and noble feeling lives in and exhales from the whole of his great work, like the fragrance from a garden of flowers. Along with Sidney, his friend Spenser, the mighty poet, claims mention also among the great prose writers of this time, for his 'View of the State of Ireland, written dialogue-wise between Eudoxus and Irenæus,' about the year 1580. It is a composition worthy of the many-visioned poet—full of matter, full of thought, full of life, with passages of description in it that make present the distant and the past, like the painter's colours. The style has not so much that is outwardly imposing as Sidney's, but more inward vigour and earnestness, as well as more compactness and sinew,—in short, more of the true glow of eloquence, more of a heart leaping within it, and sending a pulse through every word and cadence.

Last of all, may be mentioned among our great prose writers of the sixteenth century, Richard Hooker, the illustrious author of the 'Eight Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity,' of which the first four were published in 1594, the fifth in 1597, the three last not till 1632, many years after the author's death. Hooker's style is almost without a rival for its sustained dignity of march; but that which makes it most remarkable is its union of all this learned gravity and correctness with a flow of genuine, racy English, as untinctured with pedantry of any kind as anything that ever came from the pen of the most familiar and careless of popular writers. The effect also of its evenness of movement is the very reverse of tameness or langour; the full river of the argument dashes over no precipices, but yet rolls along without pause, and with great force and buoyancy.

But the most interesting portion of the English literature of this period is its poetry; of which we will now proceed to take a rapid survey. Two poetic names of some note belong to the reign of Henry VII.—Stephen Hawes and Alexander Barklay. Hawes is the author of many pieces, but is chiefly remembered for his 'Pastime of Pleasure, or History of Grand Amour and La Belle Pucelle,' first printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1517, but written about twelve years earlier. Warton holds this performance to be almost the only effort of imagination and invention which had appeared in our poetry since Chaucer, and eulogises it as containing no common touches of ro-

mantic and allegoric fiction. Hawes was both a scholar and a traveller, and was perfectly familiar with the French and Italian poetry as well as with that of his own country. It speaks very little, however, for his taste, that, among the preceding English poets, he has evidently made Lydgate his model, even if it should be admitted that, as Warton affirms, he has added some new graces to the manner of that cold and wordy versifier. Lydgate and Hawes may stand together as perhaps the two writers who, in the century and a half that followed the death of Chaucer, contributed most to carry forward the regulation and modernisation of the language which he began; their mere poetical merits are not worth contending about. Barklay, who did not die till 1552, when he had attained a great age, employed his pen principally in translations, in which line his most celebrated performance is his 'Ship of Fools,' from the German of Sebastian Brandt, which was printed in 1509. Barklay, however, besides consulting both a French and a Latin version of Brandt's poem, has enlarged his original with the enumeration and description of a considerable variety of follies which he found flourishing among his own countrymen. This gives the work some value as a record of the English manners of the time; and the verse has also rather more facility than was then common; but both its poetical and its satirical pretensions are of the very humblest order. At this date our best writers of what was called poetry seem to have been occupied with the words in which they were to clothe their ideas, almost to the exclusion of all the higher objects of the poetic art. And that, perhaps, is what of necessity happens at a particular stage in the progress of a nation's literature—at the stage corresponding to the transition-state in the growth of the human being between the termination of free, rejoicing boyhood, and the full assurance of manhood begun; which is peculiarly the season not of achievement but of preparation, not of accomplishing ends but of acquiring the use of means and instruments, and also, it may be added, of the aptitude to mistake the one of these things for the other.

Nor is there anything that is of much more intrinsic value in the poetry, so called, of the earlier part of the reign of Henry VIII. Among the writers in verse of this date the most famous name is that of John Skelton, the satirist, who is, however, little better than a rhyming buffoon, and the greater part of whose ribaldry is now nearly unintelligible. It may be doubted, indeed, if a considerable portion of his grotesque, incoherent jingle ever had much more than a sort of half-drunken meaning. He rattles along, however, through sense and nonsense, with a vivacity that had been a stranger to English poetry for many a weary day; and his freedom and spirit, unrefined as they were, may have done something to shake the Muse of his country out of her long fit of somnolency, and to whet the popular taste for the enjoyment of a higher strain than his own. Skelton, who died in 1529 in the sanctuary of Westminster, where he had taken refuge to escape the vengeance of Cardinal Wolsey, long the chief butt at which he had shot his satiric shafts, was in his own day a great popular favourite; Ritson has enumerated nearly a score of his publications, most of which were more than once printed. For all the coarseness of his English rhymes, too, it is remarkable that he was one of the first classical scholars of his time, and wrote Latin verse with great purity. Indeed, he is styled by Erasmus *Britannicarum literarum decus et lumen* (the light and ornament of English letters). Along with Skelton may be classed William Roy,—the same who assisted Tyndal in his translation of the New Testament,—who is asserted by Bale to be the author of a singular work entitled 'Read me and be not wroth, for I say nothing but troth,' which is supposed to have been first printed abroad about 1525.* This is also a satire upon Wolsey and the clergy in general, and is as bitter as might be expected from the supposed author, who, having begun his life as a friar, spent the best part of it in the service of the Reformation, and finished it at the stake. His verses display much less coarseness, and also more true vigour, than the generality of Skelton's effusions; but neither of these modern clergy-scourgers is more than a puny whipster compared with the sturdy old inditer of the 'Visions of Pierce Ploughman,' who flourished a century and a half before them. His lines are thongs, theirs threads. Among the buffoon-poets of this age, and there were no others, is also to be reckoned John Heywood, styled the Epigrammatist, from the six centuries of Epigrams, or versified jokes, which form a remarkable portion of his works. Heywood's conversational jocularity has the equivocal credit of having been exceedingly consoling both to the old age of Henry VIII. and to his daughter Queen Mary; it must have been strong jesting that could move the sense of the ludicrous in either of these terrible personages. Besides a number of plays, which are the most important of his productions, Heywood also wrote a long burlesque allegory, which fills a thick quarto volume, on the dispute between the old and the new religions, under the title of 'A Parable of the Spider and the Fly;" where it appears that by the spider is intended the Protestant party, by the fly the Catholic, but in which, according to the judgment of old Harrison, "he dealeth so profoundly, and beyond all measure of skill, that neither he himself that made it, neither any one that readeth it, can reach unto the meaning thereof.†"

But while in England the new life to which poetry had awakened had thus as yet produced nothing better than ribaldry and buffoonery, it is remarkable that in Scotland, where social civilization in general was certainly much less advanced, the art had already been extensively cultivated in

* Ritson's Bibliog. Poet., p. 318.
† Description of England.

its higher departments, and at this very time, or a few years earlier, one at least of its greatest masters was enriching his land's language with compositions worthy of any age. The truth is, that the Scottish poetry of the early part of the sixteenth century was but the same spring which had visited England in the latter part of the fourteenth,—the impulse originally given by the poetry of Chaucer only now come to its height in that northern clime. For it was a curious consequence of the relative circumstances of the two countries, that while the literature of Scotland, the poorer and ruder of the two, could exert no influence upon that of England, the literature of England could not fail powerfully to affect and modify that of its more backward neighbour. No English writer would think of studying or imitating Barbour; but every Scottish poet who arose after Chaucer would seek, or, even if he did not seek, would still inevitably catch, some inspiration from that great example. If it could in any circumstances have happened that Chaucer should have remained unknown in Scotland, the singular fortunes of James I. were shaped as if on purpose to transfer the voice and spirit of his poetry into the literature of that country. James expressly calls Chaucer and Gower his "maisters dear." From this time forward the native voice of the Scottish Muse was mixed with this other foreign voice. Robert Henryson, the author of the beautiful pastoral of 'Robin and Makyn,' which is popularly known from having been printed by Bishop Percy in his 'Reliques,' has two poems entitled the 'Testament of Fair Cresseide,' and the 'Complaint of Cresseide,' designed as continuations or supplements to Chaucer's 'Troilus and Cresseide.' All that is known of the era of Henryson is, that he was alive and very old about the close of the fifteenth century. Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, who flourished in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and who is famous for his translation of the 'Æneid,' the first metrical version of any ancient classic that had yet appeared in the dialect of either kingdom, affects great anxiety to eschew "Southron," or English, and to write his native tongue in all its breadth and plainness; but it does not follow, from his avoidance of English words, that he may not have formed himself to a great extent on the study of English models. At the same time it may be admitted that neither in his translation nor in his original works of 'King Hart,' and the 'Palace of Honour,'—which are two long allegories, full, the latter especially, of passages of great descriptive beauty,—does Douglas convict himself of belonging to the school of Chaucer. He is rather, if not the founder, at least the chief representative, of a style of poetry which was attempted to be formed in Scotland by enriching and elevating the simplicity of Barbour and his immediate followers with an infusion of something of what was deemed a classic manner, drawn in part directly from the Latin writers, but more from those of the worst than those of the best age, in part from the French poetry, which now began in like manner to aspire towards a classic tone. This preference, by the Scottish poets, of Latin and French to "Southron," as a source from which to supply the deficiencies of their native dialect, had probably no more reasonable origin than the political circumstances and feelings of the nation; the genius of the language itself was wholly opposed to it, and it therefore never could become more than a temporary fashion. Yet it infected more or less all the writers of this age; and among the rest, to a considerable extent, by far the greatest of them all, William Dunbar. This admirable master, alike of serious and comic song, may justly be styled the Chaucer of Scotland, whether we look to the wide range of his genius, or to his eminence in every style over all the poets of his country who preceded and all who for ages came after him. That of Burns is certainly the only name among the Scottish poets that can yet be placed on the same line with that of Dunbar; and even the inspired ploughman, though the equal of Dunbar in comic power, and his superior in depth of passion, does not approach the elder poet either in grandeur or in general fertility of imagination. Finally, to close the list, comes another great name, that of Sir David Lyndsay, whose productions are not indeed characterised by any high imaginative power, but yet display infinite wit, spirit, and variety in all the forms of the more familiar poetry. Lyndsay was the favourite, throughout his brief reign and life, of the accomplished and unfortunate James V., and survived to do perhaps as good service as any in the war against the ancient church by the tales, plays, and other products of his abounding satiric vein, with which he fed, and excited, and lashed up the popular contempt for the now crazy and tumbling fabric once so imposing and so venerated. Perhaps he also did no harm by thus taking off a little of the acrid edge of mere resentment and indignation with the infusion of a dash of merriment, and keeping alive a genial sense of the ludicrous in the midst of such serious work. If Dunbar is to be compared to Burns, Lyndsay may be said to have his best representative among the more recent Scottish poets in Allan Ramsay, who does not, however, come so near to Lyndsay by a long way as Burns does to Dunbar.

Lyndsay is supposed to have survived till about the year 1567.* Before that date a revival of the higher poetry had come upon England like the rising of a new day. Two names are commonly placed together at the head of our new poetical literature, Lord Surrey and Sir Thomas Wyatt; but the former has in every way the best title to precedence. Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, memorable in our history as the last victim of the capricious and sanguinary tyranny of Henry VIII., had already, in his short life, which was terminated by the axe of the executioner in his twenty-seventh year, carried away from all his countrymen the

* Irving's Lives of the Scottish Poets. 2nd edit. 1810, ii. 85.

laurels both of knighthood and of song. The superior polish alone of the best of Surrey's verses would place him at an immeasurable distance in advance of all his immediate predecessors. So remarkable, indeed, is the contrast in this respect which his poetry presents to theirs, that in modern times there has been claimed for Surrey the honour of having been the first to introduce our existing system of rhythm into the language. Even Chaucer, it is contended, only wrote in what may be called accentual metre, that is to say, in metre regulated by the number of accents; Surrey was our first writer in syllabic metre, or metre regulated by the number both of accents and syllables. This notion we hold to be quite unfounded, believing the verse of Chaucer to be as regular, even according to the syllabic system of rhythm, as that of Surrey, having in fact, independently of other considerations, been evidently borrowed from the same Italian examples on which Surrey appears to have chiefly formed himself; and the whole apparent prosodial difference between the poetry of the one and that of the other being occasioned by the change which had taken place in the interim in the pronunciation of the language. The true merit of Surrey is, that, proceeding upon the same system of versification which had been introduced by Chaucer, and which indeed had in principle been followed by all the writers after Chaucer, however rudely or imperfectly some of them may have succeeded in the practice of it, he restored to our poetry a correctness, polish, and general spirit of refinement such as it had not known since Chaucer's time, and of which, therefore, in the language as now spoken, there was no previous example whatever. To this it may be added that he appears to have been the first in this age (but here, too, Chaucer was before him) who sought to modulate his strains after that elder poetry of Italy, which thenceforward became one of the chief fountain-heads of inspiration to that of England throughout the whole space of time over which is shed the golden light of the names of Spenser, of Shakspeare, and of Milton. Surrey's own imagination was neither rich nor soaring; and the highest qualities of his poetry, in addition to the facility and general mechanical perfection of the versification, are delicacy and tenderness. It is altogether a very light and bland Favonian breeze. The poetry of his friend Wyatt is of a different character, neither so flowing in form nor so uniformly gentle in spirit, but perhaps making up for its greater ruggedness by a force and a depth of sentiment occasionally which Surrey does not reach.

The poems of Lord Surrey and Sir Thomas Wyatt were first published together in 1557. In 1559 appeared the first edition of 'The Mirror for Magistrates,' a collection of narratives of the lives of various remarkable personages who had figured in our history, taken in general, with little more embellishment than their reduction to a metrical form, from the common chronicles. The idea of the work appears to have been borrowed from a Latin treatise of Boccaccio's, which had been translated and versified many years before by Lydgate, under the title of 'The Fall of Princes;' but it is of note in the history of our poetry simply in consequence of two pieces which it contains, the Complaint of Henry Duke of Buckingham, and the Induction preceding it, both the composition of Thomas Sackville, then a very young man, and probably a student of law, but afterwards ennobled by the titles of Lord Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset. These poems evince a strength of creative imagination which had been unknown to the English Muse since the days of Chaucer; and the Induction especially, which is throughout a splendid gallery of allegoric paintings, entitles Sackville to the renown of having had no small share in lighting the way to the greatest painter in our own or any other poetry—the divine author of the Fairy Queen.

Edmund Spenser, born in London about the year 1553, had already published several minor works, when, in 1590, he gave to the world the three first books of his great poem; the three others, which leave it still unfinished, did not appear till 1596; and he died in January, 1599. Without calling Spenser the greatest of all poets, we may still say that his poetry is the most poetical of all poetry. Other poets are all of them something else as well as poets, and deal in reflection, or reasoning, or humour, or wit, almost as largely as in the pure product of the imaginative faculty; his strains alone are poetry, all poetry, and nothing but poetry. It is vision unrolled after vision, to the sound of endlessly varying music. The "*shaping* spirit of imagination," considered apart from moral sensibility,—from intensity of passion on the one hand and grandeur of conception on the other,—certainly never was possessed in the like degree by any other writer; nor has any other shown a deeper feeling of all forms of the beautiful; nor have words ever been made by any other to embody thought with more wonderful art. The language of Spenser has been usually described as being of a more antique cast than that commonly written in his day, and he has been supposed to have thus reverted to the English of an earlier age on some principle of poetic propriety or effect; but the notion that the general contexture of his style has anything antiquated about it is certainly unfounded. He affects a very few archaic words and forms,—scarcely half a dozen in all,—and, excepting the occasional intrusion of one of these, there is nothing in his vocabulary or grammar to distinguish him from other writers of the same date. Indeed, much of his verse has rather an unusually modern air. There are passages of many lines in his 'Mother Hubbard's Tale,' especially, which almost anticipate the rounded flow of Dryden and the terseness of Pope.

But England was now a land of song, and the most poetical age of our national literature had fairly commenced. The minor Elizabethan poetry is for the most part distinguished by ingenuity

and elaboration, often carried to the length of quaintness both in the thought and the expression; but if there be more in it of art than of nature, the art is still that of a high school, and always lies in something more than in the mere disguising of prose in the dress of poetry. If it is sometimes unnatural, it is at least very seldom simply insipid, like much of the well-sounding verse of more recent times. The writers are always in earnest either with their nature or their art; they never write from no impulse and with no object except that of stringing common-places into rhyme or rhythm; their verses, when not very good, are apt to be at least, what is the next best thing in poetry, very bad; they rarely fall into that mere mediocrity which, venial elsewhere, it has long been agreed is the deadliest of sins in this art by gods, by men, and by booksellers,—

—— mediocribus esse poetis
Non homines, non dii, non concessere columnæ.

In the long list of these minor names of the Elizabethan poetry appears the bright name of William Shakspeare. Shakspeare published his Venus and Adonis in 1593, and his Tarquin and Lucrece in 1594; his Passionate Pilgrim did not appear till 1599; the Sonnets not till 1609. It is almost certain, however, that the first-mentioned of these pieces, which, in his dedication of it to the Earl of Southampton, he calls the first heir of his invention, was written some years before its publication; for at the latter date he had already produced several of his dramas, as we know from more than one contemporary testimony. Indeed, it is probable that all the other poetry we have of Shakspeare's was composed before his dramas. It is the utterance of that spirit of highest invention and sweetest song before it had found its proper theme; but much is here, also, though still immature, that is all Shaksperian—the vivid conception, the inexhaustible fertility and richness of thought and imagery, the glowing passion, the gentleness withal that is ever of the poetry as it was of the man, the enamoured sense of beauty, the living words, the ear-delighting and heart-enthralling music, nay, even the dramatic instinct itself, and the idea at least, if not always the realization, of that sentiment of all-subordinating and consummating art of which his dramas are the most wonderful exemplification among the creations of human genius. Notwithstanding all this, however, it must be admitted that the manner of this early poetry of Shakspeare is not the highest; it abounds for the greater part in the conceits and quaintnesses, and intricate involutions and tortuosities of all kinds, which infected the early spring of our modern English poetry; and this strengthens the belief that, although published after, the Venus and Adonis, and Tarquin and Lucrece, at least, must have been composed before the appearance of the first part of the Fairy Queen.

The chief glory of what is commonly called the Elizabethan age of our poetry, the drama of Shakspeare and his contemporaries, belongs, in truth, more properly to the commencement of the next period; and we shall reserve the consideration of it till then, contenting ourselves for the present with merely noting the successive steps in the progress of our national drama up to this, the era of its maturity and perfection. From the first introduction of dramatic representations in England, probably as far back as the beginning of the twelfth century, down to the beginning of the fifteenth, or perhaps somewhat later, the only species of drama known was that styled the Miracle, or Miracle-Play. The subjects of the miracle-plays were all taken from the histories of the Old and New Testament, or from the legends of saints and martyrs; and, indeed, it is probable that their original design was chiefly to instruct the people in religious knowledge. They were often acted as well as written by clergymen, and were presented in abbeys, in churches, and in churchyards, on Sundays or other holidays. It appears to have been not till some time after their first introduction that miracle-plays came to be annually represented under the direction and at the expense of the guilds or trading companies of towns, as at Chester and elsewhere. The characters, or *dramatis personæ*, of the miracle-plays, though sometimes supernatural or legendary, were always actual personages, historical or imaginary; and in that respect these primitive plays approached nearer to the regular drama than those by which they were succeeded,—the Morals, or Moral-plays, in which not a history, but an apologue was represented, and in which the characters were all allegorical. The moral-plays are traced back to the early part of the reign of Henry VI., and they appear to have gradually arisen out of the miracle-plays, in which, of course, characters very nearly approaching in their nature to the impersonated vices and virtues of the new species of drama must have occasionally appeared. The Devil of the Miracles, for example, would very naturally suggest the Vice of the Morals; which latter, however, it is to be observed, also retained the Devil of their predecessors, who was too amusing and popular a character to be discarded. Nor did the moral-plays altogether put down the miracle-plays: in many of the provincial towns, at least, the latter continued to be represented almost to as late a date as the former. Finally, by a process of natural transition very similar to that by which the sacred and supernatural characters of the religious drama had been converted into the allegorical personifications of the moral-plays, these last, gradually becoming less and less vague and shadowy, at length, about the middle of the sixteenth century, boldly assumed life and reality, giving birth to the first examples of that regular tragedy and comedy, the rise and progress of which it will be our task to detail in the next Book.

We will then also pursue the history of English Music from the point to which we brought it down in the last Book.

In every period of the history of the fine arts a taste for excessive decoration has invariably been an indication of their decline. To this point we have already traced the progress of Gothic architecture in England; and it was fast verging toward the degradation into which it had long fallen on the Continent, when those mighty revolutions were consummated in arts, literature, and religion, which nearly at the same moment extinguished the Gothic style, and overthrew the power by which its most stupendous monuments had been raised.

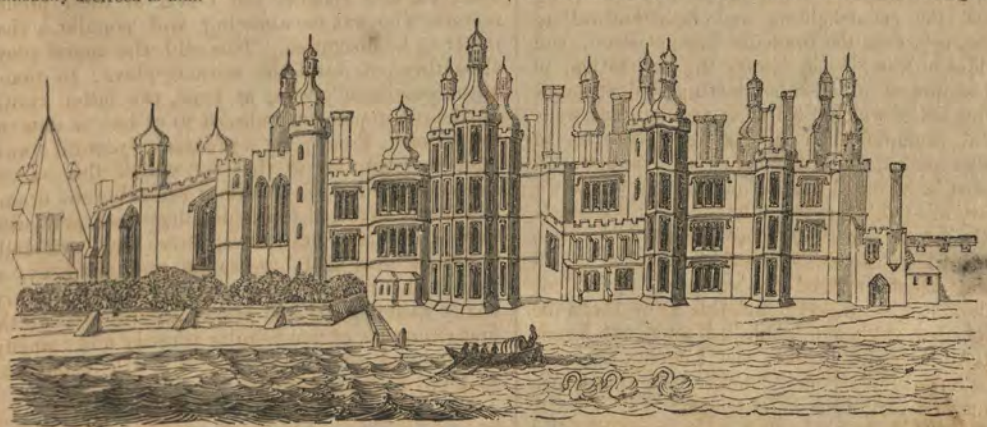
It is, however, by no means true that the establishment of the reformed church in England, and the decline of ecclesiastical architecture, stand to each other in the immediate relation of cause and effect. The violent measures of Henry VIII. only brought the era of ecclesiastical architecture to its termination more abruptly in this country than elsewhere; for it must be remembered, that sooner or later its splendour has been universally eclipsed, independently of the interposition of any change in religion or religious government. In England its history may be considered to terminate with the reign of Henry VII., since no ecclesiastical building of importance originated in that of his successor; and the Abbey Church of Bath, begun by Bishop King in the year 1500, is the only edifice of that class referrible to the sixteenth century. Architecture has found few more liberal patrons than Wolsey. Like the prelates of earlier days, he was a proficient in the art,* which he encouraged with the unbounded munificence characteristic of all his pursuits and undertakings. Yet this princely churchman founded no monastery and rebuilt no cathedral. His buildings were consecrated to those institutions for the advancement of learning and science for which "Christendom shall ever speak his virtue," or to the display of that lofty ostentation in which he sought to rival his sovereign. The shadow was already cast upon ecclesiastical architecture, even in the dominions of the "Defender of the Faith."

We have already noticed, by anticipation, the parish churches and chantry chapels in which the ecclesiastical and monumental Gothic of this period shone out brilliantly ere it sunk for ever. Its subsequent history may be dispatched in a few words. As we advance toward the middle of the sixteenth century, the Gothic style begins to exhibit extreme negligence in the composition and proportion of its parts, even when entirely free from any mixture of the Italian decoration which was rapidly advancing to displace it. Some few examples may be found in which the Gothic style ran pure, though on the lees, to the end of the sixteenth century. Bath Abbey, the progress of which had been interrupted at the Reformation, and was not resumed until the reign of Elizabeth (it was not, indeed, entirely completed till the year 1616), is one of the last, and exhibits throughout the most unequivocal marks of decline.

From this period unmixed Gothic architecture is extinct; and, if later examples occur, they only prove the art to have sunk into that hopeless state of imbecility which resorts to imitation. The court of Jesus College, Cambridge, which dates as late as the reign of Charles I., bears no signs of progression, but might pass for a structure of the first half of the sixteenth century, while the outer gateway is remarkable for its resemblance—perhaps unique in this country—to the French Gothic of the same period.

The close of the ecclesiastical era, so far from operating to the discouragement of architecture in general, had the effect of advancing it with a fresh impetus, by directing into a new channel the wealth which it was still the pride and pleasure of the English nobles to appropriate to building. Castle-building architecture was no more. The progress of events had softened the feudal baron into a courtier. His "bruised arms" were "hung up for monuments"—his "stern alarums changed to

* The design of the graceful tower of Maudlin College, Oxford, is traditionally ascribed to him.



RICHMOND PALACE.

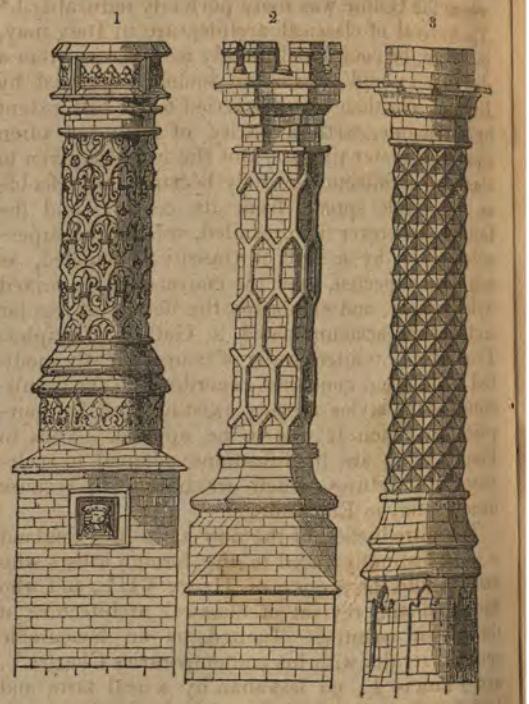
From an Old Drawing engraved in the Second Volume of "Vetusta Monumenta."

merry meetings"—his "dreadful marches to delightful measures;" and the sixteenth century is to be marked in the history of English architecture as an era of palaces.

The origin of the palatial and domestic architecture known as the *Tudor style* has been traced in a former Chapter, from the gradual combination of the house and castle of earlier times. The palace of Sheen, or Richmond, as it was named by Henry VII., erected by that king on the site of a royal house destroyed by fire in 1498, was one of the earliest buildings in which this style assumed a distinct character, and the first example of an English royal palace executed throughout its whole extent upon a complete and digested plan. A representation of its exterior has been preserved, and of its internal arrangements we have a minute description in the survey made by order of parliament in 1649. The hall was a hundred feet long and forty wide; the "privy lodgings" comprised thirty-six rooms; and an open corridor, with a gallery above it, two hundred feet in length, adjoined the garden. The greater part of the edifice was of stone, and the domes surmounting the numerous turrets were covered with lead.*

The groups of turrets displayed in this building are perfectly characteristic of the Tudor Gothic. Equally so is a multitude of gables, giving light to the roofs, and breaking their long and monotonous outlines. Generally in this style gables and turrets are combined in the same building, and the latter frequently degenerate into the proportion of insignificant minarets, not easily to be reconciled to any principle of good taste, and by no means worthy of the imitation with which they have been honoured in modern Gothic. Gateways retain much of their castellated form and proportion, and are frequently decorated with lofty oriel windows, as at Hampton Court and Eton. The numerous and richly ornamented groups of chimneys form another important characteristic of the Tudor Gothic, especially in buildings constructed with brick. In the palatial architecture of Henry VIII. this material is much used in conjunction with stone; and edifices in this style are generally remarkable for a paucity of decoration in every part except the chimneys. Tracery is almost entirely laid aside; carving is sparingly introduced; the windows are deprived of their labels, and the cornices and other mouldings reduced to the most simple forms. It would appear as if the architect trusted to the lively contrast produced by the colour of the two materials to supply the place of light and shade, and decoration; and so pleasing is the effect where they are judiciously intermingled, that the use of brick is by no means limited to cases in which it happens to be the more accessible material. Where stone was scarce, moulded brick was used to some extent; and a few examples occur of an elaborate and highly finished style of decorative architecture, where little else is employed; of which the

* Vetusta Monumenta, vol. ii.



Ornamental Brick Chimneys.
1. East Barsham Manor House. 2. Hampton Court. 3. Eton College.

Manor-house of Barsham, in Norfolk, is one of the most remarkable and most generally known. Another striking feature of the Tudor Gothic, and one which pervaded all the modifications of the architecture of the sixteenth century, is the great expanse of window, which was carried to such excess during the Elizabethan period as to reduce the solids to little more than might be necessary for support. "You shall have sometimes," says Lord Bacon, "fair houses so full of glass, that one cannot tell where to be come to be out of the sun or cold."† To these characteristics may be added oriels in various angular and curviliniar forms, simple and compound; and the reader will have a general outline of the palatial and domestic style of the sixteenth century, as long as it remained unmixed with the nascent Italian architecture, to which we must now turn our attention.

In Italy Gothic architecture had never taken firm root. It is true that, from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth, the pointed arch and other characteristics of the style were adopted in Italian buildings; but the principles of ancient art were never entirely eradicated. If the details of the Italian architecture of the middle ages are Gothic, the composition is Roman; and it is this which distinctly separates it from that of other countries

* See Britton's Antiquities, vol. ii.; and, for details, Pugin's Examples of Gothic Arch., vol. iii.

† Lysons mentions a window at Collacombe, in Devonshire, containing 3200 panes of glass.

where the Gothic was more perfectly naturalized.* The revival of classical architecture in Italy may, therefore, be considered merely as a return from a digression; and it was no sooner suggested by Brunelleschi than it was carried to its full extent by Bramante, with a purity of taste not often equalled in later times. But the impulse given to classical architecture in Italy became more feeble as the circle spread from its centre; and the Gothic, wherever it prevailed, was to be superseded only by a sort of transition, founded, as might be expected, upon the converse of the mixed style in Italy, and exhibiting the details of regular architecture accommodated to Gothic principles. This mixed architecture is of course greatly modified in different countries according to the peculiarities of the styles already existing, and the purposes to which it was to be applied. Thus in France there are modifications adapted to ecclesiastical structures which are unknown, because uncalled for, in England.

The introduction of the new style into England is to be distinctly traced to the foreign artists who entered into the service of Henry VIII., and who had seen the revival of classical architecture in their own country. Incited by an honourable spirit of rivalry with his contemporaries Charles V. and Francis I., no less than by a real taste and love for the arts which he undoubtedly possessed, Henry sought to illustrate himself and his country by encouraging them in their highest departments, and made munificent proposals to Raffaelle, Titian, and Primaticcio. None of these great painters accepted his invitation, but he obtained several artists of great merit both from Italy and Flanders, who, according to the custom of that age, united the practice of all branches of the fine arts. Jerome de Trevisi was engaged by Henry as a painter, architect, and engineer, and was killed on service in the latter capacity at the siege of Boulogne, in 1531. Luca Penni, a painter of the school of Raffaelle, arrived in England about 1537, having been previously retained by Francis I., and employed upon the decorations of the palace at Fontainebleau. The celebrated Hans Holbein was a universal genius. As a painter he will be noticed more particularly in a subsequent page; but he was likewise an architect, a modeller, a carver, and an engraver. He gave patterns for goldsmiths, jewellers, enamellers, and chasers of plate, and exercised his talents upon ornaments of every description, from a vase down to a button. Many of his designs for objects of this kind are still extant.

It was not, however, till the middle of the sixteenth century that the new style affected our architecture in anything but the decorations. Until about that period it appears to have been the custom to leave the design and construction of the fabric in native hands, while foreign innovation displays itself in everything connected with the art of the carver, the modeller, and the painter. Something of this may be observed at Hampton Court in the terra-cottas and carvings of the gateways, and the pend-

ants of the hall; but it was carried to a much greater extent at Nonsuch, a royal retreat built by Henry VIII. near Cheam, in Surrey, which both English and foreign writers have extolled as a building upon which "one might imagine everything that architecture can perform to have been employed." Several representations of this celebrated palace have survived, from which, though more fanciful than correct in the requisites of drawing, proportion and perspective, its elements may be very clearly understood. The annexed engraving from one of these exhibits a part of the palace toward the garden, the interior court and gateway being seen over the roof. Like some other sumptuous edifices of the period, it was partly of timber. The relievos with which it was so abundantly decorated were of plaster; and from the description of Hentzner, a German, who visited England in the reign of Elizabeth, we may infer not only that they were of Italian workmanship, but that some might even be after the antique. Of the interior we have unfortunately no account.

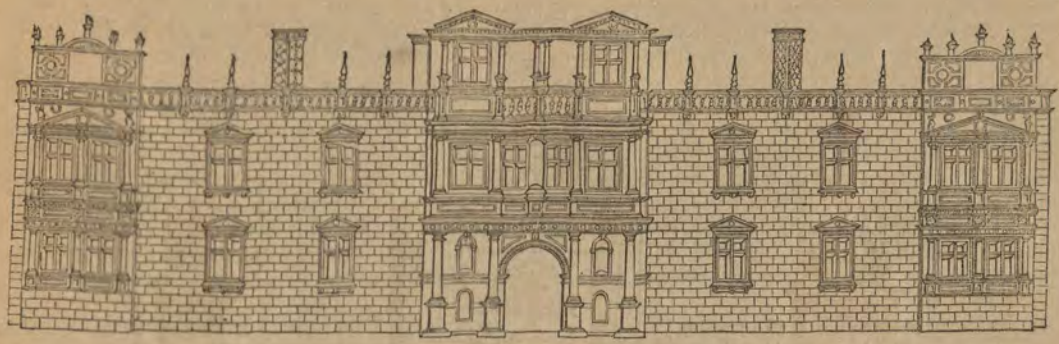
Henry VIII. was attached to architecture as a pursuit. Making the most ample allowance for the pompous flattery of Holinshed, who places him in the same rank with Hadrian and Justinian, we may, at least, conclude that, like those emperors, he was a dabbler in the art of design. There was certainly nothing in which he displayed his taste for magnificence more conspicuously than in his palaces. He built, improved, or completed no less than ten worthy of the name,* of which Hampton Court alone survives with any semblance of its original state. The whole of the works of Henry VIII., as far as may be judged from their fragments or imperfect representations, were entirely in the Tudor Gothic style, with the infusion of foreign decoration already described. The same character marks the palatial edifices, in the erection of which many of the nobility and great officers of state followed the example set by the king. Hengrave Hall, in Suffolk, may be

* Professor Willis has treated this subject most ably in his work on the Architecture of the Middle Ages in Italy. He traces a few specimens of genuine Gothic in the kingdom of Naples to the Angiovine dynasty.

* See Dallaway's Discourses on Architecture.

THE PALACE OF NONSUCH. From Speed's Theatre of Great Britain.

SANDOWN CASTLE, NEAR DEAL.—One of Henry VIII.'s Fortresses.



SOMERSET HOUSE.

From the Original Collection of Drawings, by John Thorpe, in the Library of Sir John Soane's Museum.

WOLLATON, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

cited as the most perfect example remaining of the buildings of this class and date. The turrets and gables, the bulbous domes, the elaborate brick chimney-shafts, the complicated oriel which overhangs the gateway, and the Italian manner visible in the sculptures which adorn it, are all perfect types of the style to which this building belongs. Hengrave was the work of a wealthy merchant, Sir Thomas Kitson, in 1538.*

Among the public works of Henry VIII. we must not omit to notice the chain of fortresses which he erected for the protection of the southern and eastern coasts, in which military architecture was resuscitated upon the modern principles of fortification. Some of these buildings are still in an efficient state of defence.

From the arrival of *John of Padua*, and his appointment to the office of "Deviser of his Majesty's Buildings," in 1544, we may date the introduction of regular architecture into England. Of the previous history of this artist nothing is known; but his cognomen, and the style of his works, sufficiently designate him as a pupil of that Lombard school whose numerous designs added so greatly to the picturesque beauties of the city of Venice, during the interval between the decline of the Gothic in that part of Italy, and the introduction of the more severe Roman style, by Jacopo Sansovino. John of Padua was patronised by the Protector Somerset; and the palace he erected in London for that great nobleman is believed to have been the first building of Italian architecture executed in this country.* As the founder of a school tradition has assigned to him many works to which he has no claim; but the noble mansion of Longleat, in which the spacious and picturesque windows peculiar to English architecture are in the happiest manner adapted to the intervals of an Italian design of singular purity of taste, may be confidently attributed to him, not less from internal evidence

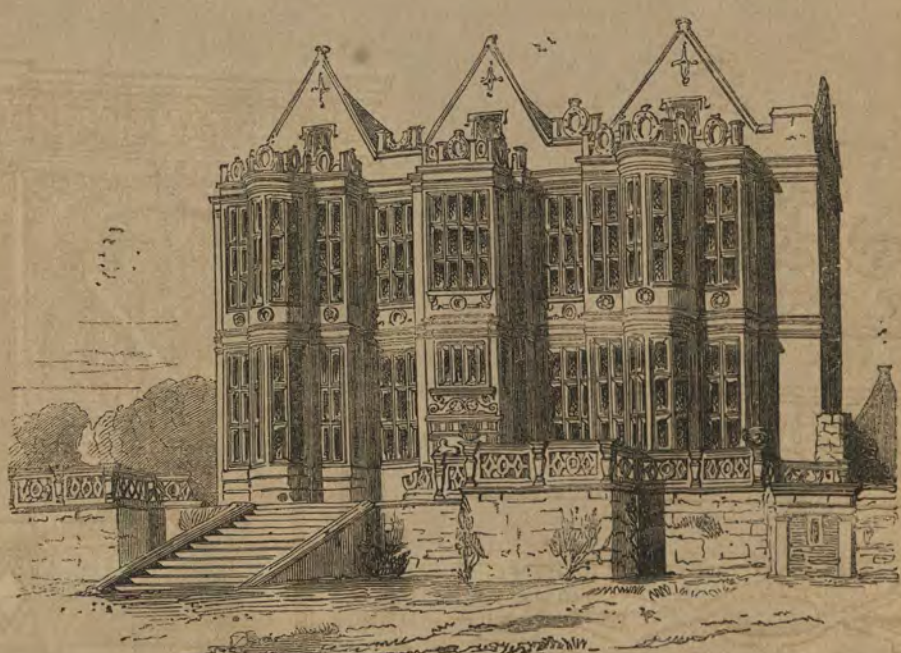
* See Britton's Antiquities, vol. ii.

* Jerome de Trevisi is said to have built a house, but nothing is known of it.

than from the circumstance of the founder, Sir John Thynne, being intimately connected with the protector. This building was begun in 1567. At this period the study of regular architecture had been taken up by native artists, and, by uniting something of their original principles with the elements we may suppose to have been taught by John of Padua, and adding *a little* of the quaint and tortuous decoration derived from the German and Flemish schools, a style resulted, which it is a gross injustice to treat, as it has been too generally treated, in the light of merely debased Italian. If classical architecture lost something in its passage from the land of its regeneration, it was not without gaining something in return. The unbroken outlines and simple beauties of the Roman and Florentine schools were not likely to find much favour in the eyes of nations accustomed to the varied composition and multifarious decoration of the Gothic; and the northern artists would naturally seek to combine with the style they were adopting the most striking qualities of their own. With what success these conditions were fulfilled in England, such edifices as Wollaton and Hardwick may testify, especially if their majestic and picturesque towers be compared with the extravagant conical roofs by which the same effect was attempted in the parallel style of France.

The usual mode of combining the two styles in the great palatial edifices of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., by preserving the old in all the general elements of the composition, and using the new in the members and details (of which the annexed engraving will afford a clearer view than any description can convey), has been most aptly characterised as the translation of an English composition into a foreign language. But a more prevalent mode of employing the new style is one in which it is mixed, but not combined, with the old; and a large class of our domestic and collegiate buildings of this period exhibit the Tudor style in everything but a centre compartment, a porch, a niche, or an oriel of Italian architecture, like a foreign word dropped into an English sentence, to render its expression more *piquante*, or, it may be, from mere fashion or affectation. This style is exemplified in the well-known Gothic Tower of the Schools at Oxford, built in 1613, to which all the five Roman orders are applied, or misapplied, in a manner which would strike Vitruvius with amazement.

These *counter-changes* of the two styles produce, as we have before remarked, the appearance of something like a transition between the Tudor Gothic and the Italian architecture of the Palladian school. But the true principle of a transition is wanting. Italian architecture was imported in a perfect form, and was subsequently adopted either entirely or partially, or totally neglected, as taste or fancy dictated, as the building might be of sufficient importance to call for the employment of artists of the new school or otherwise, or as the assistance of such artists might or might not be attainable. Hence the different mixtures and combinations which have been described will be found to run parallel with each other during the



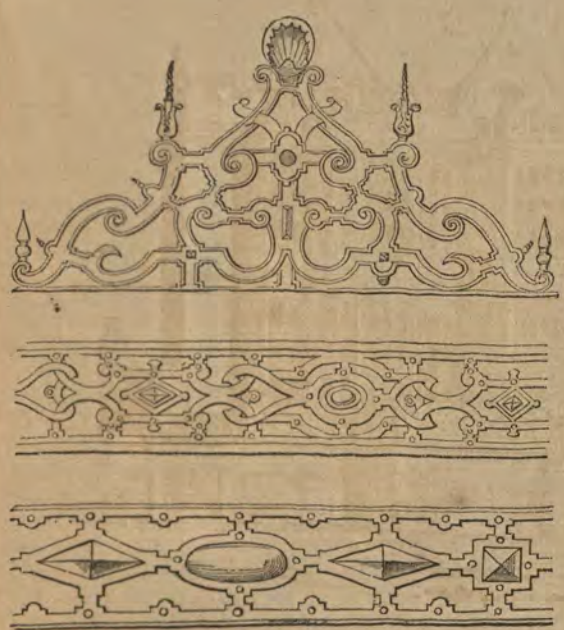
The Duke's House, Bradford. From "Richardson's Elizabethan Architecture."

whole of the period in question, without any of the gradual development which a transition properly implies.

The characteristic of the scroll ornaments which enter so abundantly into the decoration of this period has been well described as "an intricacy of design which defies explanation;" but the knobs and bosses, with the fanciful cut-work round them peculiar to the Elizabethan style, are clearly alluded to by Laneham in his account of Kenilworth Castle, as "great diamans, rubys, and saphyrs, pointed tabled *rok* and round, garnyshed with their gold," &c., a poor substitute, even with all the help that blazonry could afford, for the precious marbles and *pietre dure* of Italy. In the more sculptural decorations, the taste of the age displays itself no less in the subjects than in the style, and the staple commodities of armorial bearings and devices are mixed up with figures and allusions, allegorical, mythological, and classical. The chimney-piece, occupying the whole height of the room, and forming part of the general design when it possesses an architectural character, is generally made a focus for decorations of this kind.

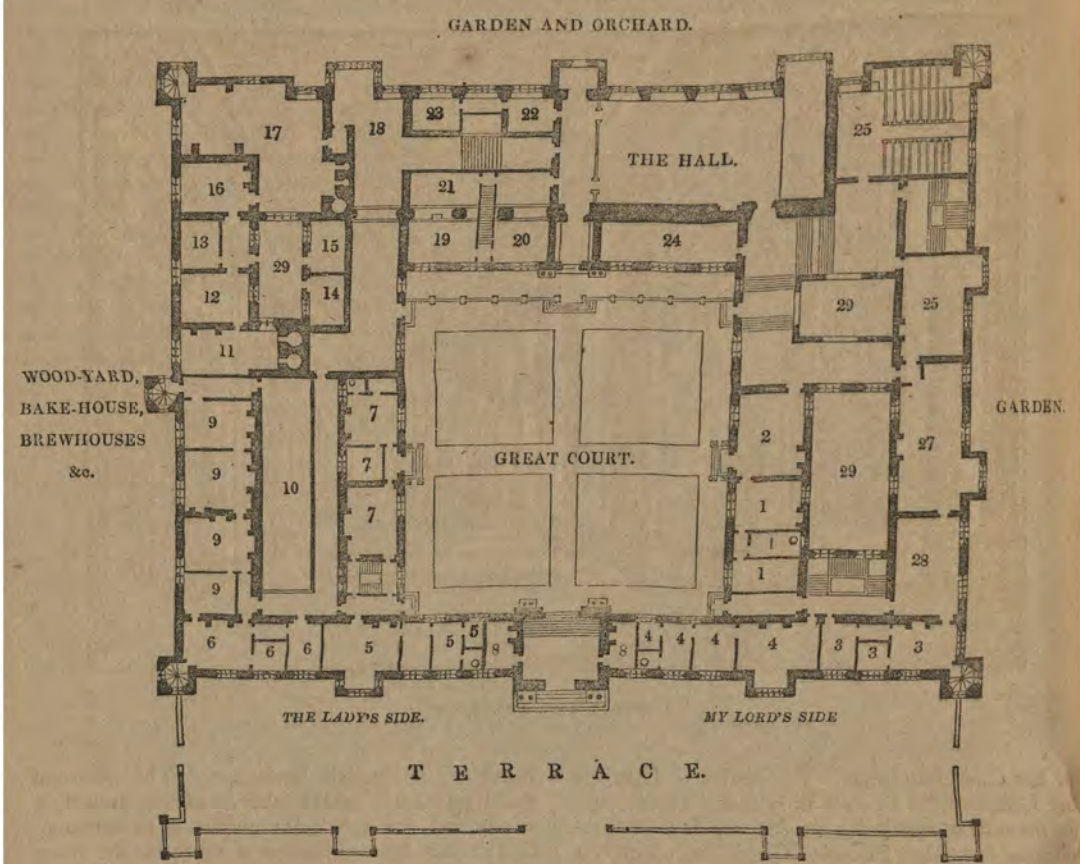
But it was far beyond mere change of style that the new architecture extended its influence. The whole plan and arrangement of the mansion, externally and internally, was affected by it. The terrace was a novelty of this period, its flights of steps falling into the Italian garden with its marble fountains and grottoes, studded with vases, and peopled from Ovid's Metamorphoses. The columns and pyramids of the gardens at Nonsuch, and "the birds that streamed water from their bills," are described by Hentzner, and are clearly indicated in the engraving of that palace. The great hall, though generally retaining its ancient form, became appropriated to its modern purpose of an entrance, and the partial adoption of the Italian mode of placing the principal apartments in the upper floor necessarily led to the enlargement and decoration of the staircase, which now became, for the first time, a principal feature in the distribution of the house. The plan of arranging the apartments *en suite* was neglected, but the great gallery, occupying the utmost extent of the building on the upper floor, seems to have been considered a necessary state appendage even in mansions of the second class, and was well suited to the crowded festivities and pageants which were the fashion of the age. In Lord Bacon's *beau ideal* of a palace * he supposes one side of the main building to be appropriated exclusively to state purposes, with "only one goodly room" above stairs "for feasts and triumphs." One side of the inner court, also, is to be laid out in stately galleries, and the other with "chambers of presence and ordinary entertainment," and bedchambers. For a more detailed view of the usual distribution of an Elizabethan palace, the reader is referred to the accompanying plan of Buckhurst (founded, in 1560, by Lord Buckhurst, afterwards Lord Treasurer and Earl of Dorset), after a contemporary drawing, and consequently representing it in its original state, and marking the original destination of the rooms. The separate suites of

* Essay on Building.



SCROLL WORK, &c. From "Richardson's Elizabethan Architecture."

STAIRCASE AT CLAVERTON, SOMERSETSHIRE.
From "Richardson's Elizabethan Architecture."



PLAN OF BUCKHURST HOUSE, SUSSEX.

From the Original Collection of Drawings by John Thorpe, in the Library of Sir John Soane's Museum.

1, 1, 1. A Nobleman's Lodging.....2. His Ante-Camera.....3, 3, 3. A Nobleman's Lodging.....4, 4, 4, 4. Ditto.....5, 5, 5, 5. Ditto.....6, 6, 6. Ditto....7, 7, 7. Ditto.....8, 8. Porter's Lodge.....9, 9, 9, 9. Officer's Lodgings.....10. A Tennis Court, sixty-five feet long.....11. Privy Bakehouse.....12. Bolting.....13. Scullery.....14. Pewter.....15. Trencher.....16. Dry Larder above—Wet under.....17. Kitchen....18. Servant's Way....19. Breakfast Room.....20. Buttery.....21. Butler's Lodging.....22. Pantry.....23. Pantler's Lodging....24. Wine Cellar underneath, and Terrace above, throughout....25. Chapel....26. Waiter's Chamber....27. Parlour, with Great Chamber above....28. Withdrawing Chamber....29. Courts.

N.B.—The Gallery extends over the whole of the apartments in front.

apartments appropriated to the reception of distinguished guests are worthy of attention, as indicating the direction which the manners of the age had given to the hospitality of noble houses, and the refinement with which it was exercised.*

This princely mansion has long ceased to exist. Vast as it was, its extent was rivalled by many of the same period, among which it may be sufficient to refer to Longleat (already noticed), Burleigh, erected by the great statesman of that title in 1577, and Hatfield, by the Earl of Salisbury, in 1611, as examples still remaining in their pristine splendour to gratify the curiosity and fill the mind of the inquirer into the arts and habits of our ancestors. All these were far surpassed by Audley Inn, built by the Earl of Suffolk (Lord Howard de Walden), of which the existing magnificent house originally formed but three sides of the inner and smaller court. But perhaps of all the surviving monuments of the period Hardwick in Derbyshire is the most interesting, from the intact state in which the building has remained since the days that it was tenanted by its eccentric foundress the Countess of Shrewsbury,—"Bess of Hardwick,"—not less celebrated by her passion for building than

* This plan is from a collection of drawings throwing an important light upon the history of English architecture at this period, as they form a record of the original state of many of our most distinguished mansions, including several which no longer exist, and designs for others never executed. They are by the hand of John Thorpe, an architect of great eminence in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. Unfortunately he has not in general been so particular in identifying the buildings and explaining their arrangements as in the present instance. Thorpe was the architect of Kirby, a mansion erected by a citizen of that name at Bethnal Green, of which, from the evidence of the drawing, he laid the first stone in 1570. He also enlarged Ampthill, and "perfected" Holland House. Whether he had any share in the rest of the designs he collected is a point upon which he has left us in the dark, but there is reason to infer that he was in some way or other consulted upon them. Among these plans is one made for Sir Walter Raleigh,—a modest habitation of lath and plaster with four rooms on a floor. The whole of this most interesting collection has been accurately engraved and copiously illustrated by Mr. C. J. Richardson.

HARDWICK HALL, DERBYSHIRE

for her masculine spirit. The castles of Lulworth and Longford,* with their huge round towers, may be noticed as specimens of the *capricci* of a capricious age; but Bolsover Castle, in which the Anglo-Italian detail is adapted to an outline of the most commanding aspect, deserves honourable mention for the success with which the architect has consulted the *genius loci*. The author of this building was Huntingdon Smithson, whose father, Robert Smithson, was the architect of Wollaton. The names of these artists, and of many others of the same period who do honour to their country, have been suffered to drop into obscurity by a succeeding generation insensible to their original modes of thinking, and their intense feeling for the picturesque, or rather regarding as faults those qualities which their own pedantry rendered them incapable of attaining.†

As the benefits arising from a settled government and domestic security were felt by all classes, the gentry were rushing as eagerly as the high nobility out of the gloom of the middle ages into the cheerful comforts of modern life, and were equally busied in improving their condition in the essential point of their habitations, which they rebuilt at this period, throughout the country, to an extent which has rendered the Elizabethan manor-house a familiar object among the peculiar beauties of English landscape. The plan of building houses of this class, with two projecting wings and a porch in the middle, is so common, that it has been supposed to represent the letter E, and to be intended as a compliment to Queen Elizabeth. Far-fetched as this conceit may appear, it is perfectly in accordance with the taste of the age. Among John Thorpe's drawings is one for his own house, forming the initials I T. Philip II. built a gridiron in honour of St. Lawrence, and an original plan of Longford Castle shows that its triangular form conveyed an allusion to the Trinity.

Town buildings still retained the form which characterises them from the earliest period of their history—a form dictated by that consummate judgment which universally marks the constructive architecture of the middle ages. Nothing can be better calculated for giving endurance to a perishable material than the protection each overhanging story affords to that below it, and this is the true origin of a mode of building which may at first sight appear contrary to fundamental principles, and for which various futile reasons have been devised. As long, therefore, as timber continued to be the chief material in the houses of our citizens and burgesses—and in London, during the reign of Elizabeth, it was almost exclusively employed—so long they continued unaltered in everything but their ornamental details, in which they conformed to the changing taste of the period. In the an-

* See Britton's Antiquities, vol. ii., for the latter.

† See Dallaway's Discourses on Architecture for the names of several architects of this period.

nexed example the process of *translation* may be traced in a very lively manner, every feature of a Gothic design being closely travestied by something in the new style, not always very happily chosen or consistently brought together. In buildings of less pretension the Gothic bracket was merely supplanted by the Italian console, the shape of which was preserved even in the extravagantly grotesque figures which often supply its place. So slowly did any innovation creep into the system of building town-houses, that Stow especially notices a brick tower, erected by Sir Thomas Champneys (mayor of London in 1534), as the first; and a tower of timber, built by another citizen in Lime Street, as the second that he ever heard of in any private man's house. These towers seem to give great offence to honest Stow, who does not hesitate to pronounce upon the blindness and gout with which their possessors happened to be afflicted, as express judgments upon them to punish their desire of overlooking their neighbours.

The same writer relates an anecdote which may not be out of its place here. It is curious in more respects than one, but especially as it shows the antiquity of a feat in mechanics which has attracted some attention in our own time. The Earl of Essex (Cromwell) having built a mansion in Throgmorton Street, and finding it pressed upon by a house in the rear, caused the said house to be loosened from its foundations, placed upon rollers, and backed twenty-two feet into a garden belonging to the father of the antiquary, who, in common with the owners of the adjoining gardens, lost his land, without notice and without compensation; and "no man," says Stow, "durst go to argue the matter"

The more ordinary dwellings of the commonalty were still so imperfect in the sixteenth century, that Erasmus does not hesitate to attribute the frequent sickness which visited England in a great measure to their defective ventilation, their fixed windows precluding the free admission of air when necessary, while it found its way abundantly through the crevices in the walls when its exclusion might have been desirable. The general introduction of chimneys which took place about this time was therefore a material improvement for health as well as for convenience. It was within memory, when Holinshed wrote his chronicle, that there were not above two or three chimneys, "if so many, in most of the uplandish towns of the realm (the religious houses and manor-places of their lords always excepted, and, peradventure, some great personages); but each made his fire against

House formerly standing at the corner of Chancery Lane, in Fleet Street. Temp. Edward VI.
From "Smith's Topography of London."

a reredosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat." We learn from this author that, though a better disposition began to be generally studied in the farm-houses of this period, yet in the remote parts of the country, where timber was scarce and building expensive, the ancient fashion of uniting the house, offices, and stables all under one roof, was by no means obsolete. The commons were, in fact, disposing of the wealth which was now fast diffusing itself among them, by improving their mode of living and adding to their domestic comforts, particularly in the article of furniture, in preference to making any material alteration in their style of building. So that among the novelties which attracted the notice of the Spanish train of Philip II. they were especially surprised at the excellent housekeeping which they found within walls of "sticks and dirt."* Upon these habits of his country Holinshed founds a somewhat laboured apology for the mean aspect of the metropolis itself as compared with foreign cities, consoling himself with the reflection that, whatever show foreign houses may make outwardly, they are "uneasy" within. Of this apology, after all the changes and improvements of two centuries and a half, we must still be content to avail ourselves, though our modern streets are certainly not to be reproached with want of "uniformity."

The meridian splendour which painting and sculpture had attained in Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century† cast its rays tardily and feebly upon England, and it is impossible to enter upon their modern history as connected with our own country, without adverting slightly to the causes through which, until a recent period, we have confessedly ranked in those arts among the rearward of the nations of Europe.

When we look into the history of the great schools of Italy, and consider how much they are indebted for their rise and prosperity to the influence of the Roman church, it may account in some degree for the stagnation of the arts in England, that this source of encouragement was cut off when it might have been an important aid to the favourable circumstances in which they were at length placed by the patronage of the sovereign, and the more general desire to cultivate them for their own sake, which would necessarily follow the spread of literature and refinement. By the influence of the church it is not intended to refer merely to that arising from its wealth and patronage, but also to the inspiration drawn by the great masters from the exalted nature of the subjects they were called upon to treat, and, above all, to the effect wrought upon the public taste by the perpetual exhibition of their highest efforts, exciting the emulation of the professors of art, and diffusing among the many that general appreciation of excellence by which excellence is most surely reproduced.

Upon what might have been the precise result of replacing the imperfect decorations of our churches by altar-pieces of foreign art at this important crisis in the formation of our national character, it is in vain to speculate, since the experiment never was tried, and there are many reasons why it never might have been tried to any beneficial extent, even if no reformation of the church had intervened to prevent it. It cannot, however, be supposed that, even under the most favorable circumstances, any immediate success would have attended the transplantation into a totally unprepared soil of the higher class of painting, which had required a slow growth of three centuries to arrive at maturity in that to which it was indigenous.* Such an assumption would be in direct contradiction to the history of the arts in every age and country.

But admitting this obvious cause for the discouragement of one branch of the arts at this particular period, and allowing all the influence, direct or indirect, which can fairly be attributed to it, the question still remains to be solved why our painters of a later date never, like those of Holland and Flanders, marked out new and independent paths to distinction; and why, even in portrait which at an early period acquired that popularity in England which it still maintains, we never had anything worthy to be called a native school until the middle of the eighteenth century. To the speculations of Winckelman, Montesquieu, and other foreign writers, who would persuade us our faculties are obscured by our climate, and assign limits to the genius and imagination of the countrymen and contemporaries of the Elizabethan poets and dramatists, we are not likely to attach much importance,—nor need we go so deep for what will be found to lie on the surface.

In the gradual development of the arts of painting and sculpture England had taken no share, and, as regards the former especially, we have already seen that our history presents a total blank during the whole period of its advancement in Italy. When, therefore, an epoch at length arrived favorable to the appreciation of the art, it presented itself for the first time in a perfect form to the few in whom superior education and wealth united the will with the means of encouraging it. In the eyes of this class, who may rather be said to have purchased than patronised it, art assumed the character of a foreign luxury, and they were at first too impatient, and soon learned to be too fastidious, to attend to the tedious process of cultivating what they could readily import. Thus was established, and thus has been perpetuated, the predilection for foreign art and foreign artists which so long pressed like an incubus upon native talent, and condemned it to move in the humble track of imitation. Walpole designates the state

* Alluding to the clay or cob walls, still used in the West of England.

† Leonardo da Vinci died in 1519; Raffaelle, in 1520; Correggio, in 1534; Michael Angelo, at the age of 89, in 1563; and Titian at the age of 99, in 1576.

* Giunta Pisano flourished 1220; Cimabue died 1300; Giotto 1336; Orcagna 1389; Masaccio 1443; Raffaelle, &c., *ut supra*.

of native art in the sixteenth century as genius struggling with barbarism. He should have said, genius struggling with prejudice, the influence of which he might have extended down to his own time.

The names of Holbein and Mabuse first connect England with modern art in the reign of Henry VII. Of the former artist little or nothing is certainly known. The latter was a native of Hainault, who had studied in Italy, and achieved a great and deserved reputation, his works being considered to rival those of Albert Durer, and to rank with the best productions of that early period. But he did nothing for the arts in England. He visited this country (probably about 1495) only to escape the gaol to which his profligacy had condemned him at Middleburgh, and seems to have limited his stay to one year, leaving few specimens of his pencil behind him. The illustrious name of Hans Holbein has dimmed the reputation of several artists of merit who preceded and followed him during the reign of Henry VIII. To those already incidentally mentioned may be added Toto del Nunziata, a painter of some note in the Florentine school, and Johannes Corvus and Gerberius Fleccius, two Flemish artists of whom little is known but their names. Gerard Horneband, or Horrebout, of the same school, had obtained a reputation for small altar-pieces before he left Flanders; and Lucas Cornelii, who came to England soon after 1509, and remained till he died, is said to have instructed Holbein in the art of drawing miniatures in water-colours. No work of importance can now be certainly assigned to any of these artists; but to some of them may be attributed with the greatest probability the remarkable historical pictures representing the *gesta* of Henry's last war with France painted on the walls at Cowdray, and that of the Field of Gold Cloth, and others, of which engravings have appeared in the former pages of this work.* Theodore Bernardi, also a Fleming, came over in 1519, and was employed by Bishop Sherburne to paint the series of kings of England and bishops of the see in Chichester Cathedral. This work remains, but has been repainted till probably not an original touch is visible. The career of Holbein is so inseparably associated with the history of painting in his adopted country, that it will be necessary to dwell upon it more particularly. This eminent man was born in the year 1498, of a family of artists: both his father and uncle were painters; and the latter is believed to be the Holbein who visited England in the reign of Henry VII. Whether he was a native of Basle is uncertain, but it was in that city he practised his art, and acquired the friendship of Erasmus. The Earl of Arundel, returning from Italy, saw and appreciated his works, and pressed him to visit England, but he declined the invitation at that time; and it was not until the year 1526 that he arrived with letters of introduction from Erasmus to Sir Thomas More, who entertained him for three years in his house at Chelsea. Here his works attracted the notice of the king, who took him into his own service, and assigned him an apartment at Whitehall with a salary of two hundred florins, besides paying him for his pictures. An anecdote is related of Holbein which attests the high estimation in which his talents were held by Henry VIII. A nobleman of high rank had roused his anger to such a degree by intruding upon him while he was occupied at his easel, that the artist thrust him down stairs. Alarmed for the consequences of this rash act, Holbein instantly went to seek the protection of the king. The nobleman followed to present his complaint; but Henry, having been made acquainted with the provocation, sided with the painter, and threatened his antagonist with his severest displeasure if he sought any means of revenge. "You have not now to deal with Holbein, but with me," said the king. "Remember, that of seven peasants I can make as many lords, but I cannot make one Holbein."

After the death of Jane Seymour Holbein was sent to Flanders to draw the portrait of the Duchess of Milan, whom Henry designed for his fourth wife. Upon the failure of that negotiation (she objected that she had "only one neck") he was dispatched on the like errand to the Lady Anne of Cleves. In this commission Holbein exercised the artist's license, but Henry's consequent disappointment vented itself upon the minister who had promoted the match, and Cromwell lost his head because Anne was a "Flanders mare, and not a Venus, as Holbein had represented her." Holbein died of the plague in 1554.

Though few painters have had more ample justice rendered to them by the great republic of art than Holbein, yet it may be doubted whether his talents are generally appreciated at their full value in England, where he is known almost exclusively as a portrait painter. Previously to his visiting England he occupied himself upon the higher branches of the art with such success, that his scrupulous precision, his high finish, and his Titianesque colour, are declared by Fuseli to make the least part of his excellence for those who have seen his designs for the Passion and that series of emblematical groups known as Holbein's Dance of Death. But from the time of his arrival in this country he was so devoted to portrait that Walpole can enumerate but four public works by his hand.* Even as a portrait painter he has suffered more than the common share of injustice which falls to the lot of every eminent artist, of being made accountable for paintings he never saw. Numerous as his works are, they are few in comparison with those of a host of worthless face-makers whose

* See ante, pp. 324, 339, 342. The paintings at Cowdray perished by fire in 1793.

* Anecdotes of Painting.—One of these is the capital picture of Henry VIII. giving the Charter to the Company of Barber-Surgeons, still preserved in the hall of that respectable fraternity, and of which we have given an engraving in a preceding page. The existence of this fine work of art, in a dark room, in a dark court, in the heart of the city of London, is scarcely known.

performances have been thrust upon him, and have vulgarly connected his name with everything mean in style and feeble in execution.* But, in reality, no artist ever more narrowly missed perfection. His genuine portraits are deficient in no quality to which that style of painting can attain, except that general management of the colouring and chiaro scuro which was so well understood by the Venetians, but unknown in the schools in which Holbein had studied.

Next in reputation to Holbein, among the foreigners retained by Henry VIII., is Pietro Torregiano, a Florentine sculptor of very superior talent, but of a fierce and ungovernable temper, which had rendered him notorious in early life by a fray in which he broke the nose and permanently disfigured the countenance of Michael Angelo, and which finally brought his days to an end in a dungeon of the Spanish Inquisition. Benvenuto Cellini mentions him in his Memoirs as arriving in Florence from England, for the purpose of engaging artists to assist him in a great work of bronze, and gives an amusing account of his deportment, which was rather that of a *bravo* than a sculptor, and of the feats he boasted of having performed among "those brutes the English." This work of bronze must have been the tomb of Henry VII., which he completed in 1519, and for which he received the sum of one thousand pounds. The sculptures on this tomb contrast strongly in style with those of the Gothic screen by which it is enclosed and the gorgeous mausoleum which contains it, and are as far inferior in simple gracefulness to some of the draped figures by native hands, as they must be admitted to surpass them in knowledge and the sound principles of art. The tomb of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, in Henry VII.'s Chapel, is also probably the work of this artist.

Torregiano seems to have failed in his mission to Florence, since the names of his assistants in the tomb of Henry VII. are mostly English. Among them one at least appears to have become a follower of his style, John Hales, who executed the tomb of Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, at Ormskirk. But, for the most part, the Gothic style retained possession of monumental architecture and sculpture throughout the reign of Henry VIII.

It is a loss to the arts that the tomb which Henry VIII. designed for himself was never completed. From the description handed down to us it would have rivalled, in extent at least, any contemporary work of the same class. The sculptures were to have consisted of the effigies of himself and Jane Seymour as large as life, an equestrian statue, figures of the saints and prophets, and the history of St. George in relief; in the whole one hundred and thirty-three statues and forty bas-reliefs, all in bronze. The artist selected for this great work was Benedetto Rovezzano, whose design appears to have been preferred to one by the more celebrated Baccio Bandinelli. Much of the sculpture was actually executed, but the work was discontinued at Henry's death, and the whole was finally melted by order of the parliament in 1646.

Henry VIII. formed a collection of pictures, which there can be no doubt contained specimens of the best masters of the Italian and Flemish schools who then flourished, as it afterwards became the nucleus of the splendid collection of Charles I. Raffaelle is known to have painted a St. George for him, but it is perfectly characteristic of the general indifference to art at the period when the first inventory of this collection was made (1547), that not a single artist's name is specified in it, nor do the common terms of painting appear to be yet in use in the English language, pictures on pannel or canvas being distinguished as "tables" and "stained cloths." The contents of this inventory, consisting of one hundred and fifty-three pictures, are thus summed up by Walpole:—"If it be allowed that the mind and taste of Henry VIII. were demonstrated by the subjects upon which he employed the painters whom he patronised, and to whom he dictated them, an opinion exactly corresponding with his character will be the result. We find in his collection numerous portraits of himself,—repetitions of those of his contemporary princes, particularly those of the Emperor and Francis I.,—of his predecessors,—two of the Duchess of Milan, who refused to marry him, but not one of his six wives! The historical and scriptural subjects were, the violation and death of Lucretia,—the decollation of St. John the Baptist, with his head in a charger,—a similar exhibition of Judith and Holofernes,—St. George, his patron saint,—the Virgin and Child with the dead Christ,—sundry Flemish moralities in which Death is personified, and drolls of the imbecility of old men, with caricatures of the Pope." This last refers to "a table of the Bussopp of Rome, the four Evangelists casting stones at him."

Holbein founded no school and formed no pupils. He left the national state of art nearly as he found it, and its history continues to afford little more than a list of the foreigners who, from time to time, came among us, and left a void in their turn. Among these we find none worth particularising till we come to Sir Antonio More, a native of Utrecht, who, having attained to great eminence in Spain, was sent to England to paint the portrait of Queen Mary as the intended bride of Philip II. He remained in England during the whole of that reign, and at the queen's death returned to Spain. More had formed his style upon the schools of Italy, and his pictures display a good knowledge of chiaro scuro.

Elizabeth appears to have had no real taste for the arts—she encouraged them only as far as she could make them subservient to her vanity; and so anxious was she concerning the transmission of her features to posterity, that, as has been noticed

* Walpole (Anecdotes of Painting), giving a long catalogue of obscure names from a contemporary writer, says, "I quote this passage to prove to those who learn one or two names by rote, that every old picture they see is not by Holbein, nor every miniature by Hilliard or Oliver."

in a preceding Chapter, she issued a proclamation in 1563 forbidding the multiplication of her portraits by any but "special cunning painters:" "and yet," says Walpole, "to do the profession justice, they seem to have flattered her the least of all her dependants—there is not a single portrait of her that can be called beautiful. The profusion of ornaments with which they are loaded are marks of her continual fondness for dress, while they entirely exclude all grace, and leave no more room for a painter's genius than if he had been employed to copy an Indian idol totally composed of hands and necklaces. A pale Roman nose, a head of hair loaded with crowns and powdered with diamonds, a vast ruff, a vaster fardingale, and a bushel of pearls, are the features by which every body knows at once the pictures of Queen Elizabeth." Under the influence of the royal patronage portrait became the fashion, and there are few of the distinguished personages of the Elizabethan period whose features have not been transmitted to us, in pictures more valuable for their scrupulous fidelity to nature, of which they bear with them the most unquestionable evidence, than for their merits as works of art, being mostly of the Flemish and Dutch schools, which it must be remembered were still in their infancy, and whose great masters had not yet appeared. But the art was not left without encouragement on a more extensive scale: Lucas de Heere, a native of Ghent, executed several considerable works in this country: he painted a gallery for the Earl of Lincoln, representing the costumes of different nations, in which he introduced the well-known witticism of an Englishman naked, with a bale of cloth by his side and a pair of shears in his hand, as a satire upon our fickleness in fashion. Henry Cornelius Vroom, a native of Haarlem, was employed by the Earl of Nottingham, and designed the tapestry representing the defeat of the Spanish Armada, which afterwards decorated the walls of the House of Lords, and perished in the fire of 1834.* From Italy we had Frederic Zuccaro, who arrived in England in 1574, after making a great reputation on the continent; but his stay was short, and his performances limited to portraits. In Nicolas Hilliard we at length find a native artist worthy of record. He was a painter of great talent in miniature. Queen Elizabeth sat often to him, and his works are numerous. In his style he professed to imitate Holbein, but he never approached the colouring of that great master, who gave his miniatures all the vigour of oil painting, though he attained to great neatness of execution. He was greatly surpassed by his pupil Isaac Oliver, with whom we may close the catalogue of painters of the sixteenth century. Oliver improved himself under Zuccaro, and studied the works of Parmegiano. Although he painted history and worked in oil, yet his reputation rests upon his miniatures, which are highly prized. He drew well, and his handling is delicate in the highest degree.

The state of sculpture during the latter part of the sixteenth century offers nothing to detain us. In sepulchral monuments the Gothic principle remained unaltered. The altar-tomb, the recess, and the canopy maintained their ground, Italianised, and resplendent with marbles and gilding, but greatly overloaded with meretricious and unmeaning decoration. The sculpture has as little to recommend it as the architecture. The old recumbent effigy is indeed varied by the introduction of the kneeling attitude, but we shall seek far to find either in one or the other a spark of sentiment or the slightest tendency to rise above mediocrity either in taste or execution. A single statue of this period in Westminster Abbey, that of Lady Elizabeth Russel (existing in a woful state of dilapidation), is perhaps the first promise of a better style. She is represented as seated in a contemplative attitude, and pointing to a *memento mori* at her feet: it has nothing further to recommend it, however, as a work of art; and the costume it might defy a Chantrey to idealise. We had lost the noble simplicity of our earlier sculptors, and had as yet gained nothing in return. Decorative sculpture was in no better state. It is, with little exception, coarse and inelegant. The contrast is painful when we look at the progress of sculpture among the French, who, in the interval since the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII., had profited by the lessons of foreign artists to raise one of the most finished of the modern schools, which was at this time in a high state of prosperity under Jean Goujon, Pilon, and other native sculptors.

In Scotland there is little to record of the fine arts during this period, save that one transient gleam fell upon them during the reign of the accomplished James V. Like his contemporary, Henry VIII., he sought to improve the taste of his country by attracting foreign artists into his service; and his buildings clearly indicate by their style that he derived his architects (as might be expected) from France. James V. added greatly to the palaces of Linlithgow, Stirling, Falkland, and Holyrood. The first-mentioned, which was his own birth-place and that of his daughter, he rendered one of the noblest palaces of the age. His gold coin called the "bonnet-piece," because it bears his head surmounted by the national cap, is a specimen of the art of medalling of very extraordinary merit, but its author is unknown.

* See ante, p.675.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HISTORY OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

E shall commence this Chapter, as usual, with a notice of the chief novelties in articles of furniture, and of civil and military costume, which were introduced in the course of the present period, illustrating our descriptions in most cases by engravings of the objects referred to. The furniture of the sixteenth century received a most important addition in the appearance of the looking-glass. "Mirrors of polished steel," says Sir S. Meyrick, in his introduction to Shaw's magnificent work, "had been known to the ancients, and were still used, set in silver or ivory, until the commencement of the fifteenth century; but these were very small, and merely to hold in the hands . . . ; but suspended looking-glasses were afterwards imported from France. Thus, in the privy-purse expenses of Henry VIII. in 1532, we meet with 'payment to a Frenchman for certayne looking-glasses:' and at Goodrich Court is a fine specimen of one of the time of Queen Elizabeth, which Mr. Shaw has engraved for this work. It is dated 1559."

Round tables with pillar and claw are seen in paintings of this time. Montfaucon has engraved a very handsome table in a representation of a chamber of Henry II., king of France; and in Shaw's work is a table of the time of Henry VIII., with a folding top, and another very handsomely carved, the original of which is at Leeds Castle, the date about 1600. Willemin's work, which we have already frequently alluded to, contains some fine specimens of richly-carved buffets, in the last style of Gothic architecture; and in George Rixner's Thurnier-buch are several plain ones of the time of Elizabeth. Mary Queen of Scots made Ronsard a present of a buffet of silver.

In the engraving in Montfaucon above mentioned, an elegant bed of the sixteenth century will be seen. The great bed of Ware is another fine specimen; and a bedstead of the time of Henry VIII., at Lovely Hall, near Blackburn, is engraved in Shaw.

A clock, of the date of 1540, is in the palace at Hampton Court. It is said still to go tolerably. Horace Walpole, in his description of Strawberry Hill, mentions in the Library "A clock of silver-gilt, richly chased, engraved, and ornamented with fleurs-de-lys, little heads, &c. On the top sits a lion holding the arms of England, which are also on the sides. This was a present from Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn; and since from Lady Elizabeth Germaine to Mr. Walpole."

CLOCK AT HAMPTON COURT.

At Goodrich Court is a curious table-clock, of German manufacture, the engravings of costume on which show it to be of the time of Queen Elizabeth. It is about fourteen inches in height, of metal, partly gilt, and partly silvered. It has two bells, and a double set of hours—that is, from 1 to 24, illustrating Shakspeare's lines:—

> "He'll watch the horologe *a double set*,
> If drink rock not his cradle."—*Othello.*

In the Elizabethan room at Goodrich Court are a napkin-press, some fire-dogs, and an *arriere dos*, or *rere-dosse*, as it was corruptly called, enriched with armorial bearings, with a small brass fender of the same period. Chairs of the time of Elizabeth are yet to be seen in many of the houses of our nobility. Among the most splendid may be mentioned those at Penshurst Place, Kent, with the couch to match, engraved in Shaw's work. The chair in which Queen Mary was crowned and married, being a present from the Pope, is still preserved in Winchester Cathedral. It has been engraved in the Antiquarian Repertory; and a

chair of the same description is given in plate 7, vol. iv. of Montfaucon's 'Monarchie Française,' from an illumination representing Anne, queen of Louis XII., receiving a book from Jean de Marets. In the next plate of the same volume the queen is seated on a high-backed bench, at a table, on tressels, while her ladies are squatted like Turks upon the floor. Behind them is a cabinet, wardrobe, or buffet, upon which stand two candlesticks, and by its side a *square* birdcage.

Straight high-backed armed-chairs, with the centre and bottoms stuffed and covered with velvet, are of the sixteenth century. A good specimen is presented to us in plate 14 of the 5th volume of Montfaucon. Mary Queen of Scots is seen leaning upon it. In the same volume, plate 22, is a chair of state of a different shape, and more like those at Penshurst.

A chamber-organ, executed at Vienna in 1592, is engraved in Shaw's work. "In the sixteenth century," says Fosbroke, in his 'Encyclopædia of Antiquities,' "we find carpets of English work, with arms in the centre; a square board carpet-cloth for the table, with arms in the midst of it; one large carpet *for a coop-bord;* carpets fringed with crewell." Turkey carpets are mentioned as early as the seventh of Edward VI., and are frequently alluded to in the reign of Elizabeth; but they were used more for covering tables than floors. The latter in rooms of state were generally matted, and in the other apartments strewed with rushes. A rich carpet or green cloth was spread before the throne; from which circumstance knights dubbed upon it at coronations, &c., were called carpet-knights, in distinction to those that were made in the field and for military service. In Gage's Hengrave mention is made of "a great foulding skreene of seaven foulds, with a skreene cloth upon it of green kersey."

Forks were yet strangers to an English dinner-table. Knives were first *made* in England, according to Anderson, in 1563. A meat-knife of Queen Elizabeth's, mentioned in Nichols's 'Progresses,' had "a handle of white bone and a conceyte in it." In the same work we read of "a dozen of horn spoons in a bunch," as the instruments "meetest to eat furmenty porage with all;" also of "a folding spoon of gold," and "a pair of small snuffers, silver-gilt."

Among the presents to Queen Elizabeth we find "a standish of ibiney (ebony), garnished with silver, with ij boxes of silver for inke and dust, with a looking-gl[illegible]s in the inside of the cover:" and Wolsey is sa[illegible] by Stow to have used a standish of silver-gilt. [illegible]zabeth also received as a gift "a desk to w[illegible] on with divers devices, and a pair of tables [illegible] chess-board, three silver boxes for the compe[illegible], sand and ink, and forty compters."

The male [illegible]me of the wealthier classes in the reign of He[illegible] consisted of a fine shirt of long lawn, embroide[illegible] with silk round the collar and wristbands; and a doublet, the sleeves of which were sometimes composed of two pieces each, fastened at the shoulder and the elbow, with laces or points through which the shirt protruded, and sometimes only slashed at the elbow, as in the reign of Edward IV. To this were added the stomacher, over which the doublet was laced, and petticoat; a long coat or gown, with loose [illegible]

General Costume in the time of Henry VII. Selected from L'Imagination de la Vraye Noblesse, Royal MS. 19 C. viii. and Roman de la Rose, Harl. MS. 4425.

hanging sleeves and broad turn-over collars of velvet or fur; long hose of two or more colours, and broad-toed shoes or slippers, or (for riding) high boots to the knees. The shirts were worn low in the neck, and showed a few inches above the stomacher or doublet. The hood during this reign was abandoned to official habits, and in lieu of it were worn broad felt hats and caps, and bonnets of velvet and fur of various shapes, profusely laden with ostrich and other feathers. Sometimes the large plumed cap or hat is seen slung behind the back, the head being covered with a smaller cap of velvet or gold net-work. The hair was worn exceedingly long, the face closely shaved; soldiers and aged persons alone wearing beards or moustaches. In support of some of these statements we may quote—1st. 'The Boke of Kervynge,' in which the king's chamberlain is directed to warm his sovereign's "petticoate, his doublet, and his stomacher, and then put on his hosen, and then his shoes or slippers, then straiten up his hosen mannerly, and tie them up, then lace his doublet hole by hole." 2ndly. Barklay's 'Ship of Fooles,' first printed in 1508, in which mention is made of fops who had their necks

> "Charged with collars and chaines
> In golden withes, their fingers full of rings,
> Their necks naked almost to the raines,
> Their sleeves blazing like unto a crane's wings;"—

and others with their shirts

> "Border'd and display'd in form of surplois."

3rdly. The play or morality of 'Nature,' written by Henry Medwell, chaplain to Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, in which Pride, speaking of Man, says:—

> "Then shall his hosen by stryped
> With corselettys of fyne velvet slyped
> Down to the hard kne,
> And fro the kne downward
> Hys hozen shall be freschly gard
> With colours ij or thre."

The same personage says:—

> "I love yt well to have syde here (side or long hair or locks)
> Half a wote (foot) byneth myne ere,
> For ever more I stand in fere
> That myne neck sholde take cold."

It may be as well to mention here, that the family colours of the House of Tudor were white and green; those of Lancaster white and red; and those of York murrey (or purple) and blue. Red and blue, from the colours of the royal arms, were still the national colours. In the twenty-seventh of Henry VII. payment was made to a tailor for making four coats of white and green sarcenet for four of the king's minstrels; and four coats of white and green sarcenet for four of the king's trumpets at 2*s.* the coat.

The same authorities may be referred to for the female costume of the period, in which the great variety of fashions apparent at the same time renders a verbal description almost impossible. The principal features, however, are the slashing or dividing of the sleeves, the square cut of the bodies in the neck, and the laced stomachers. High head-dresses are seldom seen during this reign. Simple cauls of gold network, from under which the hair hangs negligently down the back; turbans, of an eastern size and magnificence; and a sort of hood which looks as if it were the lower part of the steeple head-dress with a round crown to it, fitting close to the head, are the prevailing modes of coiffure; and rich girdles, with chains or ends pendent in front nearly to the feet, the principal novelty in the way of ornament.

The military costume of the time is distinguished by the war-helmet, taking the form of the head, and being furnished with a pipe behind instead of on the top, from which one or more feathers of enormous length trail down the back to the very crupper of the horse. The passguards or plates rising perpendicularly on the shoulders to guard the neck are of this reign; and the globular breastplate of one piece, with a petticoat or puckered skirt of velvet over an apron of chain-mail, and sometimes a steel skirt made in imitation of the velvet one, and called *lamboys*, from the

SUIT OF FLUTED CAP-A-PIE ARMOUR. Temp. Hen. VII.

Suit of Black Armour of a Knight of St. George. Temp. Hen. VII.

Suit of Demi-Lancer's Armour. Temp. Hen. VII.

French *lambeaux*, are characteristics of the armour of this reign. Long tapets or cuishes, composed of overlapping plates to the knee, below which the armour was occasionally discontinued, were worn by the demi-lancers and infantry. Fluted suits, as they are called, are first seen about this time; and the toes of the sollerets are made preposterously wide in conformity with the shoes of the period.

Tilting Helmet of the time of Henry VII.

The tilting-helmet is very flat-topped, with a salient angle in front, instead of rounding off as in the reign of Henry VI. It is still surmounted by the orle or chaplet and crest.

The shape of the shield becomes more and more fantastic. The tabard of arms is still occasionally worn, but much less frequently, and disappears altogether after this reign. The sword is distinguished by a ridge down the centre on both sides of the blade; and the halberd, first mentioned in the reign of Edward IV., became, about this time, a regular weapon of infantry.

The hand-gun, improved into the harquebus, and furnished with a matchlock in form of the letter S reversed, was also brought into common use. In Hans Burgmair's Triumph of Maximilian the arquebussier of the commencement of the sixteenth century is seen fully equipped. The yeomen of the guard, which corps was established by Henry VII., were armed half with bows and arrows and half with harquebusses.

The costume of the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. has been made familiar to every schoolboy by the numberless prints of those monarchs after the portraits by Holbein. It consisted of a doublet with full bases or skirts, and large sleeves, over which was worn a short, full cloak, with arm-holes, through which the sleeves of the doublet passed, but to which other sleeves were occasionally attached, either over those of the doublet, or hung loose by way of ornament behind. It had also a broad rolling collar of fur, velvet, or satin. The hose were either long and fitting close to the shape like the Norman chausses, or divided

1.—GLAIVE-BLADE OF THE TIME OF HENRY VII.
2.—SWORD ENGRAVED BY ALBERT DÜRER BEFORE 1528.
3.—MILITARY COSTUME ENGRAVED ON THE ANNEXED SWORD.
4.—HALBERT-HEADS OF THE TIME OF HENRY VII.

GENERAL COSTUME IN THE TIME OF HENRY VIII Selected from Holbein's 'Dance of Death.'

MEN'S CAPS, HATS, AND BONNETS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. From Mr. Ady Repton's Tapestry.

into two portions, called the upper and nether stocks, the latter of which finally retained the name of stocking; "to stock the hose" being to add the inferior portion, and various entries occurring of velvet, satin, cloth, &c., for "stocking of hose."*

Caps bordered with feathers, and what were called Milan bonnets, "dressed with aglets," *i.e.* aiguillettes, were the general head-coverings of the beaux of the day. Mr. Ady Repton, in the 24th volume of the Archæologia, has exhibited a curious collection of the most remarkable hats, caps, and bonnets of this period. The shoes were worn exceedingly broad at the toes, and slashed and puffed, as was frequently the whole habit in every direction. Hall speaks of a garment called a frock, which he says was a sort of coat, jacket, or jerkin, made like them occasionally, with bases or skirts. He also mentions the *chammer* or *shameu*, which he describes as "a gown cut in the middle." A vestment called a *glaudkyn* is mentioned in some of the earlier inventories. The materials of which the dresses of the nobility and gentry were composed were of the most magnificent description; and the common people, as in all ages, attempted to vie with them in splendour of apparel, which occasioned a sumptuary law to be promulgated in the twenty-fourth year of Henry's reign, limiting the use of furs of black jennets to the royal family, and furs of sables to the nobility above the rank of a viscount. Crimson or blue velvet, embroidered apparel or garments, guarded (bordered) with gold sunken work, were forbidden to any person lower than the sons and heirs of barons and knights; and velvet dresses of any colour, furs of martens, chains, bracelets, and collars of gold, were forbidden to all persons possessing less than two hundred marks per annum. The sons and heirs of such persons might, however, wear coats of black velvet or damask, tawney-coloured russet or camlet. Satin and damask gowns were confined to the use of persons possessing at least one hundred marks per annum; and the wearing of pinched, *i.e.* plaited, shirts, garnished with gold, silver, or silk, was forbidden to all persons under the rank of knighthood. The commonalty and serving-men were limited to the use of cloth of a certain price and lambs' fur only, and forbidden the wearing of any ornaments, or even buttons of gold, silver, or gilt work, excepting the badge of their lord or master. Howe, the continuator of Stow's Annals, tells us that the apprentices of London wore about this time blue cloaks in summer, and in winter blue coats or gowns (such being a badge of servitude); their stockings being of white broad cloth, sewed close up to their round slops or breeches, as if they were all but of one piece.

The hair, which had been worn so exceedingly long in the preceding reign, was now cut as remarkably close; Henry having issued peremptory orders to all his attendants and courtiers to "poll their heads." Beards and moustaches were worn at pleasure.

The principal novelty during the reign of Edward VI. appears to have been the introduction of the very small flat cap (like that still worn by the Blue-coat boys of Christ Church Hospital, founded by him) placed on the side of the head,

* So, in France, the upper part being called the "*haut* de chausses," and the lower the "*bas*," the word BAS alone has since been used to signify what we call the stocking.

GENERAL COSTUME OF THE TIME OF EDWARD VI.
Selected from the Ancient Picture of his Coronation Procession from the Tower to Westminster.

and ornamented by the higher classes with a small tuft of feathers, jewels, &c.

The general costume of this period is represented in the series of prints published by Vertue, of which the greater portion are engraved in this work, viz., the meeting of Henry VIII. and Francis at the Field of the Cloth of Gold; Henry VIII. granting a Charter to the Company of Barber-Surgeons; the Procession of Edward VI. from the Tower to Westminster; and the same monarch founding Christ Church Hospital. The same artists who have made us so well acquainted with the male habit of this period have also familiarised us with the appearance of the females in the foregoing reign. The portraits of Henry's six queens, particularly those of the three first, Catherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, and Jane Seymour, are as well known as those of their husband and his offspring, and leave little for the pen to do beyond the naming of the separate articles composing their visible attire. The gown appears to be cut square in the neck, as in the last reign, but to open in front to the waist, so as to show the kirtle or petticoat. The sleeves of the gown varied in form, but were generally composed of materials richer even than the gown itself, and were attached to it at pleasure. Waistcoats are mentioned in this reign, for women as well as for men, and, as we find them described sometimes as being of the richest stuffs, such as "cloth of silver embroidered," and "with sleeves," it follows they must have been partially seen. The neck, which had been left uncovered during the preceding century, was now enveloped in a sort of habit-shirt, with a high collar and small ruff, called a *partlet*. In the inventories of the period we meet with "partlets of Venice gold knit," "partlets of Venice gold caul fashion," "partlets of white thread," and "of white lawn wrought with gold about the collars."

The gowns had trains or not, according to the prevailing fashion. Anne of Cleves, on her first interview with Henry, wore "a rich gowne of cloth of gold raised, made round without any trayne, in the Dutch fashion;" and the gown of Catherine Parr, in 1543, is said to have had a train "more than two yards long." The wife of John Whitcomb, the famous clothier, is described as being attired in a fair train gown stuck full of silver pins, having a white cap on her head with cuts of curious needlework under the same, and an apron before her as white as driven snow. Her maidens were dressed in stamel red petticoats with milk-white kerchers on their head, and their smock-sleeves like the winter's snow, tied with silken bands at the wrist. The head-dress of the higher classes of females at this period concealed almost entirely the hair.* The most frequently named are "the French hood," and "the Milan bonnet," which latter they wore as well as the men. The former was most probably the head-dress in which Jane Seymour is represented,"† and which is so commonly seen in portraits of this age. Yet this in some measure answers the description of the miniver caps, which Stow says were worn in this reign, and which he describes as being white, *three square*, and the *peakes* full *three or four inches from the head*. The aldermen's wives, he says, made bonnets of velvet after the fashion of these miniver caps; but at the time he wrote, he adds, they were almost forgotten. It is very difficult to recognise some articles of dress from written descriptions, however elaborate. This sort of head-

* Except in bridal dresses, when it was allowed, as in older times, to stream down the shoulders from under the caul.
† See ante, p. 394.

dress was worn in a variety of forms down to the time of Charles I.; and in one of its shapes has, from the unfortunate wearer, become popular under the title of a "Mary Queen of Scots cap." Two other articles are mentioned in the reign of Henry VIII. as being worn beside the bonnet and French hood, namely, the *bon grace* and the *cornet*. From Hall we learn that the latter was made of black velvet, and worn with the bonnet and caul by Anne of Cleves. The *bon grace* was worn with the French hood, but of what material or how arranged, is not clear. Mr. Ady Repton, in the 27th volume of the Archæologia, has added a curious assortment of ladies' head-dresses of this period to his former contribution of the hats and caps of the gentlemen. He quotes also Lyson's Cheshire to show that, in the 32nd of Henry VIII., Henry Gee, mayor of Chester, "to distinguish the head-dresses of married women from unmarried," ordered "no unmarried woman to wear white or other coloured caps, and no woman to wear any hat unless when she rides or goes abroad into the country (except sick or aged persons), on pain of 3*s*. 4*d*."

Of the armour and weapons of this period we have many splendid existing specimens in the national collection as well as at Goodrich Court. The most interesting of all, perhaps, is the suit of armour in the Tower, presented to Henry VIII. by the Emperor Maximilian on the marriage of the former to Catherine of Arragon. Sir S. Meyrick, to whom the public are indebted for the discovery of the fact, as well as for the recovery of a portion of the suit which had been detached from it, has given an elaborate description of it, with specimens of the engravings upon it, in the 22nd volume of the Archæologia; but an engraving of the suit itself is now, we believe, for the first time published. It is remarkable for the lamboys, or puckered skirt of steel, in imitation of the dress of the day before mentioned, and which may be seen depicted upon the great seal of this monarch, and in the prints of the Triumph of Maximilian, by Hans Burgmair.

The distinctive mark of the armour of this reign is the revival of what is called the tapul on the breast-plate, which, from being at first globose, rises to a line or edge, and towards the middle of the reign presents a salient angle in the centre; a fashion which will be better understood by the accompanying cuts from a series.

Raised armour, the forerunner of the embossed, was introduced in this reign, the ground being frequently kept black, and the pattern (raised about the tenth of an inch) polished.

Armour puffed and ribbed, in imitation of the slashed dresses of the time, was occasionally worn. A specimen at Goodrich Court is engraved by Skelton, from whose work we present two or three other suits of the time for battle and for the lists. The tilting-helmet disappears altogether in this reign. It was superseded by the coursing-hat and mentoniere, a variation of the salade and gorget of the past century.

To the list of weapons we have to add the wheelock-gun, invented by the Italians, and the pistol, so called from its being made at Pistoia in Tuscany, with its variety, the dag or tacke, which differed from it merely in the shape of the butt-end.

The general military costume of the time

Ladies' Head-Dresses of the Sixteenth Century. From Mr. Ady Repton's Tapestry.

SUIT OF ARMOUR, WITH LAMBOYS, PRESENTED BY THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN TO HENRY VIII.

BREAST-PLATES OF THE TIME OF HENRY VIII.

exhibited in a collection of drawings marked Augustus III., among the Cotton MS., Brit. Mus.; the paintings of the "Embarkation of Henry VIII.," and the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," engraved in this work; the Tournament Roll of Henry VIII., A.D. 1510, &c.

There does not appear any very striking change in the costume of England upon the accession of Mary. The small flat caps were still worn; but occasionally a conical crown is seen, preparing us for the approaching fashions of Elizabeth and James. The stuffed upper stocks became a still more important and obvious portion of attire; and the broad and square-toed shoes reached to such a pitch of extravagance as to be prohibited by proclamation during this reign. In that of Elizabeth, however, we are presented with an entirely new style of dress, which has been rendered as familiar as that of Henry VIII.'s time to us by the numberless paintings and prints of the celebrated warriors, statesmen, and poets of the "golden days of good Queen Bess." Our limits, indeed, will not permit us fully to avail ourselves of the flood of authorities now beginning to pour upon us. To describe

Suit of Puffed and Engraved Armour. 1510

Military Costume in the time of Henry VIII. Selected from Cotton MS. Augustus III.

SUIT OF RIBBED AND ENGRAVED ARMOUR.
From Meyrick and Skelton's Ancient Arms and Armour.

COURSING HAT.

minutely the various fashions which arose during the latter half of the sixteenth century we should be compelled to transfer to our pages the greater portion of 'Stubbs's Anatomy of Abuses.' We must confine ourselves, therefore, to the mention of striking peculiarities and leave our engravings to tell the rest.

The general dress of the early part of this reign consisted in the doublet, deprived of its long skirts or bases, and showing the trunk-hose, breeches, or slops, distinguished, according to their peculiar cut or ornament, as the French, Gallic, or Venetian. Of the French we are told there were two sorts, one made very round,* and the other fitting closely and terminating below the knee in one or more rolls called canions or cannons.† The Gallic hosen were very large and wide, and reached to the knee only.‡ The Venetian hosen came below the knee to the gartering-place of the leg, and, instead of the canions, were fastened there by silken points or buttons.§ These fashions are all distinguishable in the prints of the time, and we give them here from the costumes of the different nations imitated by the English. A change from very large to very close breeches was made in the eighth year of Elizabeth (1566), and, in the fortieth (1598), we are told old fashions were revived.

The doublet fitted the body closely at first, but kept lengthening in the waist till towards the end of the reign it assumed a shape, by stuffing and "bombasting," which gave to it the name of the pease-cod-bellied doublet, a fashion which our merry friend Punchinello wears to the present day.

The well known ruff made its appearance very shortly after Elizabeth's accession, and continued to increase in size till it became, in 1595, "monstrous;" and, being set three or four times double, was of some fitly called "three steps and a half to the gallows."

Over the doublet was worn a cloak‖ of the Spanish, French, or Dutch fashion; or sometimes a jacket called a mandevil, or mandillian, with or without sleeves. To guard or border the cloak "with bugles and other kinds of glass" was a new fashion in Stubbs's time.

The conical and steeple-crowned hats came into fashion towards the close of this reign. Stubbs enumerates a vast variety of silk, velvet, taffety, wool, and beaver; and Mr. Ady Repton has collected them with his usual industry in plates 39 and 40 of the twenty-fourth volume of the 'Archæologia.' By an act of parliament passed in 1571, it was ordered that all persons above the age of six years (except "maidens, ladies, and gentlewomen, the nobility, and some others) should, on Sundays and holidays, wear caps of wool, knit and dressed in England, upon penalty of ten groats.¶ The stockings were now first ornamented with clocks ("quirks or clogs") about the ankles, and the shoes were *corked*, of all colours, and richly ornamented. The practice of

* Burgundian Costume, A.D. 1577.
† See figure of Henry III. of France, by Montfaucon.
‡ French Costume, 1581.
§ Venetian Costume, 1590.
‖ Vide German and Spanish Costume, 1577; and French, 1581.
¶ 13 Eliz. c. 19.

Costume.—French, 1574 (Montfaucon). .... German, 1577 (Weigel). .... Burgundian, 1577 (Weigel).

Costume.—Venetian, 1590 (Titian). .... Spanish, 1577 (Weigel). .... French, 1581 (Boissard).

wearing *pantoffles* or *slippers* is much ridiculed by Stubbs. How can they be handsome, he asks, "when they go flap, flap, up and down in the dirt, casting up mire to the knees of the wearer?"

The costume of the ladies in England during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth could not be better illustrated than by engravings of the many portraits of the sovereigns themselves taken at various periods of these reigns, particularly those of Elizabeth, of whom there are enough to form a chronological series.

On Mary's accession we find that, although in her thirty-seventh year, she suddenly changed the sober dress adapted to her former retired and serious habits for garments of the gayest description and the newest and most extravagant fashions. Noailles, the French ambassador, was so much struck by the excess to which she carried this taste as to make frequent allusions to it in his official dispatches. On the 7th of September, 1553, he writes, "She is one of the ladies in the world who now takes the greatest pleasure in dress;" and in another dispatch he describes her as most richly attired in gold embroidery, dressed

after the French fashion, in robes with great sleeves. He says she carries her fancy for fine clothing to such an extent as to make even the ladies who attend on her, although of the age of sixty, wear dresses of cloth of gold and gay colours as exquisite as he had ever seen them in France, even at the "advenement" of Francis or anywhere else. On the day of Mary's procession from the Tower to Westminster, previous to her coronation, he again mentions the French fashion of the dresses worn by the ladies of the court. This French fashion may be seen in the large picture of Mary now in the meeting room of the Society of Antiquaries.

A later fashion introduced gowns of velvet or other rich stuffs, made with short sleeves terminating at the elbow, but raised to a great height upon the shoulder, the under dress being composed of a sort of doublet or waistcoat like a man's, and a rich cloth of gold or silver petticoat, fully displayed by the branching off of the gown, which was only fastened across the chest. Stubbs mentions this masculine habit on its revival with some slight modifications in his time. "The women," says he, "have doublets and jerkins as the men have, buttoned up to the breast, and made with wings, welts, and pinions on the shoulder points, as man's apparel in all respects;" and in Ulpian Fulwell's Interlude, 'Like will to Like, quoth the Devil to the Collier,' printed in 1568, Nicol Newfangle, the Vice, says,—

> "I learned to make gowns with long sleeves and wings;
> I learned to make ruffs like calves' chitterlings."

The ruff of lawn or cambric was first worn, according to Stow, in the second year of the reign of Elizabeth, it having been made before that time of holland; and now when the queen had them of this new material no one could stiffen or starch them; she therefore sent for some Dutchwomen, who understood this mystery; and, in 1564, a Fleming, named Mistress Dingham Vander Plasse, came to England and obtained great reputation and much money by her excellence in the arts of starching and starch-making.

About the middle of the reign of Elizabeth the enormous fardingale was introduced; and the well-known costume in which her majesty went to St. Paul's to return thanks for the defeat of the Spanish armada, A.D. 1588, may be compared with the equally authentic portrait by Mark Gerrard, in his painting of the Progress of Elizabeth to Hunsdon House, engraved at p. 542 of this volume.

Of the head-dresses of this period there is a most elaborate account in Stubbs: the hair being "curled, frizled, and crisped, laid out (a world to see) on wreathes and borders from one ear to the other." Perukes and false hair were much worn by the court belles of the day. When Hentzner saw Elizabeth in the sixty-seventh year of her age, she wore false hair, and that *red;* and Mr. White, servant to the queen, writing to Mr. William Cecil, describes his having seen her majesty at Tutbury with *black* hair; but, he adds, "Mr. Knowles told me she wears hair of sundry colours." Mr. Repton remarks, in his 'Observations on Female Head-dresses in England,'* that, "in the various pictures of Mary Queen of Scots, in one she has auburn hair,—in another, black,—and in another, yellow," and quotes the following from a letter from Knollys to Cecil, published in Chambers's 'Life of Mary:'—"so that now here are six waiting women, although none of reputation but Mistress Mary Seaton, who is praised by this queen to be the finest *busker* (that is to say, the finest dresser of a woman's head of hair) that is to be seen in any country, whereof we have seen divers experiences since her coming hither; and, among other pretty devices yesterday and this day, she did set a curled hair upon the queen that was said to be a *perewyke*, that showed very delicately, and every other day she has a new device of head-dressing without any cost, and yet setteth forth a woman gayly well." The portrait of Elizabeth engraved at p. 540, ante, from the painting by Zuchero, exhibits a most elaborate head-dress. Besides these various modes of dressing the hair, there were worn caps, hats, and hoods of sundry descriptions. The "Mary Queen of Scots cap" has been already mentioned. Velvet hats are said by Stubbs to have been worn every day by almost artificers' wives; French hoods by every merchant's wife and "meane gentlewoman;" and hats of taffety, or "els of wools at least," by every poor cottager's daughter. He also mentions cauls of net-wire, that the cloth of gold, &c., with which the hair was sometimes covered, might be shown through, and "lattice caps with three horns or corners, like the forked caps of popish priests." These caps or bonnets of lattice or ermine were, by an ordinance for the reformation of gentlewomen's head-dresses about the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign, forbidden to all persons under the degree of a gentlewoman born and having a right to bear arms.†

Stockings of knit silk and worsted were first made in England during this reign. "Corked shoes, pantoffles, and slippers," are mentioned by Stubbs as being, "some of black velvet, some of white, some of green, and some of yellow, some of Spanish leather, and some of English, stitched with silk, and embroidered with gold and silver all over the foots, with other gewgaws innumerable." Looking-glasses and fans of ostrich feathers, with rich handles of gold, were frequently attached to the girdle. Jewellery of all descriptions was worn to excess, and gloves "sweetwashed" (*i. e.* perfumed), embroidered with gold and silver. Masks of black velvet came also much into fashion. Stubbs says, "if a man knew not their guise he would think he met a monster or devil."

The armour of the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth seldom came lower than the knee, complete suits being only used for jousting. The morion first appears in the reign of Mary, and undergoes various alterations in form through that of Eliza-

* Archæologia, vol. 27.

† Harleian MS. 1776.

Suit of very Long-Breasted Armour.

beth. The breast-plates were made much thicker in order to be bullet-proof; and, towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, assumed the shape of the pease-cod-bellied doublet, armour invariably taking its form from the fashion of the civil dress of the time.

Carabines, petronels, and dragons are added to the fire-arms of this period. Troops called carabins are first mentioned as a sort of light cavalry in 1559. The petronel was so called from its being fired from the chest, and the dragon from its muzzle being generally ornamented with the head of that fabled monster, the troops who used it subsequently obtaining the name of dragons or dragoons. Camden tells us, in his 'Annals of Queen Elizabeth,' that she first caused gunpowder to be made in this kingdom "that she might not pray and pay for it likewise to her neighbours."

In proceeding to describe the public and private life of the English of the sixteenth century, as marked by the peculiar manners and customs then prevalent, we shall begin with a farewell notice of a subject which has already occupied a good deal of our attention. Formerly we had occasion to trace the rise, progress, and decline of chivalry; in the present period we witness its complete extinction. Much of the show, indeed, of the knightly and romantic, continued to be exhibited in the festivals that graced the courts of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth; but it was the show merely; the substance of chivalry, as an animating and sustaining element of the national life and strength was gone; feelings and courtesies derived from its spirit still enlivened and embellished social intercourse; but the jousts and tournaments that were still occasionally held were only a mimicry of the ancient knightly combats, the military character of which they had almost wholly thrown off, to assume that of mere holiday sports or pageants.

A circumstance which happened at the commencement of the present period may be quoted in illustration of the decay of the chivalrous spirit that had already taken place. As hunting was inconvenient in the months of May and June, Henry VII. gave permission to certain "lusty gentlemen," at their earnest request, to hold feats of arms in Greenwich Park, the objects of the petitioners, as stated by themselves, being "the eschewing of idleness, the ground of all vice, and the promotion of such exercises as shall be honourable, and also healthful and profitable to the body." The manner in which these feats of arms were ordered was in harmony with the peaceful principle that inspired them. On the 22nd of May a green tree was set up in Greenwich Park, and upon it was suspended a white shield, on which the names of those who accepted the defiance were inscribed; while two gentlemen, with their aids, held themselves in readiness, every Thursday and Monday, from the 23rd of May to the 20th of June, to answer all comers. The weapons were casting spears and bastard swords,—that is, spears without points, and swords without either point or edge; the number of blows was carefully limited; and, for further assurance of safety, no thrust was to be dealt, and no combatant, in closing, was to clutch the hand of his antagonist. Thus, every precaution was carefully adopted that the "healthful exercise" should indeed be worthy of the name, by rendering it as harmless as a game at quarter-staff, or a play with foils.*

Such was chivalry in the days of Henry VII. In the succeeding reign, Henry VIII.,—young, rich, enthusiastic, and skilful in every warlike exercise,—made some strenuous efforts to restore the days of Poictiers and Agincourt, and even the fabulous glories of King Arthur; but, powerful though he was, the spirit of the age was against him, and he could not raise chivalry from the dead. Throngs of knights and ladies were abundant at his call; and gay pavilions rose, and streamers fluttered, to assemble spectators, that they might look on, and applaud the valour of the combatants. But the perilous tournament, and the hot mêlée were no longer to be seen: the disporting champions jousted in pairs with rebated lances, or fought behind the shelter of barriers with edgeless axes; and though a well-bruised knight might occasionally go limping from the lists, yet every one could console himself with the

* Strutt's Horda Angel Cynnan. Introduction.

thought that nothing worse than to be beaten black and blue was now to be encountered. During the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary we hear little of these chivalrous pageants, which no longer enjoyed the fostering encouragement of royalty. It was natural, however, that they should experience a revival during such a reign as that of Elizabeth; but although the tilt-yard was now re-opened for the gratification of a virgin queen and female court, the knight only entered it to show the caracoling of his steed and the elegance of his horsemanship; and his chief aim was to break a spear gracefully and keep his seat firmly, the glory that might accrue from broken ribs or transfixed limbs never crossing his imagination.

As the joust superseded the dangerous tournament, so riding at the ring superseded the joust, and became so great a favourite that, by the end of this period, it was reduced to a regular science. This, the most graceful, as well as the safest of all the warlike exercises, consisted in careering at a small ring, and bearing it off upon the lance's point. Three courses were allowed at this most difficult mark, which was suspended nearly on a level with the rider's eyebrow; when, if the point of the weapon was so judiciously aimed as to enter the circle, the fastening yielded, and the ring was borne off in triumph on the extremity of the lance.

One effect of the cessation of the ancient chivalrous combats was the rise of the *duello*, or duel; a change which introduced an entirely new system of fence. Instructors in the use of the sword now became so numerous that a fencing-school was to be found in almost every town in England. The masters of this science were considered of such public importance that, in the reign of Henry VIII., they were formed into a corporation by letters patent. We find, also, that titles and privileges were conferred upon them, according to their degrees of proficiency. During their noviciate, the tyros in fencing were called scholars; after they had acquired a certain amount of skill, they were raised to the rank of provosts; and when they had attained the highest step of their profession, they were called masters. These two last degrees could only be obtained by public trials of skill, after which the successful candidates were allowed to give lessons in their mystery.*

The first combats that were waged, whether in sport or earnest, after the lists had been abandoned, were those of sword and buckler; and notwithstanding the apparently formidable character of these weapons, such encounters were comparatively harmless, on account of the conventional laws that constituted "fair play." The combatants only struck with the edge of the sword, and on no occasion were permitted to foin; and it was thought unmanly to strike beneath the girdle.† Dexterity in the use of these weapons quickly became universal, as handling them grew to be a favourite sport; and a common practice in London, on holidays, after evening prayers was, for the young apprentices to exercise themselves before their master's door with "bucklers and wasters." The buckler in general use is described as having been about a foot in breadth, with a spike four or five inches long in the centre.* A different kind of weapon for the duel, however, was introduced into England during the reign of Elizabeth, by a certain desperado named Rowland York: this was the rapier, a thrust of which was more deadly than the stroke of a sword, and parried with much greater difficulty. A complete revolution had therefore to be made in the science of fence; and while the foin now became the chief mode of attack, a dagger wielded in the left hand, for the purposes of parrying, superseded the use of the buckler. This innovation is thus deplored by Porter in his comedy of 'The Two Angry Women of Abingdon':—"Sword-and-buckler fight begins to grow out of use; I am sorry for it; if it be once gone, this poking fight of rapier and dagger will come up; then a good tall sword-and-buckler man will be spitted like a cat or a rabbit." This doleful prediction was soon accomplished. The new weapons, after having been adopted by the nobility and gentry, were naturally assumed by the inferior orders, while the sword and buckler were now so much despised that the term of swash-buckler was applied to the bully whose combats were attended with more noise than real danger.

As hot blood and rivalry were very abundant in the court of Elizabeth, much time and attention were devoted to the study of fencing; and as the use of the rapier was most complete in the schools of the continent, and especially of Italy, young gentlemen went thither to be perfected in the science, while foreigners were frequently invited to give lessons in London. These teachers were at first particularly chary in communicating their choice hits to any except their favourite pupils; and to enhance the estimation of their profession, they were accustomed to teach with closed doors, after having searched every place in the apartment to ascertain that no lurkers were within. A science thus cultivated was naturally refined upon; and as if rapier and dagger had not been sufficiently deadly, the use of what was called a "case of rapiers" was sometimes introduced in the foreign schools, and the pupil was taught to wield one in each hand, at the same instant, with equal dexterity and effect. As the superior length of the weapon also gave a decided advantage to an assailant, many were in the habit of wearing tucks of a most preposterous length. But Elizabeth put down this unfair practice in the same fashion that the Czar Peter reformed the beards of the Russians a century later. She stationed grave citizens at every gate, who broke the points of the rapiers that exceeded a yard in length, and reduced them to the common standard. It is important to observe, in conclusion, that this new mode of encounter was at length attended with happy effects. As the science of fence continued to improve, it was soon

* Camden—Ascham. † Camden.

* Stow.

discovered that the rapier was too dangerous to be lightly provoked, while skill in the use of it was not so easily procured as in the handling of sword and buckler; and therefore, even before the close of the reign of Elizabeth, we are informed by the annalist, that "suddenly the general quarrel of fighting abated."*

Another important change took place during this period in the practice of archery, an arm of national power which had hitherto been of higher importance even than chivalry itself in the defence of the country and the maintenance of its greatness.

During the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., notwithstanding the introduction of fire-arms, the bow still continued to be the principal weapon of an English army; and the deadly execution which it wrought at Flodden, as well as on subsequent occasions, still seemed to vindicate its ancient reputation. The statutes, accordingly, still enforced the practice of archery with as much rigour as ever, prohibiting unlawful games, and inflicting severe penalties on such as used the hand-gun and the cross-bow. By a law of Henry VIII. a fine of 10*l.* was denounced against any one who kept a cross-bow in his house; and every subject in the kingdom, except those who were exempted by age, infirmity, or office, was required to keep a bow and arrows, and exercise himself in shooting. Fathers, guardians, and masters of apprentices, were also commanded to teach the male children under their care the use of the bow, and compel them to shoot on holidays, and at every convenient season. Henry was himself an excellent archer, and delighted in meetings of his subjects for the purpose of competition in shooting. At one of these held at Windsor he was so much pleased with the remarkable skill of a citizen from Shoreditch that, in a merry mood, he invested him with the title of Duke of Shoreditch,—a mock-dignity long afterwards retained by the captain of the London archers, who was thereby entitled to select the marquises, earls, and lords of his mimic court. But the efforts of this king to retard the departure of English archery were as abortive as his efforts to revive the spirit of ancient chivalry. It was found that the arrow that flew like the silent pestilence was less effective than the wasting thunderbolt of modern warfare; and in a very few years after the close of his reign the "grey-goose wing" had almost ceased to carry death in the

* Holinshed.—Stow.

Cross-Bow Shooting at Butts. Royal MS. 19 C. viii.

battle. Towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth we find that the people were allowed to shoot, or not to shoot, as they listed, and with such weapons as suited their own good pleasure, while the long-bow was chiefly used as an instrument of the chase, or for the purposes of healthful exercise.

In taking leave of the subject of English archery, as we must do in this chapter, we may stop for a moment to explain the causes to which it was indebted for its peculiar excellence. It will be found that the surpassing dexterity of our bowmen was the result of extraordinary care and diligence bestowed upon minutiæ very seldom attended to or thought of in the holiday work of modern archery. In the first place, great care was taken that the material selected for the bow-stave should combine the requisite strength and elasticity. On this account the yew was preferred by the bowyers of England for the fabrication of the national weapon, and the piece chosen required to be free from every kind of knot or defect. After it was properly seasoned, great skill was required in the fashioning and smoothing of the stave, so that it should taper, by fine and just degrees, from the centre to the extremities. If this point were neglected the necessary strain upon the weapon would break it. With regard to the string, if it was too hard, or too fine, it would cut the wood of the bow; and if made of coarse materials, it was apt to break, and leave the archer defenceless; and therefore, "God send us good stringers!" ejaculates old Ascham with very proper devotion, for, even though in conflict the shooter should have two strings to his bow, which was generally the case, yet he was in danger of being cut down during the process of stringing it anew. This essential article, therefore, was generally made of silk, and twisted with abundance of care and skill. The shooters with the cross-bow, on the contrary, required strings of gut, on account of their great strength, to endure the strain in winding up the instrument; but, in damp or rainy weather, cords of this description often became useless, as was the case with those of the Genoese cross-bowmen at the battle of Azincourt. The English archers used to carry their bows in cases made of woollen or canvass cloth, by which such accidents were avoided. Even in time of peace, when the bow was laid up at home, it required very tender treatment to be kept in a serviceable state. It must not stand too near the wall, for the damp would injure it; nor in too dry a place, where it would become brittle; and it must often be carefully wiped and rubbed, to preserve its freshness and elasticity. The construction of a good arrow was as critical as that of a good bow; and the three several parts of which it was composed—the *stele* or shaft, the feathers, and the head—were all the objects of the most careful attention. The wood of the arrow for war was generally of asp; that for sport was selected from a variety of trees, according to the taste of the hunter. The feather was generally that of the goose: a grey feather was preferred, either because it was stronger or least liable to be detected and shunned by the person aimed at; and the second feather of the wing of the grey goose was deemed the best by the most skilful fletchers. Sometimes, as we find from the old ballads of Robin Hood, the arrow of a critical archer was feathered from the wing of the swan or the peacock, and bound at the notching with white silk. The arrow-heads were made of fine steel, and those used by the English archers were either broad or forked. The broad arrow had two sharp barbs pointing backwards to the feathers, and the forked arrow two pointing forwards. The other extremity of the shaft was notched with a hollow, either broad and shallow, or narrow and deep, according to the thickness of the string. In accordance with all this nicety in the manufacture of the ancient national artillery, the offices of the bow-maker, the fletcher, and the stringer, were all kept separate; excellence in any of these departments was a source of consideration and wealth; and a good bow, and well-tried sheaf of arrows, became an important family inheritance in the house of an English yeoman.

In the earlier days of English archery its followers repaired to the field of battle or the green-wood with nothing but their weapons; and in shooting they were only anxious to hit the broad figure of a man or a deer, without caring about any specified part. But when the importance of the bow had been more fully appreciated, a more exact degree of skill was cultivated; the training marks were made more difficult, and at the same time the resources of the archer were multiplied. He at length took the field with a bracer or close sleeve upon his left arm, made of strong materials, to guard his doublet, and perfectly smooth, that the rebound of the string might not be impeded; while upon his right hand he wore a shooting-glove, to protect his fingers from being chafed while drawing the cord to full stretch; and as the fore-finger was most employed in this action, the leather that covered it was thicker than that of the rest. His arrows were carried either in a quiver or in a sheaf at his belt. The shafts varied in head, weight, and thickness, to suit the nature of the mark, the distance to be reached, and the capricious changes of the wind.

Such was the difficulty in suiting the archer with proper accoutrements; but greater difficulty still remained in acquiring skill to use them. Even the first process of all—the bending of an English bow—was a feat which an English archer only could perform, on account of the nicely combined exertion of strength and skill which it demanded; and the second process, that of drawing the string, could not be achieved without considerable practice. Indeed, to acquire proper skill in archery with the mighty bow of England, was considered hopeless unless the practice was commenced in boyhood; and hence the urgency of those frequent laws that required male children to be trained in shooting, with bows corresponding to

their size and strength. In training himself at the public butts for actual service, the archer had first to select the arrow most proper for the mark to be shot at; and, having done this, he placed himself in an attitude by which strength of pull might be combined with steadiness of aim. If a wind rose, increased, or fell, he was obliged to make allowance accordingly—a process of calculation which long experience only could teach, but without which the mere aim was useless, as the arrow would swerve from the mark. In drawing the string, so as to bring the arrow up to the head for a strong and distant shot, the pull required to be firm and uniform, as a sudden strain would either snap the string or break the bow; and in letting loose, the arrow had to be delivered smartly, after a good aim had been taken, since the least hesitation would cause the hand to swerve. Among the many bad habits which young archers were apt to acquire, and which it was difficult to cure, one consisted in looking at the point of the arrow, instead of the mark, in taking aim; as a remedy for this, it was recommended to them to practise in the dark, with lights set up at proper distances.

One peculiarity in English shooting especially distinguished it from the archery of other countries. In drawing the cord of his strong rigid bow to the full stretch, the archer did not depend upon the strength of his right arm merely: on the contrary, he threw himself a step forward in the act, pressing with all his weight against the weapon with his left hand, so that arms, breast, and shoulders were all brought at once into full play; and while the arrow was so well aimed that it hit the mark, it struck with a force that plate and mail could seldom withstand.

From all this, we may perceive the causes in which the great superiority of the English bowmen originated, and need be no longer staggered at the almost miraculous shots which they frequently accomplished. In the old ballads, four hundred yards are sometimes mentioned as the distance at which the mark was set; and the mark itself was nothing but a slender hazel rod, that was to be cleft in two with a broad arrow. While such trials as these were probably confined to persons of first-rate skill, by an act of Henry VIII., no person above the age of twenty-four was allowed to shoot at a mark nearer than two hundred and twenty yards. From what has been stated we may also perceive the causes of that invincible dislike which the people evinced in every reign to the archery laws, and the necessity to which the legislature was reduced of increasing the penalties for disobedience to their requirements. The people felt it an intolerable bondage to be compelled to forego their merry village sports, for shooting at the butts under the directing eye of a master; and the long apprenticeship in the latter exercise, that lasted from infancy to matured manhood, seemed scarcely repaid even by the wonderful dexterity it conferred.

Chivalry and feudalism had made large trains of followers the appendages of rank, for the purposes of ostentation, ambition, or security; but now the nobles were obliged greatly to curtail their retinues, to suit the altered arrangements and spirit of the times. The age was now gone by when an earl could ride forth with a small army of well-harnessed followers, or man his castle with a powerful domestic garrison. The change, however was only gradually brought about. In the reign of Mary, some of the higher nobility had still two hundred retainers in their train. But Elizabeth would not grant license to any nobleman to entertain more than a hundred followers.* A similar change took place in the equipment of these retainers, whose weapons, when they were armed, now consisted simply of sword and buckler, and, towards the end of the period, of rapier and dagger. Even this piece of state was reserved for occasions of particular display; for every-day attendance the nobleman was content with a few of his unarmed domestics at his heel, while a favourite page or servant followed immediately behind him, bearing his rapier. A retinue such as that with which the king-making Warwick had been wont to enter the metropolis, would now have thrown London into an uproar, and the presumptuous noble into the Tower. The royal train, however, although it came to be a better ordered band than formerly, still remained excessively numerous. Elizabeth, when she removed from one place to another, on some occasions required for the conveyance of her household the services of twenty-four thousand horses from the county in which she had been residing. And yet the relater of this fact assures us, that the other contemporary sovereigns of Europe had still greater trains of attendants.† Those persons who were entertained for the purposes of public processions and other out-door attendance, besides knights, nobles, and guards, consisted of gentlemen-pensioners and yeomen. When Henry VIII. and also Elizabeth thus issued from the palace in regal parade, the people expressed their homage by falling on their knees, and remaining in that attitude till the sovereign passed by.‡

The attendants by whom the nobles were served consisted of three different classes. The first consisted of gentlemen of good family, and younger sons of knights and esquires. These waited upon the nobleman who, in feudal times, would have ranked as their chief, and either lived in his house as friends, or held the highest offices in his establishment; and while "he stood their good lord" in all difficulty and danger, and promoted their advancement by his patronage, they were considered bound to defend his interests, and, if necessary, to draw their swords in his behalf. The

* Strype. † Harrison's Description of Britain.

‡ Hentzner's Itinerary. Hentzner was a German, who has written an account of his travels through various countries of Europe, in good Latin. He visited England in 1598, and the portion of his work relating to this country was translated and published by Horace Walpole, in 1757.

next class, who were properly called *retainers*, were persons of a much inferior description. Their duty was to attend their lord on processions and public occasions, without living in the house, or performing any menial services; and for this they had a hood and a suit of clothes annually, together with daily maintenance and occasional gratuities. The servants, properly so called, were those who lived in the house, and were chiefly confined to its domestic services. They wore the livery of their office, which generally was a blue coat, together with a badge of silver, shaped like a shield, on the left arm, and having engraven on it the coat-of-arms or device of the master. The same badge of cognisance was also worn by the retainers. Persons of much lower degree had also their attendants, partly for protection, partly for show. The citizens of London and their wives, for example, were attended in their evening excursions by their prentices, who carried a lantern or candle in their hands, and a stout club on their shoulders.*

* Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare.—Holinshed.—Stype.—Stow.

STATE CARRIAGE OF QUEEN ELIZABETH. From Hoefnagel's Print of Nonsuch Palace.

As Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth were, equally with their subjects, great lovers of pageants and processions, the wealth of town corporations, and the talents of cunning artificers, were largely employed to gratify the prevailing taste; and poetry, pyrotechny, and painting exhausted their resources, to welcome the royal entrance into tower and town. In general these exhibitions were sufficiently absurd and puerile—the personages of which the pageants were composed still consisting of a rabble-rout of giants, dragons, hobby-horses, monsters, virtues, vices, religious personifications, and the nine worthies, as in much earlier times; and the common accompaniments of the show being the hissing and blazing of fireworks, the pealing of bells, the thundering of ordnance, and the deafening clangour of all kinds of music. "The English," says Hentzner, "are vastly fond of great noises that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannon, beating of drums, and ringing of bells." "It is common among the people," he adds, "for a number of them that have got a glass in their heads to get up into some belfry, and ring the bells for hours together for the sake of exercise." These sights and sounds stunned the senses of foreigners, who used to say that the English either had too much money, or did not know how to get rid of it. We may notice one or two specimens of this kind of foolery. Grafton, in describing the procession of Mary through London, before her coronation, tells us that "at the upper end of Gracechurch-street, there was a pageant made by the Florentines; it was very high, and on the top thereof there stood four pictures; and in the midst of them, and the highest, there stood an angel all in green, with a trumpet in his hand; and when the trumpeter, who stood secretly within the pageant, did sound his trumpet, the angel did put his trumpet to his mouth, as though it had been the same that had sounded." Another exhibition, presented before Queen Elizabeth at Norwich, in 1578, was a choice assemblage of rare and splendid scenery and personifications, among which Mercury paraded before her majesty in a coach, "the whole whereof was covered with birds, and naked spirits hanging by the heels in the air, and clouds cunningly painted out, as though by some thunder-crack they had been shaken and tormented."* One of the parts of this Norwich pageant, however, was of a more interesting character. In St. Stephen's parish the foreign artisans had prepared a spectacle, into which neither god nor knight was admitted, but the object of which was to illustrate the processes and recommend the encouragement of some of the most important branches of the national industry. A stage, forty feet in length and eight in breadth, was erected, from the top of which to the ground was a slope, resembling a free-stone wall, covered with paintings that represented the different kinds of weaving, from the finest to the coarsest fabrics. Upon the stage were eight little girls spinning worsted-yarn at one end, and as many knitting worsted hose at the other; while a boy, who stood in the midst, representing the commonwealth of the city, addressed the queen in a poetical speech, describing the profitableness of

* Nichol's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.

such occupations to society. One verse will serve as a specimen of this new school of poetry:—

> "We bought before the things that now we sell;
> These slender imps, their works do pass the waves;
> God's peace and thine we hold, and prosper well;
> Of every mouth the hands the charges saves.
> Thus through thy help, and aid of power divine,
> Doth Norwich live, whose hearts and goods are thine."

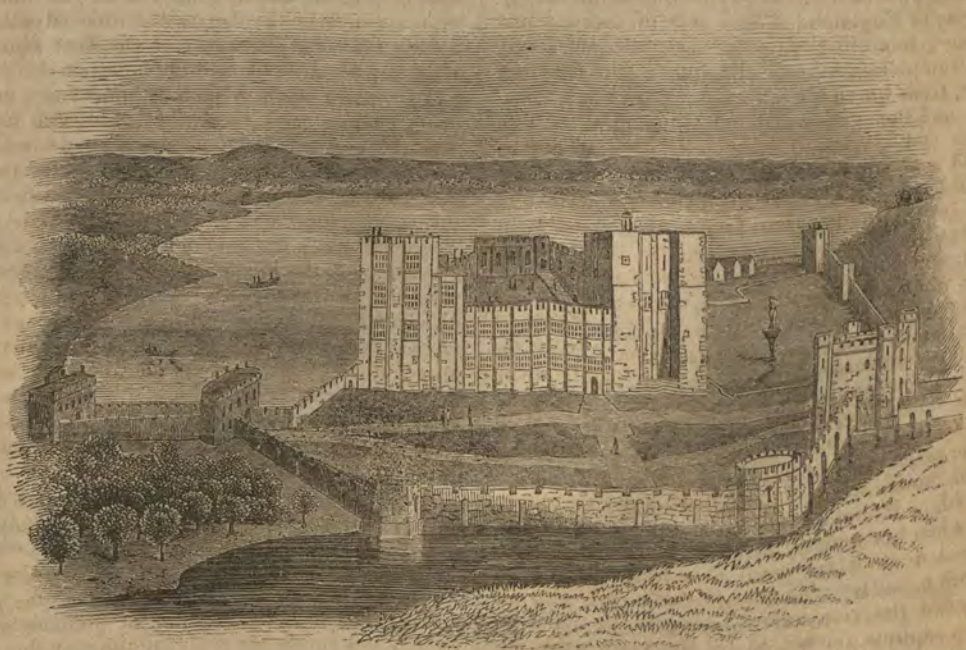
While the nobles, knights, and gallants of the royal train probably looked upon this mechanical display with lordly scorn, little dreaming that such utensils were so soon to supersede their swords and truncheons, Elizabeth's masculine good sense regarded it with very different feelings. "This show," says the ancient chronicler of the progress, "pleased her majesty so greatly, as she particularly viewed the knitting and spinning of the children, perused the looms, and noted the several works and commodities which were made by these means."*

But the utmost of splendour and refinement which courtly pageants had attained during the reign of Elizabeth was displayed in those of Kenilworth, when the queen made a progress thither to visit the Earl of Leicester, in 1575; and as the exhibitions on this occasion have been minutely detailed by two writers, each admirably qualified in his way for the task,† we shall select, and condense from their narratives, a few particulars of this memorable visit.

* Nichol's Progresses.

† George Gascoigne, an accomplished soldier, courtier, scholar, and poet, who always appended to his signature the motto "*Tam Marti quam Mercurio*;" and Robert Laneham, clerk of the council-chamber, who has been permanently embalmed in Sir Walter Scott's Kenilworth. Gascoigne, like a true poet, gives a copy of all the verses and speeches, while the lively Laneham confines himself to the pageants and shows. Both tracts are reprinted in Nichol's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.

Before the queen's arrival at the castle of her favourite, and when she had reached Long Ichington, he had prepared for her a splendid entertainment, in a tent of such vast dimensions, that the pins of it alone composed seven cart-loads. The banquet being ended, the throng of nobles and attendants rose and proceeded to Kenilworth; when, on entering the park before the castle, the queen was greeted by one of the ancient Sibyls, in appropriate costume, who addressed her majesty with prophetic promises of glory, happiness, and a long life. The party then arriving at the immense pile of the castle-gate, found it guarded by a warden of correspondent dimensions, dressed in white silk, and armed with a club, while a bunch of huge keys hung at his girdle. This giant, being roused from his repose by the thronging and clamouring, demanded, in a ferocious speech, the cause of the disturbance; till, suddenly awe-struck by the lion-like port of the queen, he dropped on his knees, tendered his keys and club at her feet in token of submission, and ordered his trumpeters upon the wall to sound the welcome of the royal visitant. At this command six huge giants, each eight feet in height, and who represented the Anak-like men of the days of King Arthur, lifted their silver trumpets, of enormous length and calibre, to their mouths, and thundered forth the welcome of Queen Elizabeth to her castle of Kenilworth. These figures, however, that seemed to be flesh and blood, were (with the exception of the porter) nothing but pasteboard and buckram; and, as in the case of the pageant of the Florentines to Queen Mary, a living trumpeter stood behind each giant, to produce the music.



Kenilworth Castle, as it appeared in 1620. From the Fresco Painting at Newnham.

After the queen had entered, and left behind these "harmonious blasters," on her way to the gate that led into the base-court she passed the banks of a fair lake, upon the waters of which floated an island covered with reeds, and illuminated with torches, like a moving orb of light advancing through the gloom. In the midst of this splendour stood, attended by two hand-maidens, the long enchanted queen of romance, the Lady of the Lake, who, in a poetical speech, told her fair sister of the Britons' race, that she had dwelt concealed within the recesses of this lake ever since the days of her beloved King Arthur, because evil ages and generations had unceasingly vexed the land with war and confusion. But now, as a blessed reign and halcyon days had succeeded, she had emerged from her concealment, that she might deliver lake and dominion into the hands of such a sovereign. Elizabeth answered this address with sportive readiness. The lake, she said, she had hitherto accounted her own; but, as this had been an error, she would confer with the lady upon the subject at some more convenient time. A burst of music followed this dialogue; and the queen, passing onward through a scene that might have been taken for a part of fairy-land without the aid of such personages, arrived at a stately bridge six hundred feet in length, and fourteen in breadth; upon the posts of which were suspended rich gifts from the various divinities of the classical mythology. There were cages of all kinds of beautiful birds from Sylvanus; silver basins of rich fruits from Pomona; bowls of grain from Ceres; clusters of grapes from Bacchus; and other appropriate gifts from the rest of the deities, expressive of affection to the fair majesty of England. These acts of courtesy and homage, intermingled with abundance of poetry and trumpeting, ushered the queen into the inner court, from which she was conveyed to her chamber; and then followed such thundering of ordnance and blazing of fireworks "as if Jupiter would show himself to be no further behind with his welcome than the rest of his gods." The next day being Sunday, the forenoon was spent in domestic quiet and public devotion; in the afternoon, music and dancing succeeded; and at night there was such a display of fireworks as had never been seen in England; "with such continuance, terror, and vehemency," says Laneham, "that the eavens thundered, the waters scourged, the earth shook,"—meaning thereby that there was about as much noise, glitter, and smoke as would now be produced by an ordinary display of pyrotechnics in the poorest of our public tea-gardens.

On the afternoon of the following day the queen hunted. At night, after the hart had been killed, and when her majesty was returning, there issued from a part of the wood that was lighted with torches a salvage man (*hombre selvagio*), who approached the company, carrying in his hand an oaken sapling plucked up by the roots, while his body, in lieu of dress, was overgrown with moss and ivy. This hirsute child of the woods had been roused from the depths of his solitude by the strange concourse that had broken in upon his haunts; and he invoked his old companions the nymphs, satyrs, and sylvan deities, to come, and solve the subject of his wonderment. But the gods were either deaf or obdurate, and not one attended to his call; upon which he bethought himself of his loquacious friend Echo, and called upon her accordingly, with a long string of questions, the last word of each of which, responded by a distant voice, served as an answer to the query. By this mode of dialogue, which was then a favourite among other poetical conceits, the savage learned that he was now in the presence of the greatest of queens and goddesses, and, thunderstruck at such an awful intimation, he broke his tree in token of submission, and hurled the root to a distance. But here he acted his part with more zeal than discretion; for the blundering missive whizzed close past the queen's palfrey, to the great consternation of the courtiers, until she graciously assured them that she had received no hurt.

Tuesday was spent in music and dancing, and on Wednesday there was a hunt. On Thursday a sport was exhibited, which, without doubt, was more grateful to a large portion of the company than anything that Olympus or Fairy-land could have furnished. This was nothing less than the baiting of thirteen bears; and in the extatic description of Laneham we have the whole mystery of the bear-garden most vividly pictured. "It was a sport very pleasant of these beasts," he exclaims, "to see the bear with his pinkey eyes leering after his enemy's approach; the nimbleness and wait of the dog to take his advantage, and the force and experience of the bear again, to avoid the assaults: if he were bitten in one place, how he would pinch in another to get free: but if he were taken once, then what shift with biting, with clawing, with roaring, tossing, and tumbling, he would work to wind himself from them; and when he was loose, to shake his ears twice or thrice, with the blood and slaver about his physiognomy, was a matter of a goodly relief." After the spirits of the spectators had been sufficiently refreshed by this "goodly relief," the evening was closed with peals of ordnance, and showers of fireworks that cracked, hissed, and blazed for the space of two hours; while the company within doors were entertained with the exhibitions of a lithe Italian tumbler, a perfect master in posture-making, who astonished all beholders by his wonderful feats of agility.

On Friday and Saturday the weather was damp and gloomy, so that no sports could be followed out of doors. On Sunday, however, after a "fruitful sermon" in the parish church, the rustics from the surrounding country assembled at the castle to celebrate a rural wedding in presence of the queen, and amuse her with running at the quin-

tain ;* and here a scene was exhibited that might be said, whether designedly or not, to turn all the exercises and games of chivalry into burlesque. The jovial yeomen who prepared to do their *devoir* were all in that motley array, or rather disarray, that served to make the sport more ludicrous; and in the zeal with which they couched their poles, and spurred their ragged, ill-trained horses to the charge, the fear of falls and broken bones was magnanimously set at nought. The revolving horizontal beam did its duty well: it wheeled at the slightest touch, while the sand-bag thrashed the shoulders of the unwary without mercy; and many a bold tilter, who missed the mark with the spear-point, had his head dashed against it in his blundering career, so that the ground was soon littered with prostrate men and horses, amidst the vociferous laughter of the noble spectators. When this kind of sport had sufficiently breathed the gallant riders, they divided into two bands, and, couching their staves against each other, they hurtled together like knights in the *mêlée* of a tournament, until all was involved in the most diverting pell-mell confusion. "By my troth!" ejaculates Laneham, "'twas a lively pastime: I believe it would have moved some man to a right merry mood, though it had been told him his wife lay a dying." Another sport succeeded, equally well adapted to the taste of the spectators. This was the Coventry game, representing the defeat and expulsion of the Danes, which had been annually celebrated in that ancient town until of late years, when it had been preached down by the severity of the Reformation; but now it was proposed to be exhibited by the Coventry men before the queen, in the hope that "it would move some mirth to her majesty." Consent was graciously given; and the conflicting armies entered, composed of horse and foot, the cavalry being mounted on (or rather enclosed in) hobby-horses of wicker-work, and the flowing caparisons with which they were adorned concealing the feet of the man, while he imitated the prancing and galloping of a real steed. The combatants couched their poles of alder, and rushed to the conflict; and after plenty of ludicrous distress, as well as many a serious thwack, the Danes, who seemed repeatedly to be on the eve of victory, were at last overcome, when they were bound, and led off in triumph, by the patriotic women of England.

These few specimens will convey some idea of the manner in which nineteen days were spent, for so long the royal visit lasted. We must not omit, however, some account of a pageant, or masque, which was devised in honour of the queen. The subject was the delivery of the Lady of the Lake from her enchanted durance. As the queen was returning with her train from hunting, and about to pass the noble bridge already mentioned, Triton reared his figure, half man, half fish, from amidst the lake; and after he had approached her majesty he delivered a moving supplication from father Neptune in behalf of the imprisoned fair one. The lozel Merlin had pursued the Lady with his rude and unwelcome love, for which she had spell-bound him within the hard ribs of a rock. But, in revenge of this, a villanous kinsman of the wizard, one Sir Bruce Sans Pitie, had waged war against the chaste enchantress, and would long since have obtained possession of her person, but that Neptune, in pity, had enclosed her within the shelter of this lake. Merlin, however, among his other prophecies, had declared that the lady could not be delivered from the violence of her foe except by the presence of a better virgin than herself; and under this doom she had pined in captivity for many an age. But now the glorious period had arrived—a better virgin was here! Let but the Queen of England stand still for a short space, and her presence would suffice to put Sir Bruce and his powers to flight. Triton then commanded the waters to be still, and the fishes to depart, while the Lady of the Lake should obtain her release by the might of the sovereign maiden. The queen advanced a few steps upon the bridge, when the sedgy island once more made its appearance, floating on the water, and the lady herself, attended by her nymphs, gave thanks to the queen for her deliverance, declaring that the pitiless Sir Bruce "and all his bragging bands" had now fled from her irresistible presence. When this part of the exhibition had ended Proteus appeared upon a huge dolphin, that was conveyed through the water upon a boat, the oars of the concealed rowers of which were made to resemble the animal's fins; a band of musicians being concealed within the dolphin, who burst forth into a glorious concert of melody, while the sea-deity sang the thanks of the delivered enchantress, and of all the nymphs and gods of the sea, to the mighty, the chaste, and the beautiful Queen of England.

In leaving these "princely pleasures of Kenilworth," we may observe that, notwithstanding the abundance of mirth, pomp, and flattery with which every hour was crowned, the original programme was materially curtailed in consequence of the time proving insufficient for the exhibition of all the intended devices. It was designed, for instance, before the deliverance of the Lady of the Lake, to have shown an onslaught of her enemies upon her castle; and in this case a stirring conflict was to have been exhibited in which the combatants would have appeared to walk on the water. Among such a complication, too, of actors and mechanism, it was to be expected that something or somebody would occasionally be at fault. This was the case in the pageant of the Lady of the Lake. When the spell by which she was enthralled was broken, Henry Goldingham, a mad wag of the court, and one of the chief contrivers of these spectacles, was to have figured as Arion riding upon a dolphin, in which character he was to regale her majesty with a song. But, when he should have commenced, his voice had grown so hoarse and husky from

* For an account of the quintain used by the rustics and yeomanry, see vol. i. p. 651.

his cruise in the lake, that he found himself unfitted for the task; upon which he tore off his vizor, and swore that he was none of Arion—no, not he—but only honest Harry Goldingham; "which blunt discovery pleased the queen better than if it had gone through in the right way."* As some of the choicest wits of the age had been employed in contriving the speeches, they exhibited abundance of learning, as well as touches of good poetry. The selection, also, of water for the greater part of the exhibitions was in excellent taste, as reflecting the maritime character of the country, and one of the chief glories of Elizabeth's government, the comparatively high efficiency to which she had raised the national navy. Of this judicious choice the Earl of Hertford was so conscious, that when the queen was about to honour him with a visit, having no natural lake like that of Kenilworth upon his demesnes, he caused a large artificial one to be excavated in his park, that he might regale her with water-pageants.

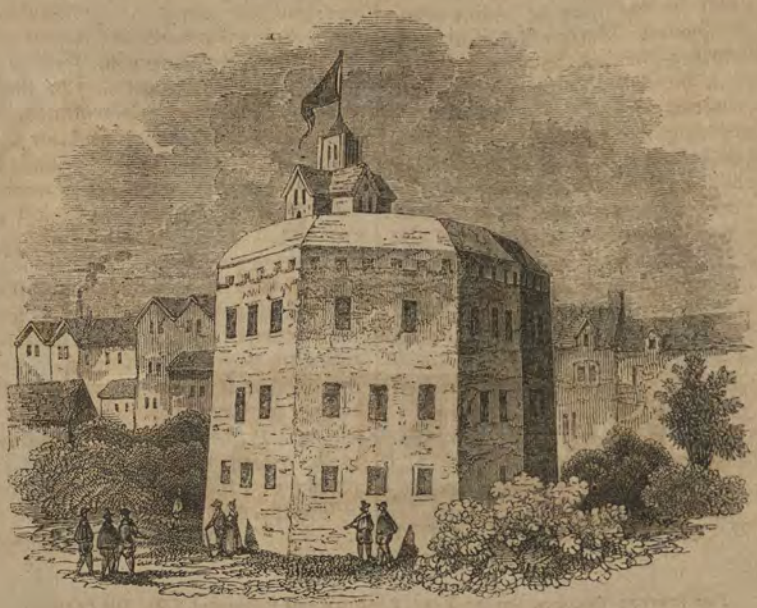
The Ludi, or court spectacles of former periods, had now risen in dignity, and might be considered as possessing an intermediate character between the masque and the pantomime. These sports were especially cultivated and improved by Henry VIII. and his favourite Wolsey, who found in them abundant opportunity to display their magnificence and taste. Sometimes, in an exhibition of this kind, a moving rock, or a mountain decorated with trees, flowers, and herbage, slowly entered the hall, and, after remaining stationary for a few moments, opened, and poured from its recesses a gay throng of knights and ladies, or allegorical personages, who danced and sang, or performed some interlude before the noble guests. After the play was ended the actors returned to their place of concealment, the gap closed, and the towering pageant, moving upon its hidden wheels, departed as it had entered. Besides these exhibitions, regular masquerades so early as the time of Henry VII. began to form a court amusement, and in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth were carried to a high state of improvement.*

The present period commences a very important

* Sir Walter Scott has made good use of this incident in the tale of Kenilworth.

* Stow.—Hall.—Holinshed.

PERFORMANCE OF A DRAMATIC MYSTERY AT COVENTRY.



The Globe Theatre. From Vischer's View of London, 1616.

era in the history of the English drama. To the Miracle Plays and Mysteries succeeded a more sober species of dramatic representation called Moralities; in which the dialogues were carried on chiefly by allegorical personages; while, to relieve the dryness of such discussions, the Vice (who was the buffoon of the performance) flourished his dagger of lath, belaboured the actors, and kept the audience in a roar of laughter by his boisterous merriment. The attempts that were made to turn these farcical exhibitions to account in forwarding the cause of the Reformation have been already noticed in the Chapter on the History of Religion; and in the Chapter immediately preceding the present we have sketched the course by which they were gradually refined and elevated into the regular drama. It is sufficient to observe here, that in the space between the beginning of the present period, when the Mystery was still in the ascendant, and its close, when Shakspeare had written many of his imperishable productions, the drama for a time exhibited, as was natural, a blending of the old and the new spirit,—an intermingling of the dim and departing shadows of allegory with the men and the manners of real life that had come to chase them from the stage. Even the plays that both immediately preceded and accompanied those of Shakspeare still continued to blend the shadowy and supernatural with the real and familiar, so that they were frequently nothing but Mysteries and Moralities of a higher class; and it required nothing less than a mind of such gigantic power as his, as well as such an intense love of truth and nature, to exorcise these phantoms from the drama, and people it with natural events and beings of flesh and blood.

But even after such glorious productions as those of Shakspeare, Ben Jonson, and their illustrious contemporaries, had awakened the public mind to the true feeling of dramatic art, the necessary apparatus by which the play assumes the character of a living reality was miserably inadequate; so that, unlike the ancient productions of Sophocles and Euripides, which were exhibited in magnificent temples, and lavishly embellished in the representation at the public expense, the happiest dramatic creations of the age of Elizabeth could find no better shelter than a shed. The improvement of the drama that then took place was so rapid that it reached perfection long before the other arts that should have aided it. Parallel, also, with this improvement, a spirit had been growing among a large portion of the people hostile to all dramatic representation. The theatre, therefore, at first, was neither a national, nor yet an intellectual place of resort; it was neither patronised by the government, nor for some time by more than a very small section, and that the least wealthy and influential section, of the public. Nor were the circumstances of the players much improved when they were incorporated into companies, and taken under the protection of some powerful nobleman; for then they only received a livery, and a menial's wages. Thus, the first regular theatres in London were nothing but large wooden booths; the dresses of the actors were neither rich nor yet in keeping

THE FORTUNE THEATRE, GOLDEN LANE, BARBICAN,—as it appeared, 1790. Old Print.

with the characters they represented, being for the most part their every-day attire; and as for scenery, when such could be had, it was of the most beggarly description, so that the shifts to which Bottom and his companions had recourse, in playing Pyramus and Thisbe, were actually the melancholy expedients of many actors of this period. It more frequently happened that scenery there was none whatever; and, to direct the imaginations of the audience, a label was suspended over the front of the stage to tell in what place or country the action was going on. This defect is ridiculed by Sir Philip Sydney, in his 'Defence of Poesy.' "Now," he says, "you shall see three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden. By and by we hear news of a shipwreck in the same place; then we are to blame if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that comes out a hideous monster with fire and smoke; then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave. While in the mean time two armies fly in, represented with four swords and two bucklers; and then what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field?"

When a regular theatre had thus been established, plays at first were acted only on Sundays; but Gosson, in his 'School of Abuse,' complains that the actors generally contrived to make at least four or five Sundays every week. A rule was subsequently made to close the theatres on the Wednesdays, that the sport of bull-baiting might not be interrupted. The hour at which the play commenced was one o'clock; and, to mark the time, a flag was hoisted on the top of the building, where it remained till the close of the entertainment, which continued about two hours. The play of each day was previously announced by a placard set up on posts in the public places. The price of admission on common occasions was very trifling; but it was raised when a new piece was performed. Instead of doors on the stage, by which the actors might make their entrances and exits, there were stripes of a curtain, over each of which was the name of the character whose porch it was meant to represent; and the actor during the play was to keep wholly to the use of his own stripe, unless the performance required him to enter the house of another. The stage was strewn with rushes; a cresset like that by which churches were lighted was suspended over it, and, if it happened to be enriched by a piece of scenery, this remained stationary during the whole performance. At the back of the stage was a gallery eight or ten feet high, into which those performers retired who were required by the stage directions to overlook the characters below. At this time dress-boxes or even galleries were out of the question: the more fashionable part of the audience sate upon the stage, and paid sixpence for the stools with which they were accommodated, while their pages waited behind and supplied them with pipes and tobacco; and the common people were crowded in the "great wooden O, the pit," where, before the play commenced, and during its intervals, they amused themselves with reading, criticism, playing at cards, drinking ale, and smoking.* The piece was usually prefaced by a prologue; and the actor who spoke it was habited in a long black velvet

* Fruits according to the season, and also ale and wine, were generally sold in the English theatres.—*Hentzner.*

THE PARIS GARDEN THEATRE, IN SOUTHWARK. From Vischer's View of London, 1616.

cloak, and introduced with a flourish of trumpets. The performers played in masks and perukes, and the parts of women were given to young men and boys. As one play only was exhibited during the day, while the tastes of all had to be equally gratified, the deepest tragedies required to be mixed with mirthful matter, and the clown was often as important a personage as the hero.* It appears also that a new play, in those early days, had to pass through the fiery furnace of public criticism just as it does in the present; and in condemning an unfortunate piece by caterwauling, and other hideous sounds, our ancestors of the Elizabethan age were as clever, and perhaps as capricious, as their descendants.

The influx of wealth, and the progress of civilization, effected great changes during this period in the domestic life of the English. In the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII., unwieldly pomp and external glitter were still prized beyond domestic comfort; and though the latter monarch indulged in so prodigal an expenditure on attire and ornaments, the inventory of his furniture would scarcely excite the envy of a modern tradesman. His bedchamber contained nothing but a couple of joint cupboards, a joint-stool, two hand-irons, a fire-fork, a pair of tongs, a fire-pan, and a steel mirror covered with yellow velvet;† and notwithstanding the mountains of cloth of gold and brocade that figure in the confiscation of Wolsey's effects, the furniture of his palaces also was neither plentiful nor costly—most of the tables being made of wainscot or fir, and only one or two being of cypress wood. The chief domestic luxury of the English at this time was a good, soft bed—noblemen and other persons of wealth now courting repose upon down, covered with blankets of woollen, and sheets of fine Holland; and it is interesting to mark how rapidly this earliest of our modern luxuries increased in warmth, softness, ornament, and expense, proclaiming that the age of sedentary men had now fairly commenced. Some of these throne-like beds were distinguished by sounding titles, to mark their consequence; Wolsey had one called the Infantelege, and another called the Sun. In travelling also, the wealthy were no longer contented with the floor or a hard bench, when they rested on their journey, but generally carried portable beds trussed into leather cases along with them on horseback.* A good bed naturally suggested other comforts; and, accordingly, during the reign of Henry VIII., we find Turkey carpets coming into use. Before the end of the period, although a litter of rushes was still used at court, and in the theatres and other places of public resort, the dwellings of the wealthier classes abounded in Turkey carpets, and cloth of arras and silk; the apartments were stored with rich and comfortable articles of furniture; and they frequently exhibited plate upon their sideboards to the value of five or six hundred pounds.†

While such was the improvement in the domestic comforts of the higher orders, the progress

* As the jests of the devil and the buffooneries of the Vice had been indispensable in the most sacred parts of the Mystery and Morality, a similar gratification was demanded by the popular taste in the most pathetic parts of tragedy. Thus the clowns of Shakspeare were not adopted by him, but forced upon him; and all that he could do (and which he has certainly done) was to make the most of them.

† Harl. MS., quoted by Strutt.

* Ellis's Collection.

† Harrison.

was still greater among the commons. During the reign of Henry VII., indeed, we find no perceptible change in their condition from that of earlier times; and even for some time after matters were not improved; for "our fathers," says Harrison, "yea, and we ourselves have lain full oft upon straw pallets, on rough mats, covered only with a sheet, under coverlets made of dogs'-wayne or hop-harlot, and a good round log laid under their heads, instead of a bolster or pillow. And if the good man of the house within seven years after his marriage purchased a mattress or a flock-bed, and thereto a sack of chaff to rest his head on, he thought himself as well lodged as the lord of the town." But the change that had taken place by the time of Queen Elizabeth may be gathered from the fact, which we have on the same authority, that farmers and even mechanics were then able "to garnish their cupboards with plate, their beds with tapestry and silk hangings, and their tables with fine napery." In regard to personal comfort, too, their ideas had become proportionably refined; "For," says Stubbs, indignantly, "the meanest shirt that commonly is worn of any doth cost a crown or a noble at the least, and yet this is scarcely thought fine enough for the simplest person that is." It may be confidently affirmed that the household furniture and domestic comforts of burgesses and substantial yeomen were now greatly superior in many respects to what they had been among the nobility only a century previous.

In the article of diet as important a change took place as in household accommodations; and we now hear little of those gross hecatombs in the shape of feasts which were formerly usual. Still, indeed, fantastic subtleties, and other quaint devices of cookery were exhibited at state banquets, but they were now accompanied by an elegance that marked the advance of the age. Wolsey, the great master of luxurious living in his day, gave public feasts that, in refinement as well as abundance, might have graced the noblest tables of the nineteenth century. At one of these which he gave to the French ambassadors at Hampton Court, the halls were lighted with torches of wax in massive silver sconces; arras and cloths of state ornamented the different rooms, and cupboards appeared everywhere loaded with plate that blazed with precious stones, while the guests were ushered to table with a flourish of trumpets, and "a pleasant noise of musical instruments" continued during the time of the repast. The feast itself must have been a truly magnificent regale, according to the account of the chronicler; for, after labouring to describe the successive courses of everything that was rich and rare, until his language sinks under the weight of his subject, he thus concludes in absolute despair: "To describe to you the order, the dishes, the subtleties, and strange devices of the same, I lack both a head of fine wit, and also cunning in my bowels to declare these wonderful devices."*

* Stow.

The improvement, however, that had taken place by this time in English eating, although great compared with the former grossness, was still left far behind by the refinements of France and Italy. We find, therefore, from the account of the Venetian ambassador who visited England during the reign of Queen Mary, that foreigners were astonished at the immense quantity of provisions consumed by the English court; but he adds, that it was only a fourth part of what had been used during the preceding reigns.

The hours for meals among the upper classes were still, as formerly, eight o'clock for breakfast, twelve for dinner, and six for supper; but so late as the reign of Henry VIII. a slight meal, called an afternoon, occurred between dinner and supper, and another, called an after-supper, before retiring to bed. All these meals, except the chief one at noon, exhibited little variety,* consisting generally of chines of beef or mutton either roasted or boiled, and bread, with copious draughts of ale, wine being used chiefly at the after-supper. Thus the delicate ladies of the court, as well as hungry citizens and robust squires, commenced and concluded the day with broiled steaks or mighty surloins, and flagons of brown ale, even to the end of this period. During the reign of Elizabeth, however, moderation in the number of meals had become pretty general; the afternoon wholly disappeared; and, as for the after-supper, when indulged in at all, it was generally a very slight refection. Thus, even the gluttonous Falstaff himself is furnished by Shakspeare with nothing more substantial after supper than sack and anchovies.

A dinner now afforded a striking display both of the wealth and improved manners of the period. The nobility had discarded entirely their huge joints of salted beef, and platters of wood and pewter, together with the swarms of jesters, tumblers, and harpers, that formerly had been indispensable to the banquet-room; a stately ceremonial and solemn silence were considered to be the indications of true politeness; and the table was daily set out with a large variety of dishes consisting of beef, mutton, veal, lamb, pork, kid, coney, capon, pig, or so many of these as the season afforded, with store of red and fallow deer, and varieties of fish and fowl.† All kinds of fruits, pastries, and confections followed, along with an equally extensive variety of wines and liqueurs. The guests washed before they dined, rose-water and perfumery being abundantly ministered on the occasion; and they were ushered in dignified order to the table, according to their several ranks. It would appear that the hat was generally worn during the banquet; and this enabled the wearer more gracefully to pledge a health, or acknowledge

* Even hares and quails had to be imported alive from the continent during the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII., as there were too few in England to meet the demand.—*Talbot Papers.*

† In the article of poultry, we find that swans, cygnets, cranes, and storks, were among the choicest dainties, from the high prices at which they are charged in the account-books of this period.

a compliment, by doffing it. The wine and other liqueurs were not placed upon the table with the dishes, but on a sideboard, and each person called as occasion required for a flagon of what wine he preferred; by which, as Harrison informs us, much idle tippling was avoided. When the company had finished eating, the remaining provisions were sent to the waiters and servants; and when these had sufficiently dined, the fragments were distributed among the poor, who waited without the gate. Besides the table for the principal guests, in the banquet-halls of the nobility, there were other tables set for the higher servants and officers of the household, and those guests whose rank did not entitle them to sit at the principal table. In this manner forty or even sixty persons were sometimes regularly entertained in one hall. This was still very far short of those armies of retainers who feasted in the castles of the barons in former times; but more fastidious tastes, richer fare, and greater expenditure in dress, ornaments, and furniture, had made the ancient wasteful hospitality impossible to be retained.*

The stately ceremony and imposing silence by which the banquets of the nobles were distinguished during the reign of Elizabeth was nothing compared with the altar-like sacredness that fenced the table of the queen, and the solemn genuflections amidst which it was covered, a full account of which is given by Hentzner, who was an admiring eye-witness of the whole, at the royal palace of Greenwich. "A gentleman," he says, "entered the room bearing a rod, and along with him another who had a table-cloth, which, after they had both kneeled three times with the utmost veneration, he spread upon the table, and after kneeling again, they both retired. Then came two others, one with the rod again, the other with a salt-seller, a plate, and bread; when they had kneeled, as the others had done, and placed what was brought upon the table, they too retired with the same ceremonies performed by the first. At last came an unmarried lady (we were told she was a countess), and along with her a married one, bearing a tasting-knife; the former was dressed in white silk, who, when she had prostrated herself three times in the most graceful manner, approached the table, and rubbed the plates with bread and salt, with as much awe as if the queen had been present: when they had waited there a little while, the yeomen of the guard entered, bareheaded, clothed in scarlet, with a golden rose upon their backs, bringing in at each turn a course of twenty-four dishes, served in plate most of it gilt; these dishes were received by a gentleman in the same order they were brought, and placed upon the table, while the lady-taster gave to each of the guards a mouthful to eat, of the particular dish he had brought, for fear of any poison. During the time that this guard, which consists of the tallest and stoutest men that can be found in all England, being carefully selected for this service, were bringing dinner, twelve trumpets and two kettle-drums made the hall ring for half an hour together. At the end of this ceremonial, a number of unmarried ladies appeared, who, with particular solemnity, lifted the meat off the table, and conveyed it into the queen's inner and more private chamber, where, after she had chosen for herself, the rest goes to the ladies of the court." But while the royal banquet was thus spread in public, the repast of Elizabeth was conducted within her own apartment, with the utmost simplicity and privacy. "The queen," observes Hentzner, in continuation, "dines and sups alone, with very few attendants; and it is very seldom that any body, foreigner or native, is admitted at that time, and then only at the intercession of somebody in power."

Even the tables of private gentlemen and merchants were now supplied not only plentifully but delicately. If the table, according to the puritanical Stubbs, was not crowded with dishes, it was not thought worthy of the name of a dinner. Every dish, too, had its appropriate sauce, and, at the third course, juncates and rich confections of spices were served up, consisting of quinces, pomegranates, oranges sliced and eaten with sugar, apples and pears, marmalade, prunes, raisins, dates, nuts, hard cheese, comfits, jellies of all colours, sugar-bread, gingerbread, and florentines. Cakes and puddings were in such abundance, that the Greeks were astonished at the vast quantities of currants exported from their country to England; and they supposed that the English used this delicate fruit either for the processes of dyeing, or for fattening hogs.* And while high and abundant living thus distinguished the men of worship and substance, a share of the general plenty had descended to the inferior classes, and even the humble artificer could now obtain all the different kinds of butcher meat.†

Of the different sorts of animal food, that which was in greatest request among the English was lamb. The boar's head was still reckoned the choicest of luxuries, but was no longer confined to kings and nobles. Rosemary was plentifully used in ornamenting favourite dishes. Amidst the wealth and love of rich fare by which the latest portion of this period was distinguished, the science of cookery was racked to produce strange inventions; among other things we read of three sucking pigs taken from the sow as soon as she had farrowed, and fed a fortnight with dates and muscadine, after which they were dressed and brought to table with puddings in their bellies.‡

Such dinners as were now in fashion required something more elegant than the naked plank of a table on which to be arranged, and therefore

* Edward, the third Earl of Derby of the family of Stanley, who died in 1572, was the last of the English noblemen who maintained the old style of open and unbounded housekeeping: "with whom," says Camden, "the glory of hospitality was in a manner laid asleep."

* Fynes Moryson.
† Holinshed.
‡ Massinger's City Madam. We learn from Fynes Moryson that the English cooks were reckoned superior *to all others* in the department of roasting.

BRINGING IN THE BOAR'S HEAD AT CHRISTMAS.

table-cloths came into general use, some of them being so fine as to cost twenty pounds. This article of elegance at last became common among tradesmen, and even mechanics; and during the time of Elizabeth the place of the master at table was furnished with the addition of a napkin. After the meal a flat wooden knife was used to take up the crumbs.* A French writer informs us that, at dinner, the English ate soft saffron cakes stuck with raisins with their beer, and that they used less bread and more meat than his countrymen. Among different kinds of bread in use at this time, the manchet was made of the finest wheat; the chete-bread was a greyish-coloured loaf, made of wheat, from which the coarsest of the bran had been sifted; the ravelled-bread was a coarser sort of chete-bread, containing a larger portion of the grosser parts of the grain, and more slightly baked, used in the households of the nobility and gentry; and the brown bread was of two kinds; the one baked of husk and flour together as they came from the mill, the other of bran, with a little wheat or rye added, whence it was called misselen, that is, bread of mixed corn.† We are told that, as yet, the English peasantry preferred brown bread made of rye or barley to white, "as abiding longer in the stomach,"—an economical principle that still savoured of the former poverty.‡ Amidst all the innovations in luxurious living that had now taken place, a fork at table, as we have already mentioned, was still unknown: bread and meat were presented upon the sharp point of the knife; and the fingers of the left hand made regular visits to the platter, and conveyed to the mouth what the carving of the right hand had prepared.

In consequence of all this abundance the modern characteristic English custom of assembling to eat in love and good fellowship had now fairly commenced; the lord mayor of London became, *ex officio*, the grand impersonation of the national hospitality, being required, during his year of office, to keep open table, where every native or stranger was welcome who could find an empty chair;* and the comfortable exclamation, "I have dined as well as my lord mayor!" became the crowning eulogium of a good meal among all classes of the people.† Civic feasts, too, on public occasions, frequently figure among the events in the reign of Elizabeth.

Fifty-six different kinds of French wine, and thirty-six other kinds, of which the strongest were most in request, are stated to have been now imported into England to the amount of thirty thousand tuns annually; and, besides this, the nobility were allowed to import a certain quantity free of duty. These wines were seldom drank in their natural state, but sweetened with sugar. This simple addition, however, was not enough, and

* Strutt. † Holinshed. ‡ Moryson.

* Hentzner. † Holinshed.

sometimes the draught had "sugar, lemon, and spices drowned therein;"* while a posset was often concocted of still more complex materials. Muscadine and sack, which were two favourite wines, were frequently brewed with eggs. Artificial and compound wines were also in extensive demand, and among these we often read of bastard; a wine made of raisins, of which there were two kinds, white and brown bastard. In addition to these, distilled liquors were frequently made in England, the chief of which were rosa-solis and aqua-vitæ. This last spirit became very plentiful, in consequence of great numbers of Irish who settled in Pembrokeshire in the reign of Henry VIII., and devoted themselves to the distillation of their national beverage, which, as it was both good and cheap, had an extensive sale over the kingdom.†

Excess in the use of wine and intoxicating liquors was now the common charge against the English; and it seems to be borne out, not only by the quantity consumed, but by the extent to which taverns had multiplied by the end of Elizabeth's reign. Of ale and beer, as well as of wine, we find various kinds mentioned. There were single beer, or small ale, which could do little more than quench thirst,—and double beer, which was recommended as containing a double quantity of malt and hops,—and double-double beer, which was twice as strong as that,—and dagger-ale, which, as the name implies, was reckoned particularly sharp and dangerous,—and bracket, a kind of ale which we are unable distinctly to describe.‡ But the favourite drink, as well as the chief article of vulgar debauch, was a kind of ale commonly called huffcap, but which was also termed "mad dog," "angel's food," "dragon's milk," and other such ridiculous names, by the frequenters of ale-houses:§ "and never," says Harrison, "did Romulus and Remus suck their she-wolf with such eager and sharp devotion as these men hale at huffcap, till they be as red as cocks, and little wiser than their combs." The higher classes, who were able to afford such a luxury, brewed a generous liquor for their own consumption, which they did not bring to the table till it was two years old. This was called March ale, from the month in which it was brewed. But the servants had to content themselves with a more simple beverage that was seldom more than a month old.‖ A cup of choice ale was often as richly compounded with dainties as the finest wines. Sometimes it was warmed, and qualified with sugar and spices; sometimes with a toast; often with a roasted crab or apple, making the beverage still known under the name of Lambs'-wool; while to stir the whole composition with a sprig of rosemary, was supposed to give it an additional flavour. The drinks made from fruit were chiefly cider, perry, and mum. Those that had formerly been made from honey seem to have fallen into disuse in consequence of the general taste for stronger potations; metheglin being now chiefly confined to the Welch. A simple liquor, however, was still used in Essex, called by Harrison, somewhat contemptuously, "a swish-swash," made of water with a little honey and spice, but "as differing," he says, "from true metheglin as chalk doth from cheese." He informs us, moreover, that already the tapsters of England had learned to adulterate their ale and beer with pernicious compounds.*

We have noticed in the preceding Chapter the extent to which intellectual acquirements now began to be fashionable in the higher ranks among both sexes. It may be added that, along with Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, females of rank and wealth were instructed in many graceful accomplishments and useful domestic arts, such as music and dancing, needlework and embroidery. While Henry VIII. was warring in France, the needle of Catherine was employed at home in the same cause: in writing to Wolsey, she says, "I am horridly busy with making standards, banners, and badges;" and when she was visited by the two cardinals, to obtain her consent to the divorce, she met them in housewife fashion, with a skein of white thread hanging about her neck, and excused herself from answering suddenly, as she had been at work among her maids.† Mary and Elizabeth, while princesses at least, were also industrious needlewomen: the latter presented to Edward VI., as a new-year's gift, a cambric shirt of her own making; and Anne Boleyn embroidered the tester of a bed for her husband.‡ Examples like these were sufficient to maintain the good cause of housewifery against the utmost force of Latin and Greek. The daughters of the nobility and gentry, especially when residing in the country, also took a share in the management of the household, and the superintendence of the dairy and poultry,—duties not then considered as derogatory to the highest rank and refinement. As making dresses was a part of female education, the art of setting them off to advantage was also studied; and when Mrs. Dingham imported the mystery of making starch into England from Holland, about the middle of the sixteenth century, the court ladies flocked to her for lessons in the preparation and use of this needful commodity to stiffen their enormous ruffs.§ The usual routine of a young gentlewoman's education at the end of Elizabeth's reign was, "to read and write; to play upon the virginal, lute, and cittern; and to read prick-song at first sight."‖

But amidst all this intellectual stir and promise of refinement, we still perceive a large portion of the old barbarous leaven in the domestic manners of the age. Parental authority was chiefly upheld by motives of fear; children stood or knelt in

* Gascoigne's 'Delicate Diet for Dainty-mouthed Drunkards.'
† Ellis's Collection.
‡ Harrison.
§ Idem.—Stubbs.
‖ Harrison.

* The readers of Shakspeare will remember the lime in Falstaff's sack. "Let me see thee froth and lime," is the charge given to Bardolph when mine host of the Garter admits him into his service.
† Stow.
‡ Ellis's Collection.
§ Stow.
‖ Decker's Gull's Horn-Book.

trembling silence in the presence of their fathers and mothers, and might not sit without permission; and correction by blows was liberally administered, without distinction of sex, as long as the young people remained under the paternal roof. The same rigid authority was also exerted in uniting family interests and estates by matrimonial affiances, and baby contracts were followed by juvenile marriages, in which the united pair were allowed to have no voice but that of simple acquiescence.

All the scholarship of the time was also ineffectual to exorcise those superstitions that still prevailed among all classes, and ghosts and lubber-fiends retained undisturbed possession of castle and cottage to the no small annoyance of the inmates. The most learned persons of the day put their faith in the impossibilities of alchymy and astrology, and valued the sciences chiefly as the means of discovering the philosopher's stone or the elixir of immortality. In fact, the learning of the present period, instead of lessening, in most instances seems to have only aggravated the old superstitions, while it suggested new topics for the credulous. Religious prejudice also helped to augment the evil, by representing papists not only as subtle poisoners, but as dealers in the arts of supernatural mischief. From the numerous instances that might be quoted of this prostration of learning and intellect, we shall only give that of Bishop Jewel, who could gravely address Queen Elizabeth, in a sermon, in the following words:—"Witches and sorcerers, within these last few years, are marvellously increased within your grace's realm. These eyes have seen most evident and manifest marks of their wickedness. Your grace's subjects pine away even unto the death: their colour fadeth, their flesh rotteth, their speech is benumbed, their senses are bereft. Wherefore your poor subjects' most humble petition to your highness is, that the laws touching such malefactors may be put in due execution. For the shoal of them is great, their doing horrible, their malice intolerable, their examples most miserable: and I pray God they never practise further than upon the *subject*."

The temptations of rich apparel now so plentiful and the nature of a female rule produced, as might have been expected, an abundant increase of coxcombry; and as it stands out in bold relief among the lights and shades of the latter part of the present period, we shall concentrate a few particulars of this phasis of fashionable folly in the picture of a fop of the end of the sixteenth century. Take his career for a single day as a sample of his whole life. He rose at an hour later, indeed, than the industrious, but still wonderfully early according to modern reckoning; and after breakfasting and arranging his dress, ornaments, and weapons, curling the points of his beard and mustachios, and sweetening himself with perfume, he sallied forth to the great mart of loungers, the Churchyard of St. Paul's. As the crowd of fashionables deepened, he was anxious to display to the best advantage the exquisite cut of his doublet and slops, the fine block of his beaver, the rich fancy of his chains and scarfs, and the choice hatchings of his silver-hilted rapier and dagger. When he was tired of promenading to and fro, there was a resource for fashionable *ennui* at hand in the numerous book-shops round the churchyard, in repairing to which he could generally find a knot of his companions standing, or lolling at their ease, examining and discussing the last publication, and turning over the newest prints. If the black-letter tomes, and grim, hard wood-cuts, now so dear to antiquarians, were too literary for his tastes, the dancing and fencing-schools were open to him, where he might breathe himself with a *coranto*, or a newly-imported hit of the foil from the schools of France or Italy. Thus time wore on apace, until a certain craving, like that of hunger, reminded him that he might now indulge in the luxury of a pipe,—for almost every man was now a smoker,—and, without going far, he was sure to find a tobacco-ordinary, the original of our modern cigar-divans. Smoking in those days was not the short, sharp, hurried whiffing now practised by our modern economists of time, but a slow and solemn process, in which the luxury was drawn out to the uttermost. The smoker produced his apparatus, which he always carried about with him, consisting of a tobacco-box, furnished with ladle, tongs, and priming-iron, all made either of silver or gold; and after filling his pipe with tobacco, which required at that time to be as dry as tinder to suit the fancy of Nicotian epicures, he commenced operations, and slowly puffed the smoke both through mouth and nostrils, thus gratifying two organs of sense at once.* After he had refreshed himself with this exercise, the dinner hour of eleven drew on; he now repaired to some fashionable ordinary, where dinners were prepared at a shilling a-head; and when he entered among the assembled company, his first aim was to assert his gentility, by elbowing his way to a seat above "the equinoctial of the salt-cellar." If he was sufficiently bronzed for the purpose, he displayed his consequence by engrossing a double share of the viands and conversation, and exhibiting such rudenesses as would not now be tolerated in a company of carmen; and if he eschewed the idea of digesting cold steel after dinner in consequence of these eccentricities, he knew the precise line short of a cartel at which he might stop, since all the grounds of a duel had been systematically announced in the text-book of Vincent Saviolo.† After dinner, cards were introduced, at which deep stakes were frequently put down; and pipes, without which a

* Hentzner.—In an age when judges smoked on the bench, and criminals on the scaffold, we find at least one curious instance of martyrdom to this seductive habit. Richard Fletcher, Bishop of London, died from the immoderate use of tobacco, which he took "to smother his matrimonial cares."—*Camden*.

† "Of Honour and Honourable Quarrels," 4to. 1595. This is supposed to be the work ridiculed by Shakspeare in the speech of Touchstone, in 'As You Like It,' where he tells Jaques how, at court, they quarrelled in print by the book.

good dinner was incomplete. When the hour of opening the theatre arrived, the horses of playgoers were brought to the door of the ordinary by their grooms; and when our youth had entered the Globe, he ascended the stage, hired a stool, and lighted a fresh pipe, disposing himself the while to display his figure and finery to the best advantage. If this was not enough to attract notoriety, he talked aloud, and railed at the play, the actors, and the author, perhaps in the midst of one of Shakspeare's most pathetic scenes; and if the audience, disturbed by his din, evinced their dislike, he withdrew with a flourish of magnificent contempt at the plebeians of the pit, and went in quest of other adventures. After a day spent in these, or more questionable frivolities, he returned homeward at a comparatively early hour, for to hear the chimes at midnight was, as yet, neither safe nor common; and while he picked his steps along the dark and deserted streets, he was obliged to look sharply about him, as the "minions of the moon" were now abroad and busy. Frequently his solitary career was interrupted by a posse of the city watch, with their partisans on their shoulders, their steps directed by a single lantern, and, at their head, the constable armed with his long staff of office; and as the charge to "comprehend all vagrom men" seemed to bear hard upon the case in hand, our night-wanderer was apt to be disagreeably catechised, maugre his fashion and finery; for there were thieves abroad as fine as himself, who robbed in silk and velvet.*

Debt was soon the consequence of such dissipations, and duns were clamorous for payment; but such were still the feelings entailed by the feudal system, that young prodigals of rank were astonished at the presumption of a tradesman's bill; and as for sheriff's officers and arrests, they could not imagine why such vulgar things should come between the wind and their nobility. Nay, even before the magistrate, they boldly claimed exemption from all such unpleasant intrusions. "Here," says Recorder Fleetwood, "are sundry young gentlemen that use the court, that most commonly term themselves *gentlemen*. When any of them have done anything amiss, and are complained of, or arrested for debt, they run unto me, and no other excuse or answer can they make, but say, 'I am a gentleman, and, being a gentleman, I am not thus to be used as a slave at a cullion's hands.'"† A few sharp lessons, however, had some effect in teaching these lordly spendthrifts that the age of mercantile good faith and security had commenced, and that they must be contented to elude, since they could no longer hope to brow-beat their creditors. Some, therefore, took lodgings by the river-side, so that they could escape from a bailiff by land or water, according to the emergency. Others derived great benefit from the lately-introduced luxury of a coach, within the close-drawn curtains of which they could travel about in a most comfortable incognito.*

Such were the light and frothy bubbles that floated upon the surface of the court. We shall now turn to another class, and exhibit a small courtier in office. The amusing picture is pourtrayed in the narrative of our lively, gossiping friend, Master Laneham, to whose garrulity we have already been so largely beholden for the description of the pageants of Kenilworth; and we quote him in the present instance the more readily, as he furnishes incidental glimpses of the state of the court in general, while giving an account of his own occupations. This important clerk of the council-chamber thus prepares himself for the onerous duties of the day:—"A mornings I rise ordinarily at seven o'clock; then, ready, I get me commonly into my lord's chamber, or into my lord president's. There, at the cupboard, after I have eaten the manchet served over night for livery, I drink me a good bowl of ale: when in a sweet pot it is defecated by all night's standing, the drink is the better; take that of me: and a morsel in a morning, with a sound draught, is very wholesome and good for the eyesight; then I am as fresh all the forenoon after as had I eaten a whole piece of beef." And now for his office after this note of preparation:—"Now, sir, if the council sit, I am at hand; wait at an inch, I warrant you: if any make babbling, 'Peace,' say I, 'wot ye where ye are?' If I take a listener, or a pryer-in at the chinks or at the lock-hole, I am by and by in the bones of him; but now they know me well enough." It gives us rather a singular idea of the court manners of this period, that Laneham's official rod was no mere symbolical figure in the thronged ante-chamber, while the affairs of state were deliberating within. But this was an age of danger, distrust, and secret espial, as well as of comparative simplicity; and precautions had to be adopted against treacherous intrusion that were suited to the rudeness of such a time. According to the etiquette of the court, approaching the door without warning, knocking at it, or lingering near it, were all not only unpolite but suspicious symptoms; and a gentle motion of the hand upon the lock, or slight scratching on the panel, was the signal of a courtier that sought admission. If the door was not immediately opened, he then retired to a sufficient distance, that he might not appear to be eves-dropping.† While Laneham thus preserved a due decorum, and admonished the bones of the refractory, he could graciously relax in favour of those who waited with becoming submission. "If a be a friend, or such a one as I like, I make him sit down by me on a form or a chest; let the rest walk, a God's name!"

After he has discharged these duties to his heart's contentment, we are presented with a short sketch of two court-officers seated at their principal meal. "Dinner and supper I have twenty places to go to, and heartily prayed to: sometimes get I

* Decker's Gull's Hornbook. London, 1609. This amusing work, written in the style of Swift's Advices to Servants, conveys a full idea of the manners of young gentlemen at this period.

† Ellis's Collection.

* Decker.

† Nichol's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.

to Master Pinner; by my faith, a worshipful gentleman, and as careful for his charge as any her highness hath; there find I always good store of very good viands; we eat and be merry, thank God and the *queen!* Himself in feeding very temperate, and moderate as ye shall see any: and yet, by your leave, if a dish or a cold pigeon or so, that hath come to him at meat more than he looked for, I have seen him e'en so by and by surfeit, as he hath plucked off his napkin, wiped his knife, and eat not a morsel more."

It is in the evening, however, when the more irksome business of his attendance is over, that Master Laneham is in all his glory, mixing with fair and worshipful society, and figuring as master of the revels. In the following sketch we have a snug, sociable, evening party of Queen Elizabeth's period, and a light-hearted coxcomb to enliven it. "In afternoons, and a nights, sometimes am I with the right worshipful Sir George Howard, as good a gentleman as any lives; and sometimes at my good Lady Sydney's chamber, a noblewoman that I am as much bound unto as any poor man may be unto so gracious a lady; and sometimes in some other place. But always among the gentlewomen with my good-will: and when I see company according, then can I be as lively too. Sometimes I foot it with dancing: now with my gittern, and else with my cittern, then at the virginals: ye know nothing comes amiss to me: then carol I up a song withal; that by and by they come flocking about me, like bees to honey: and ever they cry, 'Another, good Laneham; another!'" He supposes some favourite lady to enter, and then the concentrated coxcombry of the little man bursts forth. "She gives once," he says, "but an eye, or an ear; why then, man, am I blest; my grace, my courage, my cunning is doubled; she says sometimes 'she likes it;' and then I like it much the better; it doth me good to hear how well I can do. And to say truth, what with mine eyes as I can amorously gloat it; what with my Spanish *sospires*, my French *heighes*, mine Italian *dulcets*, my Dutch *hovez*, my double reels, my high reaches, my fine feigning, my deep diapason, my wanton warbles, my running, my timing, my tuning, and my twinkling, I can gracify the matter as well as the proudest of them, and was yet never stained, I thank God. By my troth, countryman, it is sometimes by midnight ere I can get from them. And thus have I told ye most of my trade all the live-long day: what will ye more? God save the queen and my lord!"

Mention has already been made of a coach; and it may now be proper to give some account of the introduction of so important an article of modern comfort. Travelling had generally been performed on horseback; and for purposes of state, or the accommodation of the sick and aged, nothing better than the clumsy conveyance of a horse-litter could be found at the commencement of this period. It was a kind of coach slung between two horses; and it was a convenience only appropriated to ladies. During the reign of Queen Mary the case seems to have been a little improved; for we find that a wagon was sometimes used by the ladies of the court; but at the best, it was an uncomfortable vehicle, being a huge timber ark, covered within and without with red cloth, the lining fringed with red silk, and the harness made of red leather, with the royal arms painted upon it.* No springs, of course, were to be expected in this strange-looking dray, and ladies continued to prefer the more gentle jolting of the saddle, so that Queen Elizabeth frequently rode on state occasions seated upon a pillion, behind the chancellor. The coach was introduced into England, we are told, by William Boonen, a Dutchman, Queen Elizabeth's coachman, in the year 1564, and the astonishment which its first appearance excited among the people is thus humorously described by Taylor, the water-poet. "A coach was a strange monster in those days, and the sight of it put both horse and man into amazement. Some said it was a great crab-shell brought out of China; and some imagined it to be one of the Pagan temples in which the cannibals adored the devil." But in spite of all this wonderment, the advantages of such a conveyance were soon perceived; and in a very short time the coach became so general that an outcry was raised about the scarcity of leather, from the quantities used in coach-building.

In the other particulars of domestic life, the latter part of this period exhibited an amusing compound of refinement and rudeness. The ladies of those days were not likely to want admirers, if, as we are told, they were wont to sit at their doors to exhibit their fine clothes, and see the people passing by;† and they seldom went abroad without a small mirror, by which they rectified any chance disorder of dress or appearance. Their faces were duly renovated and improved by curious cosmetics; and, to guard their complexion from sun and wind in travelling, they frequently wore a mask of black velvet, furnished with a couple of glasses for sight, uncourteously compared by the puritanic satirist to the saucer-eyes of a devil glaring upon the startled beholder.

During the reign of Elizabeth, fair hair became fashionable; and the ladies, therefore, used various compositions for dyeing their locks this attractive colour; and even fair-haired children were enticed into corners, and feloniously polled, that court head-dresses might be made from the spoil.‡ We are sorry to have to state that one essential of perfect beauty was sorely wanting among these zealous cultivators of their charms,—their teeth, instead of being pearly white, were in general black and rotten,—and this grievous defect was supposed by foreigners to be occasioned by the inordinate love of the English ladies for sugar.§ Perhaps to this their love of tobacco might have been added, for many of them were greatly addicted to smoking.‖

An English wedding at this time was a joyous

* Ellis's Collection. † Stubbs. ‡ Id.
§ Hentzner. ‖ Stow.

public festival: all the friends and kindred assembled to make merry; and among the higher ranks the bridegroom presented the company with scarfs, gloves, and garters of the favourite colours of the wedded pair, and received in return gifts of plate and other articles, while the whole ceremony was wound up with banquetings, masques, pageants, and epithalamiums. The weddings of the middling and lower classes were not less joyous; and among other festivities a gay procession was generally held, in which the bride, in her best dress and ornaments, was led to church between two boys, wearing bride-laces and rosemary tied about their silken sleeves; and before her was carried a fair bride cup of silver, filled with wine, in which was a large branch of rosemary gilded, and hung about with silken ribbons of all colours. Musicians came next, and then a troop of maidens, some bearing great bride-cakes, and others garlands of wheat finely gilded; and thus they marched onward to church amidst the shouts and benedictions of the spectators. When a year and a day had passed over, the happy couple, if they could swear that they had never repented their union all that time, sleeping or waking, might then demand the flitch of bacon from Dunmow Priory, in Essex, or Whichenovre, in Staffordshire—for at both of these places the curious law was established; and when the exemplary pair had presented their claim, and taken the oath with due solemnity, they received the reward, amidst the songs and acclamations of the crowd, and were dismissed with a popular ovation. We are sorry, however, to be obliged to add that, notwithstanding the antiquity of the bequest and the notorious love of the English for good bacon, the flitch was very seldom claimed.* We cannot better conclude this account of the domestic usages of the English than by the well-known proverb, which originated among foreigners so early as the reign of Elizabeth:—"England is the hell of horses, the purgatory of servants, and the paradise of women;" "because," says Moryson, in explanation, "the English ride their horses without measure, and use their servants imperiously, and their women obsequiously."

Hitherto it had been the practice of English sovereigns to make occasional journeys to different parts of the kingdom, under the name of Progresses, either from political or social motives; but no reign had ever been so greatly distinguished by these journeys as the reign of Elizabeth. Pageants and amusements of every kind had to be prepared for her gratification; and the wits and purses of the lieges were equally racked to produce the necessary quantity of show and flattery. She assigned the benefit of change of air as the motive for this restlessness; but it has been hinted that the more political purpose of exhausting the resources of the too powerful nobility was the real cause; and certainly no more effectual plan could have been devised for such an object, as possessors of the largest revenues were sometimes impoverished for years by the cost of a single visit.* The nobles, as might be expected, eschewed such a mischievous distinction and trembled when the royal route pointed in the direction of their country-seats. On one of these occasions Lord Buckhurst was actually obliged to send for supplies of provisions from Flanders, as all the food, not only of his own but the neighbouring counties had been forestalled, against the queen's arrival. At another time, the Earl of Bedford having learned that her majesty intended to visit him, wrote privately to Lord Burleigh, praying him so to contrive matters that the visit should not outlast two nights and a day. But the perplexity of poor Master Hicks in a similar case was more ridiculous. He had lately married, and a royal visit of congratulation was announced; upon which, distracted at the thought of such an undesired honour, he consulted with a friend at court upon the means of escaping from it. His friend advised him to absent himself from home, and let his wife present to the queen "some waistcoat, or fine ruff, or such like thing, which would be as acceptably taken, as if it were of great price." Indeed, a present was an indispensable part of the ceremony, and Elizabeth reckoned herself ill-treated, or but scurvily entertained, unless something valuable was presented. These visitation-gifts were sometimes of a strange description to be presented by noblemen to a maiden queen: night-gowns, and smocks, were in some cases offered and accepted; but more frequently the presents were rich articles of plate and jewellery.

The progresses of Elizabeth were disliked by her nobles, not merely from the expense, but the mischief they frequently occasioned. An instance of this occurred in a royal visit to Berkeley Castle, during the absence of its noble owner. Here the queen found a splendid collection of deer; and as an attachment to hunting was not the slightest of her masculine tastes, she forthwith commenced such a merciless massacre among the game, that twenty-seven prime stags were slaughtered in a single day. When the Earl of Berkeley, who was also a keen sportsman, returned, and learned the wasteful havoc that had been wrought in his chase, he was in such a towering passion, that he broke up his inclosures, and dissolved his hunting establishment. But this indication of resentment had like to have cost him dear. He was warned by a friend at court, that the queen was indignant at his proceedings; and that the Earl of Leicester, by whom the slaughter of the game had been in-

* Strutt.

* How much this must have been the case, is evident from a few incidental notices in the history of these progresses. During the queen's stay at Kenilworth, there was consumed of beer alone, the amount of three hundred and twenty hogsheads. In her progress to Lord Montacute's, three oxen and a hundred and forty geese were eaten at a single breakfast. Twelve times she visited her great statesman at Theobald's; and each visit cost Cecil between two and three thousand pounds.—(Life of Leicester, 1727.—Peck.—Nichol.) On the contrary, we may notice that the pride of Henry VII. so far overcame his penury, that he would not deign to burden his entertainers with the cost of a royal progress. After the first meal, if the noble landlord offered to defray the continuing expenditure, the Tudor would arrogantly exclaim, "What private subject dare undertake a prince's charge, or look into the secret of his expense?"—(Puttenham's Art of English Poesy.)

stigated, had an eye to the Berkeley estates and their owner's head.*

The progress of building in London during the reign of Elizabeth was like an inundation: it overflowed the ancient fields and vacant spaces within and around the city; so that tilt-yards, shooting-grounds, and race-courses, were covered with streets and alleys; and thus active civic sports were of necessity in a great degree laid aside. As a substitute for these healthful exercises, young gentlemen were exhorted to labour in their chambers with poises of lead;"† that is, to exercise with the dumb-bells; and the citizens now betook themselves to quiet lounges on Sundays with their wives and families to the suburban villages, where they might enjoy cakes and ale, and the fresh breezes of the fields.‡ This cessation from active exercises, combined with the increase of luxury, naturally produced ailments among the wealthy of which their boisterous forefathers had been ignorant; and the gout (then emphatically termed *the enemy*) began to prevail among the nobility, and was soon to descend to the plodding and feast-loving merchants.§ These circumstances, which were unavoidable, furnished golden themes for the declaimers and moralists of the day. "Oh, what a wonderful change is this!" cries Gosson, in a burst of despair and alliteration—"our wrestling at arms is turned into wallowing in ladies' laps; our courage to cowardice, our running to riot, our bows into bowls, and our darts into dishes!"

While the places set apart for public athletic sports had thus decreased, those for sedentary enjoyment multiplied in still greater proportion. Besides the cockpit, the theatre, and the bear-garden, eating-houses, taverns, tennis-courts, dicing-houses, bowling-greens, and smoking ordinaries were to be found in every street. Such places naturally produced a love of gambling and dissipation, although the amount, we may suspect, has been greatly exaggerated by the satirists of the period. Those persons also whose vocation it had formerly been to amuse the rich and powerful, but who had lately been expelled from the palace and the castle by the progress of refinement, now betook themselves to the patronage of the crowd, and endeavoured to enliven the streets and places of general resort with their exhibitions; and the buffoon, the juggler, and the tumbler, earned a few pence from the smoking, gambling, or drinking parties of the tap-room, the court-yard, or the bowling-green Then, too, the master of *motions* (puppets), who no longer dared to exhibit religious mysteries, and illustrate theology by the movements of his jointed and tinseled dolls, set them to squeak, jest, and brawl, for popular amusement, until the drama of Punch and his family was matured, to the delight of all classes. But the most terrible downfall of all was that of the minstrel. He who had once been the soul of the tournament, was now a street ballad-singer or an ale-house fiddler; and instead of attempting any stirring lay of his own, he sang, upon benches and barrel-heads, the tales of Bevis of Southampton, Guy of Warwick, or "The London Prentice bold," to an audience consisting of a few gaping rustics from the country, or a parcel of idle boys. There were also companies of musicians (such a company was then called a *noise*) who wore the livery of a tawny coat, and offered their services at taverns or private houses, for a small hire. As if the degradation of these deposed and unhoused favourites of former day had not been enough, the stern justice of the law made them doubly vile, obliging them to skulk into corners, and perform their merry offices in fear and trembling. Minstrels were now classed, in the statute, with rogues and vagabonds, and jugglers with thieves and ruffians, and even with heretics and pagans, and made liable to the same pains and penalties.

Of the games and sports of the present period a very brief account will suffice. Hunting and hawking still continued to be followed; and in shooting the game, the long-bow and cross-bow continued to be used indifferently, as well as the musket, till the end of Elizabeth's reign.* When the game was not to be run down with horse and hound, various stratagems were used to get within shooting reach of it by the pedestrian huntsmen, the chief of which was called the stalking-horse. This was a canvass figure, resembling a horse in the act of grazing; and so light, that it could be carried in one hand. Sometimes the figure represented a cow, stag, or other common animal; and under cover of this the sportsman stole so nigh the game, that he could easily bring it down with shaft or bullet. In fowling, various methods were used for luring birds: sometimes they were piped within the net, by a pipe-call, sometimes scared

* Smith's Lives of the Berkeley Family.

† Northbrooke on Dicing, Dancing, &c.

‡ Pimlico, Hoxton, Islington, Newington, and Tottenham Court, are particularly specified as the Sunday and holiday lounges of the citizens and youths of London.—Strutt.

§ Lodge's Illustrations.

* Nichol's Progresses.

Beautifully carved Hunting Horn of the sixteenth century belonging to EARL FERRERS.

Grand Falconer.

into it by the blaze of a lighted cresset. But the most splendid, stirring, and perilous of all field-sports was unquestionably that of hawking, whether pursued on horseback or on foot. In the former case, the rider, with his eye fixed upon the chase or the conflict maintained in the air, was obliged to spur over hill and dale, regardless of the dangers that lay before him; and when the sport was followed on foot, the fowler, aided by a long pole, was obliged to take desperate leaps, to clear the hedges and ditches in his path. On one of these occasions a hawk had nearly altered the destinies of Europe. As Henry VIII. was leaping a ditch his hawking-pole broke; he fell short in the mud, and was almost smothered, when a footman ran to his assistance, and pulled him out.* During the present period hawking both attained its height and fell into disuse. The amusement was attended with such enormous expense, not only from the high price of good falcons, but the large establishment necessary for their charge and training, that even the nobility were unable to sustain the burden, in addition to those new demands which an improved style of living made upon their revenues.

* Hall.

Besides this, the modern practice of fowling with the musket had all the attraction of novelty, independently of the display of skill it called forth. After the reign of Elizabeth, therefore, we have nothing further to mention of hawking as one of our national amusements.*

It appears to have been only during this period that horse-racing commenced as a regular systematic amusement. This sport, in its infancy, was uncontaminated by that blackguardism and furious spirit of gambling for which it has been notorious in more recent times. On this account even the Puritans, who so ruthlessly condemned almost all the other amusements of the day, relaxed in favour of the race-course. Early in the reign of Elizabeth races were given at Chester by the saddlers of that town, at which a silver bell, of the value of three shillings and sixpence, was bestowed upon the winner; and this example was soon followed in other parts of the country. We may observe that horse-racing, or at least something attended with the same advantages, was absolutely necessary for the improvement of the English breed of horses; for in general they

* Strutt.

were but sorry hacks, weak, short-winded, and generally grass-fed;* while those for military purposes had to be imported from France or Flanders. Foreigners were struck, not only by the inferiority of our steeds, but by the scantiness of their accoutrements. The bridle was remarkably light and slender; and, as for the saddle, it was so small that it measured only a span across.†

Among the elegant accomplishments that were now studied, dancing was one of the chief. Both Henry VIII. and Elizabeth were famous dancers; and, in the court of the latter, due skill in treading a measure would naturally be acquired by all candidates for royal favour, after they had seen Sir Christopher Hatton dance into the chancellorship. The chief court dances were corantoes, gilliards, and trench-mores. But the great favourite was the pavo or pavin (peacock), which consisted of a set of solemn, stately movements, like those of the bird after which it was named. This dance was an old dance of the chivalrous ages, when it generally graced the banquet at the close of a tournament; and it still continued to adorn the more peaceful festivals of the end of the sixteenth century. Frequent allusion is also made by the writers of this period to the lavolta, which, from the following description of Sir John Davies, in his 'Orchestra,' seems to have resembled the modern waltz, or rather, perhaps, the gallopade. It was

> A lofty jumping, or a leaping round,
> Where arm in arm two dancers are entwined,
> And whirl themselves in strict embraces bound;
> And still their feet an anapest do sound.

High leaping‡ and stately movements seem to have constituted the essentials of fashionable dancing, an accomplishment in which the English were lauded by foreigners as surpassing all other nations at this period. Merry-makings and fairs had also their dances, in which, if the commons and peasantry did not exhibit the same studied grace as the courtiers, they made amends by noise, mirth, and agility. If we may believe the moralists of the period, also, many of the national dances, among which the cushion-dance is specified, were of a very questionable character in respect of decorum; a charge which, whether true or false, has been preferred against the favourite dance of every people.

Of the in-door amusements of the period we shall only notice a few that have not yet been mentioned. A favourite game during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was shove-groat, which was played in the following manner. A parallelogram was drawn upon the middle of the table, and divided into nine compartments, each of which was numbered. The players then placed in turn a silver groat, or smooth halfpenny, upon the edge of the table, and by a smart stroke of the palm sent it among the partitions, where it counted according to the number on which it rested. Shovel-board, of which we so often read, was played upon nearly a similar principle: it seems, however, to have been more fashionable than the former game; the surface of the board required to be perfectly smooth and even, and it was made in some cases of the richest wood and finest workmanship, thus constituting an ornamental article of furniture. Merelles, or nine-men's morris, was also similar: in this game, as played among rustics, the compartments were marked on the sod, and holes in the ground served instead of a board. It must have been an amusing spectacle, according to our modern notions, to see such tables overshadowed by the formal beards of grave and sagacious men while thus occupied and delighted. Backgammon was now becoming a general favourite, and was soon to exclude these more childish amusements. But the games that still predominated above all others were those of cards. Even so early as the reign of Henry VII. severe statutes were enacted prohibiting prentices from playing at cards, except on the Christmas holidays, and then only in the houses of their masters. The different games at cards were continually changing, either from native invention or by importation: those played during the reign of Elizabeth were prime, post, maw, lodam, noddy, bankerout, lavalta, trump, gleek, and new cut,—a description of which, could such now be given, would possess little interest for either the card-players or any other readers of the present day.

Other sports of the English at this time were infamous for barbarity, and excited the astonishment and disgust of strangers. Bear-baiting and bull-baiting still continued to delight all classes, and even Elizabeth herself was an enthusiastic devotee of these sanguinary amusements, especially when she had grown old, but still wished to appear young and active. In one mode of baiting a bear the poor animal was hoodwinked, and in this condition it was surrounded by a circle of men who plied it incessantly with whips, while their victim, maddened by the pain, ran hither and thither in quest of its enemies, snatching the whips from their hands, and breaking them in pieces.* Not only bulls and bears, but even harmless apes, were baited also; and sometimes the bewildered creature was mounted upon a fleet horse, and galloped to and fro, while the crowd enjoyed the terror of both steed and rider. Bear-gardens abounded in London; and in the public places of the principal towns and villages of England rings to which the bull was fastened were to be seen till the present century. Many persons also, for the purposes of bull-baiting, kept large packs of mastiffs at a great expense; and wagers to the amount of a hundred pounds were often laid upon a single bait.† The equally barbarous practice of cock-fighting was also a favourite amusement; houses were set apart for the sport, and a flag was displayed upon the building to warn the people that a main of cocks was about to be fought. A

* Account of England, by the Venetian ambassador, in Ellis's Collection.
† Heutzner.
‡ Elizabeth was complimented by Melvil upon her *high* dancing.

* Hentzner † Stubbs.—Strutt.

vulgar, but very common, form of cocking was, to fasten the creature to the ground, and take aim at it with cudgels. If the cock was not so lucky as to be killed by a single blow, but had only its legs broken, it was then propped up with sticks, and the game continued until the bird was literally battered to death. The Sunday, of all other days, was the one selected for these games, to the surprise and scandal of foreigners, and the great indignation of the Puritans. Cartwright, in one of his tracts, deduces an argument against the use of a liturgy from this misapplication of the Sunday; contending that a public form of prayer will never do, on account of the rapidity with which the minister may be tempted to hurry it over, to give place to the games by which divine service was succeeded. The games which he specifies as favourite Sunday sports are, lying for the whetstone, dancing for the ring, bear or bull baiting, an ape mounted on horseback, and stage-plays.

This ferocity that characterised the English amusements must have been wonderfully strengthened both by the number and the nature of the public executions. Besides common malefactors, who weekly and almost daily were exhibited on the gibbet, there were the heads of traitors over the city gates, and sometimes the bodies of heretics burning in the flames, to regale the popular love of carnage; and, independently of the rope and the axe, there were the cleaver, the branding-iron, and the scourge, all kept in restless activity for the punishment of minor offenders. In such circumstances the scaffold becomes a rival to the stage in the article of popular attraction. One strange refinement in capital punishments was used at Halifax, where criminals were beheaded by an instrument called the maiden, which was similar to the French guillotine. Executions were performed there on the market-days; and when the condemned person had placed his head on the block, those who stood by put their hands to the rope and drew out the pin, by which the axe fell; thereby signifying their acquiescence in the sentence, by becoming its executioners. In the case of an animal stolen, also, the rope was fastened to the innocent brute, so that it became its own avenger by beheading the thief.*

Much of the national character and manners during this period was brought out in the celebration of the various old festival days, the peculiar usages connected with each of which still continued to be scrupulously observed by all classes, and perhaps, indeed, with more zealous devotion than in any earlier age. Of these "high days of the calendar," Christmas was always the one which held the chief place in England, where it was celebrated in a manner so different from what was customary in other countries as to excite the astonishment of foreigners. As soon as the Christmas holidays had arrived, work and care were universally thrown aside, and, instead of those devotional practices by which other countries commemorated the sacred occasion, England rang from one end to the other with mirth and jollity. Christmas carols were trolled in every street; masquerades and plays took possession of houses and churches indifferently; a Lord of Misrule, whose reign lasted from All-Hallow Eve till the day after the Feast of Pentecost, was elected in every noble household to preside over the sports and fooleries of the inmates, while each member prepared himself either to enact some strange character or to devise some new stroke of mirth. The towns on these occasions assumed a sylvan appearance; the houses were dressed with branches of ivy and holly; the churches were converted into leafy tabernacles; and standards bedecked with evergreens were set up in the streets, while the young of both sexes danced round them. Amidst all this frolic large and luxurious feasts were not forgotten, and among other dishes peculiar to a Christmas dinner was the boar's head, which was ushered to the table upon a large silver platter amidst a flourish of musical instruments. It would appear, too, that on these occasions of universal license the gravest characters and the most laborious students indemnified themselves for past cares and labours by a double portion of outrageous glee, so that the palace, the universities, and the inns of court figured the highest with banquetings, pageantries, and revels. The games, too, prohibited on other occasions were now allowed freely to all. The Lord of Misrule, the chief potentate of the Christmas revel, sometimes, at court, assumed the clerical title of the Abbot of Misrule: in Lincoln' Inn his appellation was King of Christmas-day and elsewhere he seems to have been designated King of the Bean. The King of the Bean was thus elected:—a bean was baked in a cake, which was broken, and the fragments distributed among the company; and the individual in whose portion the bean was found became the sovereign of the revels. No description, however, can give us so vivid an idea of the reign of this madcap potentate, and the character of an English Christmas, as the following sketch, in which the bile of Stubbs rises into absolute eloquence:—

"First, all the wild heads of the parish, conventing together, chuse them a grand captain (of mischief), whom they ennoble with the title of my Lord of Misrule, and him they crown with great solemnity, and adopt for their king. This king anointed chooseth for him twenty, forty, threescore, or a hundred lusty-guts like to himself, to wait upon his lordly majesty, and to guard his noble person. Then, every one of these his men he investeth with his liveries of green, yellow, or some other wanton colour. And as though that were not gaudy enough, they bedeck themselves with scarfs, ribbons, and laces, hanged all over with gold rings, precious stones, and other jewels; this done, they tie about either leg twenty or forty bells, with rich handkerchiefs in their hands, and sometimes laid across over their shoulders and necks, borrowed for the most part of their pretty

* Holinshed.

PLOUGH MONDAY:—Dance of Bessy and the Clown.

BRINGING IN THE YULE LOG ON CHRISTMAS EVE.

Mopsies and loving Bessies for bussing them in the dark. Thus, all things set in order, then have they their hobby-horses, dragons, and other antics, together with their bawdy pipers and thundering drummers, to strike up the devil's dance withal; then march these heathen company towards the church and churchyard, their pipers piping, their drummers thundering, their stumps dancing, their bells jingling, their handkerchiefs swinging about their heads like madmen, their hobby-horses and other monsters skirmishing amongst the throng; and in this sort they go to the church (though the minister be at prayer or preaching) dancing, and swinging their handkerchiefs over their heads in

the church, like devils incarnate, with such a confused noise that no man can hear his own voice. Then the foolish people, they look, they stare, they laugh, they fleer, and mount upon forms and pews to see these goodly pageants solemnised in this sort. Then, after this, about the church they go again and again, and so forth into the churchyard, where they have commonly their summer-halls, their bowers, arbours, and banqueting-houses set up, wherein they feast, banquet, and dance all that day, and peradventure all that night too. And thus these terrestrial furies spend the Sabbath-day. Then, for the further ennobling of this honourable lurdane (lord I should say), they have also certain papers, wherein is painted some babblery or other of imagery work; and these they call my Lord of Misrule's badges: these they give to every one that will give money for them, to maintain them in this their heathenry, devilry, drunkenness, pride, and what not. And who will not show himself buxom to them, and give them money for these the devil's cognizances, they shall be mocked and flouted at shamefully; yea, many times carried upon a cowlstaff, and dived over head and ears in water, or otherwise most horribly abused. And so besotted are some, that they will not only give them money to maintain their abomination withal, but also wear their badges and cognizances in their hats and caps openly. . . . Another sort of fantastical fools bring to these hell-hounds (the Lord of Misrule and his complices) some bread, some good ale, some new cheese, some cakes, some flauns, some tarts, some cream, some meat, some one thing, some another."

Among the rural customs connected with the anniversary of Christmas were those of Plough-Monday, which fell on the first Monday after Twelfth-day. This was the holiday of the ploughmen, who used to go about from house to house begging for plough-money to drink. In the northern counties, where this practice was called the fool-plough (a corruption perhaps of *yule*-plough), a number of sword-dancers dragged about a plough, while one of the party, called the Bessey, was dressed for the occasion like an old woman; and another, who was the fool of the pageant, was almost covered with skins, and wore the tail of some animal dangling down his back. While the rest danced, one of these odd personages went among the spectators, rattling a box, and collecting small donations; and it is said that whosoever refused to pay had the plough dragged to his door and the soil of his threshold ploughed up.

Nor, among the other customs of Christmas, must the yule-log be forgotten. The largest log that could be found was placed on the hearth on Christmas-eve, and, if it continued to burn for the whole night and the ensuing day, it was a happy omen for the household; on the contrary, if it was consumed, or extinguished before that time had elapsed, the circumstance was interpreted as an evil augury.*

* Warton's Hist. of English Poetry.—Brand.—Strutt.

Next to Christmas in importance as a festival was that of May-day, held on the 1st of May. On the midnight preceding that morning the people of each parish assembled, and, after dividing themselves into companies, repaired to the woods, groves, and hills, where they spent the rest of the night in sports and pastimes. When they returned they brought with them birch-boughs and branches of trees, with which they adorned the places where they meant to hold their festival. "But the chiefest jewel they bring from thence," says Stubbs, "is the May-pole, which they bring home with great veneration, as thus—they have twenty or forty yoke of oxen, every ox having a sweet nosegay of flowers tied to the tip of his horns; and these oxen draw home the May-pole, their stinking idol rather, which they covered all over with flowers and herbs, bound round with strings from the top to the bottom; and sometimes it was painted with variable colours, having two or three hundred men, women, and children following it with great devotion. And thus equipped, it was reared with handkerchiefs and flags streaming on the top; they straw the ground round about it; they bind green boughs about it; they set up summer-halls, bowers, and arbours hard by it; and then fall they to banqueting and feasting, to leaping and dancing about it, as the heathen people did at the dedication of their idols." May-poles were erected not only in towns and rural villages, but in several parts of the metropolis, where some of them vied in height with the loftiest steeples. In London one of the festivities of May-day was to set up the great shaft or principal May-pole in Cornhill, before the parish-church of St. Andrew; and as the pole was higher than the steeple itself, the church was called St. Andrew Under-shaft. A Lord and Lady of May were chosen to preside over the festival; and their gay costume, during office, was richly decorated with scarfs, ribbons, and other braveries.

During the fifteenth century the old tales and legends respecting Robin Hood, which were now printed, had excited such a popular esteem for the bold outlaw, that the chief of the gay green-wood was gradually adopted as the fittest president for the festival of May, and he and his beloved Maid Marian soon assumed the place of lord and lady of the May sports. This multiplied the characters and raised the splendour of the pageant; for not only Robin Hood and his mistress, but Little John, Scathlock, Friar Tuck, and other worthies of the Sherwood band, attired in proper costume, danced and paraded together, or one after another, before the delighted spectators, accompanied by the never-failing hobby-horse and the dragon. The morris-dance, which always mingled with the pageantries of May, was performed by persons whose antic habits were hung with small bells of various scales under the names of the fore-bell, the second bell, the treble, and the tenor; the leader of the dance, called the "foreman of the morris," being the most splendidly attired. The 1st of May was also

BRINGING IN THE MAY POLE ON MAY MORNING.

MILK-MAIDS' DANCE, WITH PILE OF PLATE ON MAY DAY.

the great day of milk-maids. On this occasion they borrowed all the silver plate which their friends could muster, and having raised a pyramid of cups, tankards, and salvers upon their pails, they placed the whole structure on their heads, and danced from door to door, receiving a small gratuity from each of their customers in return.

Another great English festival was that of Midsummer-eve, or the vigil of St. John the Baptist. Upon this occasion the houses of London, and also of the other towns and villages, were ornamented with branches of green birch, long fennel, St. John's rush, and orpin; and at night a large fire was kindled in the street, or some open place, wh

the young leaped over it, or played and danced round it till midnight, or even till dawn. This bright blaze was probably intended to typify the patron-saint of the day, who was termed a "bright and shining light." Those who danced round the fire supposed that, by looking through their garlands at the flames, they would have their eyes freed from all pain, and that, by the addition of certain prayers, they would be delivered from agues. In London, on this night, the people illuminated their houses with clusters of lamps, and performed the ceremony of setting the city watch with great show and splendour. The watchmen were clothed for the occasion in bright harness; the lord mayor, the city officers, and a crowd of minstrels, henchmen, giants, pageants, and morris-dancers, formed part of the procession, over which a flood of light was poured from hundreds of blazing cressets and huge torches, carried upon men's shoulders. Very large sums were expended every year in setting the Midsummer watch. The custom is said to have originated in the reign of Henry III., when, in consequence of many robberies and other acts of violence that had been committed in London, armed guards were first annually appointed to preserve the city peace. Both watch and pageant were prohibited by Henry VIII. in 1539; and, although the old custom was revived eight years after, in the mayoralty of Sir John Gresham, it was soon once more and finally discontinued.

Previous to the Reformation, Palm Sunday was held as a religious festival throughout Europe; the observances on this occasion being commemorative of Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The day received its name from the worshippers carrying palm branches that had been blessed by the priest. An ass was made a principal figure in a pageant representing the journey of Jesus; and upon the animal the Host was borne in triumph, while branches, flowers, and pieces of cloth were strewed upon the ground by the multitude. A wooden ass was also placed before the door of the church, before which the priests prostrated themselves, and the crowds threw down their palm branches; and such was the awful reverence with which this puppet was regarded, that the people stood aloof and beheld without presuming to touch it. When the ass had been sufficiently exhibited it was drawn into the church, after which the multitude commenced a scramble for the branches that had been thrown down before it, believing that they were an effectual charm against storms and thunder. There was then a procession of the children, by whom the wooden figure was drawn on wheels through the town, while the people presented to the youthful devotees money, eggs, and bread, half of which was given to the keeper of the ass as his fee. This ceremony was observed in England until the year 1548, when it was abolished.

On New-year's day it was the custom to give and receive presents; and this friendly interchange prevailed from the palace to the cottage, accompanied with feasting and merriment. When evening came, a mighty flagon, called the wassail-bowl, which was filled with spiced ale, was carried from house to house by the young women of the towns and villages; every person who tasted the beverage bestowing upon the fair bearers a small trifle in return. On Shrove Tuesday the barbarous practice was still observed of throwing at cocks in the manner we have already described. On the week before Easter a popular piece of festivity was, to bring a twisted tree or *withe*, with great rejoicing, into the king's palace and the houses of the nobility and gentry. The Easter holidays were celebrated by games at hand-ball for tansy-cakes. The old Saxon festival of Hock-day was kept on the Tuesday following the second Sunday after Easter-day. It was also called *binding-day;* the men and women being wont, on this occasion, to bind each other in sport, but chiefly the women the men. In some parts of Hampshire the women also obstructed the highways and paths with ropes, and intercepted all passengers, who could only obtain deliverance by the payment of a small sum, which was devoted to pious uses: the stock thus collected was called hock-money. The customs of Hock-Tuesday are supposed to have originated in the deliverance of the enslaved English from the Danes at the death of Hardicanute. Harvest-home, as a festival, does not seem, either in this or previous periods, to have been observed with that merriment which obtained subsequently, when agriculture became a more fruitful source of profit: still, however, we find from Hentzner, that a certain degree of popular rejoicing was common on the occasion. "As we were returning to our inn," he says, "we happened to meet some country people celebrating their harvest-home: their last load of corn they crown with flowers, having besides an image richly dressed, by which, perhaps, they signify Ceres (surely this was more than the honest rustics were aware of!); this they keep moving about, while the men and women, and men and maid servants, riding through the streets in the cart, shout as loud as they can till they arrive at the barn." We may presume, although the foreigner does not inform us, that a good banquet followed this shouting and parade.

Maundy Thursday, the day before Good Friday, was observed throughout the Christian world in commemoration of the condescension of our Saviour in washing the feet of his disciples. On this day kings and queens, and persons of elevated rank, girt themselves with a towel; and as many paupers as there were years, either in the life or reign of the person about to officiate, came forward to have their feet washed and kissed by some kneeling lord or sovereign, who, on other days, would perhaps have spurned them with loathing. After this ceremony was ended, food and money were distributed to these poor persons out of a basket, whence probably the name of the day from the Saxon *maund*, a basket. This lowly duty was

repeatedly performed by Queen Elizabeth, during her reign, after the maids of honour had first prepared the way for her by a previous washing of the mendicants' feet, and perfuming of the water with essences. In the reign of Henry VIII. Cardinal Wolsey, after his disgrace, held his Maundy in the Abbey of Peterborough, where he washed and kissed the feet of fifty poor men (answering to the number of the years he had lived), and gave to each twelve pence, three ells of good canvass for shirts, a pair of new shoes, a cast of red herrings, and three white herrings. In the same reign the broken-hearted Queen Catherine, after her divorce, proposed to hold her Maundy as she had been wont to hold it—that is, as the rightful Queen of England; but she was prevented by an order arriving from her imperious husband, that she should not perform the ceremony in any other character than that of princess-dowager.*

One of the most cheerful of our old national festivals was that of St. Valentine's Day. For what reason this good bishop and martyr was converted into a sort of Christian Cupid we are unable positively to determine: the common idea is, that with a view to christianise the pagan practices of the Lupercalia, one of which was, to enclose the names of young women in a box and draw for them, the early church substituted for the ancient festival the day of St. Valentine, which fell in the same month, and thus gave the sanction of the new religion to those love-lotteries, which might otherwise have too dangerously endeared the memory of the old. The day of this saint became, therefore, the day of lovers; and in the middle ages even the birds were supposed, upon this occasion, to select their mates. The practices of St. Valentine's Day varied at different times; but the essential ceremony was, for the young men and women to select their true love for the season. For this purpose an equal number of each sex assembled; either the true or feigned names of the company were written on slips of paper, and thrown into two heaps; and then a general drawing took place, the women from the male catalogue, and the men from that of the women. After the whole party had thus been paired by chance, amidst a great deal of mirth and laughter, the men gave balls and treats to their mistresses, wearing for several days their billets on their breasts or their sleeves. Another mode of choosing a valentine was, to look out at the door or window in the morning, and the person first seen, if unmarried and of the opposite sex, was considered to be the destined individual.

Besides these days of general observance, there were some festivities of a local character that now remain to be mentioned. The chief of these were the parish Church-ales, which were divided into Easter-ales and Whitsun-ales, from the two seasons at which they were held. The origin of these festive meetings is to be traced to those early periods in our national history, when a regular fund for the repair of churches and the maintenance of the poor was still unknown. In this case the clergy, wisely judging that money could be most easily obtained from the benevolence of a crowd whose hearts were moved with brimming flagons, appointed set times at which they brewed a quantity of mighty ale (the favourite huff-cap), and set it to sale in the churchyard, or even the church itself. The villagers and townsfolk, of course, repaired to the spot to enjoy themselves, and did not scruple to pay a high price for the liquor, as the money was to be devoted to pious uses; and conceiving that, by swallowing huge quantities, they thereby furthered the cause of religion, many were guilty on these occasions of the most brutal excesses. Similar to the church-ales, though of a still more ancient origin, were the Wakes. It had been the custom, on the dedication of a church, or the birth-day of a saint, for the people to assemble on the night previous, to hold a religious vigil in the open air; and, as they remained all night occupied in devotional exercises, this practice was called a wake. Such a method of spending the night, however, soon gave place to very different employments; and feasting, riot, and licentiousness became the prevailing characteristics of these vigils. These concourses, also, from every neighbouring town and parish, naturally suggested the expediency of improving such opportunities for the purposes of traffic; and hence the wakes gradually became fairs, which in some places they still continue to be.

Among the minor points of the English manners of this period it may be mentioned that, when acquaintances met, they saluted with embraces and kisses; and such was still the prevalent simplicity, that these kisses and embraces were exchanged between the sexes as tokens of common good-will. This custom was so pleasant, in the opinion of Erasmus, that in one of his letters he expatiates upon the subject with great unction, and advises his friend to lay aside his gout, and fly to England, for the sake of such delightful welcomes. The practice of profane swearing in common conversation seems now to have reached its height in England. The courtiers swore by such oaths as were current with the sovereign, the royal favourites, and the chief nobles; the clergy swore by the saints, the mysteries of religion, or the duties of their calling; the scholars swore by the classical gods of Olympus; and soldiers were "full of strange oaths," compounded of fire, blood, and havoc, that marked their profession as distinctly as the buff belt or the corslet. This last kind of swearing was carefully conned by all swaggerers and swash-bucklers, and used as proof of their hardihood; so that a man was reckoned a mere coward "who could not interlace every sentence with a bloody oath or two."* The citizens and shopkeepers scorned to be left behind in these practices of the more influential classes; but as

* Sir Henry Ellis's Collection.

* Stubbs.

the loud and lordly oaths of courtiers and martialists would have been unsuited to civic occupations, there were certain minced and softened expletives adapted to the shop and warehouse, by which mercantile good faith was asserted, and commodities bought and sold. Even the ladies by no means escaped the contamination; and although they did not in general aspire to the masculine proficiency of Elizabeth, yet they had certain conventional phrases with which they were wont to garnish their sentences, that sadly set at nought the simple rule of yea and nay.

Palm Sunday—Procession of the Wooden Ass.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

THE first general fact that presents itself on a broad survey of the social condition of England from the beginning to the close of the present period is, that it was throughout the whole of that space of time, with a few transient interruptions, a condition of progressive amelioration. And this, it is to be observed, is the state of things that best keeps a people in spirits, and diffuses most content and enjoyment among all classes. The feeling of advancement is more important to national, as perhaps it also is to individual, happiness, than any amount of prosperity actually realised. One reason of this is, in the case of nations at least, that if there be not a going forward there must be a going back; for in the affairs of communities a stationary position is impossible, unless when they may have reached that lowest point from which they can fall no farther.

The accession of Henry VII. terminated the destructive civil contest which had torn the country for many preceding years; and nothing resembling that state of anarchy and confusion recurred to the end of the period. The popular outbreaks in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were mere local disturbances while they lasted, and none of them lasted above a few months or weeks. Nor was the country during this period engaged in any such exhausting foreign wars as those that make up nearly all the history of the preceding period till the wilder scene of the wars of the barons at home comes to fill the stage. The present was also an age of many changes, of more numerous and more momentous changes, indeed, than the last; and some of them, too, were brought about with no small noise and violence; but the moving power was no longer force physical, but force moral; not captains and armies, but policy and opinion; it was the age, not of the sword, but of the word.

The course of events during the thirty years that preceded the accession of Henry VII. had already greatly reduced the power of the nobility, which anciently used in ordinary circumstances to be more than a match for that of the crown. The sanguinary wars of the Roses and the attainders and forfeitures that followed the final victory of the House of York had, on the one hand, thrown down and almost extirpated a considerable number of the greatest of the old families; and, on the other hand, transferred a vast mass of landed property formerly held by the aristocracy into the hands of the crown. The famous decision of the judges in the twelfth year of Edward IV., establishing the efficacy of a fine and recovery to bar an entail,* had also introduced a process by which, even in the quietest times, and while public affairs were proceeding in the most regular and ordinary course, the extensive estates of the ancient nobility could not fail to be gradually broken up. The additional facilities of alienation afforded in the course of the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., by the Statute of Fines, and other statutes carrying out the same principle, or otherwise operating in the same direction,† of course all aided in undermining that which till lately had been the predominating power in the state. In fact, the very smallness of their number now prevented the nobility from being any longer formidable. In Henry VII.'s first parliament the House of Lords contained only twenty-eight temporal peers; and in the first parliament of Henry VIII. only thirty-six. The few additional creations also had strengthened the crown, not the aristocracy; the men raised to wealth and honours by the new family that had come into the possession of the throne were the natural dependents of the reigning sovereign, and his allies and supporters against the small body of the remaining representatives of the ancient baronage. Thus all things combined at the commencement and during the early part of this period to elevate the royal authority, and to depress that of the nobility, which in former times had been its chief antagonist and curb; and it may be said that this in some sort continued to be the case throughout nearly the whole space comprehended within our present review. But the strength withdrawn by the circumstances to which we have adverted from the ancient nobility and other great landholders, the massive pillars of the fabric of feudalism, was not all inherited by the crown; in the unsettlement and transference of landed estates that had begun to take place under the system of alienation, some share of the property thus set at liberty could not fail to fall into the hands of a class of persons who, obtaining it by purchase with their own money, were not by their new acquisition in any respect bound to the crown, but

* See ante, p. 162. † Id. p. 751—756.

were rather thereby planted in a position in which they might become the root of a power independent alike of the sovereign and of the aristocracy. In this way began to be formed the order of the minor landholders or gentry, which rose to great importance before the end of the present period. Some of the founders of this order were no doubt the younger sons or other near connexions of noble families; others, if the view taken in a former Chapter is to be received as correct, must have been the original tenants in villenage now converted into copyholders;* but the great majority of them probably were persons who thus invested in land the capital which they had accumulated by their own industry and enterprise.

For another great influence that was now at work, changing the aspect and constitution of society, was the growth of trade and manufactures, which had been going on ever since Edward III., in 1331, invited over the first weavers of fine woollens from the Netherlands, previous to which, as a foreign writer observes, the English were little more than shepherds and wool-sellers.† In the tranquillity that followed the accession of the House of Tudor commercial and manufacturing industry, which had been checked by the preceding confusions, acquired a new life, and started forward with a quickened activity, the effects of which soon came to be perceived in the general elevation of the condition of all that portion of the population placed between the two extremes of the social scale. Indeed, it may be said to have been now that what are called the middle classes first came into existence in English society, at least in so far as regards the town population, the only middle class population that was fitted to acquire any distinct social station or political influence. It is deserving of remark, however, that the extending prosperity of trade and manufactures, and the rise of a middle class at this time, proved the very reverse of favourable to the interests of most of the old corporate towns throughout the kingdom. In numerous acts of parliament of the early part of the sixteenth century these towns are represented as generally falling into decay, and other corroborative evidence leaves no doubt that this was to a great extent the case. Their corporate privileges, in fact, which confined the right of carrying on most trades and handicrafts to such of the inhabitants as were free of the corporation or members of any of the guilds or civic companies, drove away all other persons to other towns where no such restrictions existed. Thus it happened that while York, and Chester, and Lancaster, and Coventry, and Lincoln, and Winchester, were declining in population, and many of the houses in them becoming ruins, Birmingham and Manchester were rapidly growing in extent and prosperity. In an act passed in 1541, it is stated that the people of Manchester were then "well set to work in making of cloths, as well of linen as of woollen, whereby the inhabitants of the said town have gotten and come into riches and wealthy livings; and by reason of great occupying, good order, strict and true dealing of the inhabitants of the said town, many strangers, as well of Ireland as of other places, had resorted thither."*

But upon the condition of the country population also the growth of manufactures and trade was now producing great changes. It was undoubtedly the increased demand for wool, both for exportation and for working up at home, that prompted that extensive conversion of land from tillage to pasturage, which so many acts of parliament were passed in the reigns of Henry VIII. and his son, in all probability ineffectually enough, to restrain. The inclosures, we may observe, which were now made to so great an extent were mainly if not entirely the consequence of this increased profitableness of sheep farming and grazing, the object of inclosing the land being to take it out of tillage and turn it into pasturage. "Inclosures at that time," says Lord Bacon, in his account of an act passed by the parliament in 1488, to check the progress of the supposed evil, "began to be more frequent, whereby arable land, which could not be manured without people and families, was turned into pasture, which was easily rid by a few herdsmen;" and in William Stafford's curious dialogue referred to in a preceding Chapter, in which the knight, the merchant, the doctor, the husbandman, and the capper, confer together upon the grievances of their several classes, the husbandman exclaims, "Marry, for these inclosures do undo us all; for they make us to pay dearer for our land that we occupy, and causeth that we can have no land in manner for our money to put to tillage; all is taken up for pasture—for pasture either for sheep or for grazing of cattle; in so much that I have known of late a dozen ploughs, within less compass than six miles about me, laid down within this seven years; and where three score persons or upwards had their livings, now one man with his cattle hath all." And again, "Yea, those sheep is the cause of all these mischiefs, for they have driven husbandry out of the country, by the which was increased before all kind of victuals, and now altogether sheep, sheep, sheep. It was far better when there were not only sheep enough, but also oxen, kine, swine, pig, goose, and capon, eggs, butter and cheese; yea, and bread-corn and malt-corn enough besides, reared altogether upon the same land."† In fact, however, although the money price of butchers' meat and poultry had become greater than formerly, along with that of everything else—the case being partly that of a mere nominal rise of prices occasioned by a fall in the value of gold and silver and by the depreciation of the coinage, partly that of a real rise produced by an augmented population and a more active demand for these and the other necessaries of life, it is admitted by the husbandman

* See vol. i. pp. 885, 886.

† De Witt, Interest of Holland.

* St. 33 Hen. VIII. c. 15.

† A Compendious or Brief Examination, &c. Dialogue First, 1581.

himself in this very dialogue that the very articles of the *dearth*, that is, the dearness, of which he complains, had never before been so abundant in the land as they then were.

The extension of trade and manufactures was the great primary cause of all the phenomena that now marked the social condition of England:—the rise of wages and of prices, in so far as it was more than nominal; the extended rearing of sheep and of cattle, to meet the growing demand for wool and for butchers' meat; the inclosing of arable and waste lands to fit them for pasturage and grazing; the disappearance of small farms and of cottiers; the decay of many of the old corporate towns; the rising population and importance of towns where the absence of corporate privileges permitted freedom of industry; and, finally, the gradual formation of a gentry and a middle class, destined in a future age to come into the possession of that predominant power in the commonwealth which had formerly been held by the feudal nobility, and had in the present state of transition passed into the hands of the crown. Some other circumstances, indeed, accidentally concurred to incline the current of change in the same direction; the devastation made among the old nobility by the wars of the preceding age, for instance, and afterwards the unshackling of their estates from the fetters of entail, had already sapped and shaken the edifice of their supremacy, before it was exposed to the assault of any new or rival power; but even all this would have been of no avail in forwarding the results that ultimately arose, if it had not been that, at the very time the system of feudalism was thus becoming weak from natural decay or violence directed against it from another quarter, the new force that was eventually to take its place was growing up and establishing itself. In the absence of that middle class, which trade was creating, the crown, if it had been able single-handed to subdue the enfeebled aristocracy, would probably have come in not as the mere trustee or temporary depositary of their power, but as its absolute and ultimate inheritor. As matters actually went, the causes that led to the alienation and breaking up of the great estates of the ancient feudal lords of the soil were met and assisted in their operation by the circumstances of altogether different origin which were lifting up a new class of the population into wealth and importance. The two agencies, indeed, assisted each other; the sale of land was promoted by the growth of mercantile wealth, and the rise of the order of the gentry and the middle classes was facilitated by the opportunities thus offered for the investment in land of the money made in trade. But the moving power which impressed upon the changes that were taking place the direction in which they actually proceeded was evidently the new and rising power of commercial and manufacturing industry. It was perhaps fortunate, however, that the legislature did not see this; for, with the usual dread of the world being in danger of falling to pieces if the existing system of society should be suffered to undergo any modification, the lawgivers of that day strenuously endeavoured to resist the natural revolution that was in progress by all sorts of artificial moles and embankments—lamenting over the diminution of tillage, the extension of pasturage, the removal of cottages, the consolidation of small farms, the decay of corporate towns, the increasing size of the new haunts of industry, and wasting much ingenuity in contriving enactments to prevent the further encroachment of these and the other imaginary evils of the altering condition of things. Directed as these efforts were against mere results or symptoms, the real source of which was unknown and unsuspected, they could produce no further effect than for a little while to chafe and ruffle the onward stream of innovation. The growth of the trade and manufactures of the country, which was the true fountain from which the whole of the mischief flowed, the legislature was all the while very anxiously, however in some respects injudiciously, doing everything it could think of to encourage and assist.

Such were the influences already at work, and such the social changes that were going on, when the land was suddenly swept by the hurricane of the Reformation. That mighty event we are here to consider merely in its economical bearings and consequences. We may say of it, in one word, that it impelled all things with greater force than ever towards that new position in the direction of which they were already tending. The temporal peerage had, by the diminution of its numbers and its possessions, been reduced to comparative powerlessness. The ancient spiritual peerage was now struck down to a still lower insignificancy and more complete dependence on the crown; and the crown, by this subjugation of another rival power, and by the confiscation of the church property, was raised to a higher elevation than ever. But the circumstances which were rearing and nourishing the popular strength also derived new force in various ways from this great revolution. The mere removal of a vast despotic authority, naturally opposed to all innovation, and linked in its sympathies and its interests with the maintenance of everything established and ancient, was favourable to the expansion of speculation and enterprise of all kinds. The overthrow of an institution so venerable as the church, and which had hitherto held down the whole national mind and habits of thought and action with so comprehensive and firm a grasp, was like the bursting asunder and passing away of all old customary bonds and inclosures, and a throwing open to all men of the clear broad field of a new era. But besides the universal excitement it thus diffused, and the constraint and benumbment from which it released the spirit and energies of the people, the abolition of the old religion operated also in a more palpable way to benefit the cause of the national industry, which is that of the popular strength, by the large number of additional hands it soon set to work.

Productive and profitable labour. It is calculated that about fifty thousand persons were wont to lead an idle and useless life in the English monastic institutions, and that by the dissolution of these establishments, and the abrogation of clerical celibacy together, about a hundred and fifty thousand persons of both sexes, heretofore withdrawn from marriage, were added to the force by which the population is kept up. In the state of England in that age, such an addition to the effective stock of its population was a direct augmentation of the sources of the public wealth.

From the time of the complete establishment of the Reformation on the accession of Elizabeth, the various influencing circumstances that have been enumerated as carrying forward the transformation of the ancient social condition of the country had a freer course than ever. Manufacturing industry continued to spread, trade domestic and foreign was constantly enlarging its field, and acquiring new activity, the spirit of adventure in every form began to penetrate the remotest regions of the globe, the advance of the great body of the middle classes in wealth and in adding the comforts and luxuries to the necessaries of life was almost without pause or slackening, and they must have been growing up to the desire and the power of asserting for themselves a higher position in the commonwealth at a rate like that of the growth of a young giant. Still the actual state of things was only one of transition; many of the old repressive influences were yet strong; the crown, strengthened by its recent acquisitions, and its overthrow both of the ancient nobility and the ancient church, continued to maintain itself as the dominant power in the state; both the new nobility and the new church were little more than its dependent and subservient allies; and, notwithstanding the rising boldness of the Puritanical spirit, the contest which was in the next century to effect the political emancipation of the middle classes could hardly be said to be yet fairly begun.

From what has already been stated, no doubt can be entertained that the numbers of the population were in an advancing state during the whole of the present period. Yet there were certain partial appearances which might seem to superficial or prejudiced observers to indicate a contrary state of the fact: such, for instance, as the reduced numbers of the inhabitants of some of the old towns, and of those parts of the country where the lands formerly occupied by a swarm of cottier tenants had been consolidated into large sheep and grazing farms. Such delusive evidences we must suppose to have inspired the frequent lamentations about the decay of people which we meet with in the acts of parliament throughout the greater part of the sixteenth century. In the same spirit, also, and directing his view exclusively to the same single class of facts, Harrison writes in one place, "It is an easy matter to prove that England was never less furnished with people than at this pre-[illegible]: for if the old records of every manor be sought, and search made to find what tenements are fallen, either down or into the lord's hands, or brought and united together by other men, it will soon appear that in some one manor seventeen, eighteen, or twenty houses are shrunk. I know what I say by mine own experience, notwithstanding that some one cottage be here and there erected of late, which is to little purpose. Of cities and towns either utterly decayed, or more than a quarter or half diminished, though some one be a little increased here and there; of towns pulled down for sheep-walks, and no more but the lordships now standing in them, beside those than William Rufus pulled down in his time, I could say somewhat."* Elsewhere, however, he speaks in another temper: "Some," he observes, "do grudge at the great increase of people in these days, thinking a necessary brood of cattle far better than a superfluous augmentation of mankind;" and in proceeding to argue against the unreasonableness of the grudge, he leaves the assertion that there had been a great increase of people undisputed.† So afterwards we find him acknowledging that many persons complained "of the increase of poverty, laying the cause upon God, as though he were in fault for sending such increase of people, or want of wars that should consume them, affirming that the land was never so full;" nor here again does he attempt to deny that the alleged increase of population had actually taken place; he only endeavours to show that it was a good instead of an evil. The truth is, the cottagers, by whom the land in many places had formerly been occupied, and whose poverty prevented them from even half cultivating the soil they cumbered, were now, to their own advantage, and also that of the rest of the community, absorbed among the artisans of the towns and villages, where, with higher earnings and more of the comforts of life, they would no doubt increase their numbers much faster than in their previous half-starved and miserable existence.

The great extension of manufacturing industry which we know to have taken place in England in this age, could not have been effected without the various seats of the woollen and other trades receiving large draughts of population from the agricultural districts. On the other hand, we have abundant evidence that the interests of agriculture did not suffer either from this transference of the inhabitants of the country to the towns, or from the conversion into pasturage of a considerable quantity of land that had heretofore produced corn. It is admitted that both corn and cattle were more plentiful than they had ever been before; such, indeed, it is affirmed, had been the progress of agricultural improvement, that the average produce of an acre of land was, towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, about twice what it had been half a century earlier. In course of time, too, it is worthy of remark, we find the legislature falling to denounce the great increase of cottages as zealously as it had

* Description of England, p. 205. † Id. p. 183.

before been wont to inveigh against their destruction. An act was passed in 1588 "for the avoiding," as it is expressed in the preamble, "of the great inconveniences which are found by experience to grow by the erecting and building of great numbers and multitude of cottages, which are daily more and more increased in many parts of this realm."* But we have the most direct evidence of the great increase of the population in the course of the sixteenth century in certain notices preserved by Harrison himself, as well as by other authorities. We found, in the former Book, that, according to the accounts of the capitation tax of 1377, the total population of England and Wales apparently did not at that date exceed two millions and a half. By the military musters taken in 1574 and 1575, Harrison tells us, the number of able men for service was found to amount to 1,172,674; "and yet," he adds, "were they not so narrowly taken, but that a third part of this like multitude was left unbilled and uncalled."† If we double the number here given to obtain the entire number of males, it will make the population of the kingdom to amount at this time to about 4,690,000; if we add one-third, as Harrison suggests, we shall have a population of about 6,254,000. The actual population cannot have been much less than five millions, or twice its amount two centuries before. Harrison's account agrees nearly with a statement of Sir Walter Raleigh, who informs us that, in 1583, there was a general review of all the men in England capable of bearing arms, when they were found to amount to 1,172,000. It appears, also, from an enumeration given in to the privy council by the bishops in 1603, that the number of communicants and recusants (or persons who did not communicate, though of the legal age), was then 2,065,498 (the recusants amounting only to 8465 individuals). All persons upwards of sixteen years of age were required to communicate; but as, of course, many must have been excused on account of old age, sickness, and other lawful causes, this account is sufficiently consistent with the others that have just been quoted.‡

The subject of wages and prices, in addition to its usual obscurity from other causes, is perplexed during the present period by the consideration of the varying intrinsic value of money occasioned by the depreciation and debasement of the coinage. Of the numerous notices which have been collected by modern inquirers from public documents and other contemporary records, we will mention a few that appear to be the most significant. In 1496 the parliament passed a new act§ for regulating, that is to say, for keeping down wages, endeavouring to fix them at very nearly the same point at which they had been condemned to remain stationary by the act of 1444;‖ but neither statute is evidence of anything except that wages were actually rising at the time when each interference took place. A similar attempt was again made in 1514, of which the same thing may be said. From Sir Frederick Eden's tables it appears that, in 1500, the day wages of a mason were 4*d.*, with 2*d.* for diet; that in 1575 a master mason was paid 1*s.* a day, a tiler the same, a plumber the same, a dauber (or house-painter) the same, and a common labourer 8*d.*; that in 1589 and 1590 the day wages of a ditcher were 4*d.*, of a thresher (without diet) 6*d.*, of a hedger 4*d.*, and of a gardener 6*d.*; and that in 1601 a common labourer had 10*d.* a day, and a master mason or tiler 1*s.* 2*d.* The yearly wages paid in the household of the Earl of Northumberland in 1511 were, to a serving-boy, 13*s.* 4*d.*; to a minstrel, 4*l.*; to a chaplain graduate, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; to a chaplain not graduate, 2*l.*; to the principal priest of the chapel, 5*l.*; to a female rocker in the nursery, 1*l.* Of course all these persons had their food and lodging in addition. In 1544 the wages of mariners in the king's ships were raised from 5*s.* per month to 6*s.* 8*d.* In 1545 the salary of a domestic priest was 4*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*; in 1555, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* On the whole, although there were frequent and considerable fluctuations, the money-wages of most descriptions of common labour appear to have fully doubled their amount in the course of the sixteenth century. The price of provisions, however, though that was also subject to great variations, had advanced at least at an equal rate. The quarter of wheat was sold for 3*s.* 4*d.* in 1485; for 14*s.* 8*d.* in 1491; for 1*l.* in 1497; for 4*s.* in 1498; for 3*s.* 4*d.* in 1500; for 18*s.* 8*d.* in 1512; for 4*s.* 4*d.* in 1530; for 1*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* in 1544; for 2*l.* 13*s.* in 1586; for 5*l.* 4*s.* in 1587; for 17*s.* in 1589; for 2*l.* 2*s.* in 1596; for 1*l.* 7*s.* in 1599. In the latter half of the century the price was very seldom much below 1*l.* per quarter; but in this article in particular the extremes of high and low prices were frequently touched in the same year. The prices of some of the other common articles of consumption about the beginning, the middle, and the close of the century, are given as follows:—In 1500, two rabbits, 2½*d.*; twelve pigeons, 4*d.*; one hundred eggs, 6*d.* or 7*d.*; a chicken, 1*d.*; a goose, 3*d.* or 4*d.*; a wether unclipped, 1*s.* 8*d.*; an ewe unclipped, 1*s.* 1*d.*; a lamb, 6*d.*; an ox, 11*s.* 8*d.*; an heifer, 9*s.*: in 1541, a capon from 8*d.* to 1*s.* 10*d.*; a large and fat hen, 7*d.*; twelve pigeons, 10*d.*; a goose, 7*d.* or 8*d.*; one hundred eggs in summer, 1*s.* 2*d.*; in winter, 1*s.* 8*d.*; a pound of butter, 3*d.*: in 1549, an ox, 1*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* to 2*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*; a wether shorn, 2*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.* 4*d.*; an ewe, 1*s.* 8*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*; a cow, 13*s.* 4*d.* to 1*l.* 2*s.*: in 1589, a fat cow, 3*l.*; a milch cow, 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; a fat goose, 1*s.* or 1*s.* 2*d.*; a turkey, 1*s.* 4*d.*: in 1590, six pigeons, 6*d.*; a pound of butter, 4*d.*: in 1597, a stone of beef, 1*s.* 11*d.* to 2*s.* 2*d.*; twelve pigeons, 4*s.* 3*d.*; eleven eggs, 4*d.*; four chickens, 2*s.* 8*d.*; a calf, 6*s.* to 8*s.*; a pound of cheese, 2½*d.* to 3½*d.*; a pound of sugar, 1*s.* 4*d.*; a fat bullock, 5*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*; a fat sheep, 14*s.* 6*d.* This last, however, was a year of great scarcity:

* Stat. 31, Eliz. c. 7.

† Description of England, p. 198.

‡ Chalmers, Estimate of Strength of Great Britain, pp. 37—39, edit. of 1804.

§ Stat. 11 Hen. VII. c. 22.

‖ See ante, p. 269.

but, unfortunately, it is for the most part only when prices have been extraordinarily high or extraordinarily low that they have been preserved. Of other commodities, in 1525, a pair of hose cost 2*s.* 4*d.*; a pair of shoes, 1*s.* 4*d.*: in 1558, a sack of coals, 10*d.*: in 1570, a quire of paper, 3*d.*: in 1578, a pound of candles, 3½*d.*: in 1589, a shirt, 1*s.* 8*d.*; a pound of soap, 8*d.*: in 1590, a chaldron of coals, 9*s.*, having before been 4*s.*; a pair of men's shoes, 1*s.* 6*d.*; a pair of stockings, 2*s.* 8*d.*; a pair of silk stockings, 1*l.* 18*s.*; a pound of gunpowder, 1*s.* 4*d.* Imperfect as they are, these memoranda sufficiently prove that a great rise took place in the course of the sixteenth century in the money prices both of food and of nearly all the other articles of life. In Stafford's Dialogue, published in 1581, all the speakers agree in regard to the rise of prices that had taken place in their time. "I am fain," says the capper, "to give my journeymen twopence in a day more than I was wont to do, and yet they say they cannot sufficiently live thereon." "Such of us," says the knight, "as do abide in the country, still cannot, with two hundred a year, keep that house that we might have done with two hundred marks but sixteen years past." "Cannot you, neighbour," he adds, addressing the farmer, "remember that, within these thirty years, I could in this town buy the best pig or goose that I could lay my hand on for 4*d.*, which now costeth 12*d.*; a good capon for 3*d.* or 4*d.*, a chicken for 1*d.*, a hen for 2*d.*, which now costeth me double and triple the money? It is likewise in greater ware, as in beef and mutton. I have seen a cap for 13*d.* as good as I can get now for 2*s.* 6*d.*; of cloth ye have heard how the price is risen. Now a pair of shoes cost 12*d.*, yet in my time I have bought a better for 6*d.* Now I can get never a horse shoed under 10*d.* or 12*d.*, where I have also seen the common price was 6*d.*"

But that which is more than anything else the barometer of the condition of the labouring classes, or great body of the population, is the heaving of the mass of utter destitution which lies below all labour. The history of the poor in England, as it is impressed upon the pages of the Statute Book, also discloses many curious views of the state of English society and civilization generally, in the period under review.

Sir Thomas Smith, in his 'Commonwealth of England,' written in the reign of Edward VI., says that, of villains in gross, he never knew any in England in his time, and that of villains regardant, there were so few that they were hardly worth mentioning. Bondmen or *niefs*, however, are still occasionally mentioned in the statutes; and, in fact, instances of their emancipation occur even subsequent to the expiration of the present period. That pauperism and mendicancy, however, which we have before shown to have arisen out of the abolition of villenage,* became, in the sixteenth century, a more formidable evil than ever. It is commonly assumed that the greater part of the beggary which now inundated the country flowed from the dissolution of the monasteries, a large portion of the revenues of which, it is said, used to be bestowed in feeding or giving alms to the poor. A modern writer has expressed a strong doubt "whether the monasteries generally had greatly troubled themselves with relieving poor that did not immediately belong to their own demesnes," and conceives the truth of the matter to be that "the abbeys were more burdened with the rich than the poor;" the great men who travelled from house to house not contenting themselves with having their numerous retinues lodged and luxuriously feasted at the expense of their hosts, but often extorting a considerable present, as it was called, of money or provisions from the abbot at their departure.* But if the monasteries really did feed great numbers of the poor, they probably by so doing created and diffused more poverty than they relieved. In feeding beggars they fed beggary, and spread the infection and disease of the idle and useless life of the cloister far beyond the monastic walls. In this way it may be true that their confiscation left a large mass of poverty unprovided for, of which they had been wont to bear the burden, but of which a considerable part probably, but for them, never would have existed. There was much vagrant mendicancy, however, in England long before the Reformation, and so early as the middle of the fourteenth century the evil, as we have already seen, began to engage the attention of the legislature.† The efforts of parliament to grapple with vagrancy and pauperism, after being suspended from the beginning of the reign of Henry IV., were renewed very soon after the restoration of a settled government under Henry VII. In 1495 an act was passed repealing the provisions of the act of 1388, which had directed vagabonds to be committed to prison, on the ground, as it is professed in the preamble, that the king's grace anxiously desired to reduce his subjects under obedience to his laws by softer means than by such extreme rigour as that of the existing law against vagabonds and beggars, who were now accordingly ordered only to be set in the stocks.‡ [illegible] suspected that the true reason of this rel[illegible] the old statute was what is professed to [illegible] only a secondary consideration, namely, [illegible] great charges for bringing of vagabo[illegible] gaols according to the same statute, [illegible] abiding of them therein." With [illegible] not able to work it was ordered [illegible] go, rest, and abide in the hundred [illegible] dwelt, or where they were best [illegible] they had been born, "there to [illegible] without begging out of the s[illegible] qualified license of mendicancy, [illegible] given to the impotent poor. A [illegible] is curious as indicating a comm[illegible]

* See ante, pp. 274, 275.

* Eden, State of Poor, i. 95.

‡ Stat. 11 Henry VII.

class of persons in this age; it enacts that no man shall be excused for begging out of his hundred, "by that he is a clerk of one university or of other, without he show the letters of the chancellor of the university from whence he sayeth he cometh." It appears, therefore, that students of either university might beg in any part of the country if they had the license of their chancellor. The evil of vagrant pauperism, however, continued to make head against the new law as it had done against the old. In 1530 we find parliament declaring that, "in all places throughout this realm of England, vagabonds and beggars have of long time increased, and daily do increase, in great and excessive numbers, by the occasion of idleness, mother and root of all vices, whereby hath insurged and sprung, and daily insurgeth and springeth, continual thefts, murders, and other heinous offences and great enormities, to the high displeasure of God, the inquietation and damage of the king's people, and to the marvellous disturbance of the common-weal of this realm."* In a subsequent clause beggars are described as now "augmented and increased into great routs and companies." In these circumstances it is directed that the impotent poor shall receive licenses from the justices of the peace to beg within certain limits; and that all men and women, "being whole and mighty in body, and able to labour," being found vagrant and unable to give an account of how they get their living, shall be apprehended by the constables, tied to the end of a cart naked, and beaten with whips through the nearest market-town or hamlet, till their bodies be bloody by reason of such whipping. After this the vagrant is ordered to be sent back to the place of his birth, or where he had last resided for three years, with a certificate of his whipping, "there to put himself to labour, like as a true man oweth to do." Especial care is taken to provide that "scholars of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge that go about begging, not being authorised under the seal of the said universities by the commissary, chancellor, or vice-chancellor of the same," as well as fortune-tellers and various other suspicious characters, shall, on conviction before two justices of the peace, be punished by whipping after the manner before rehearsed. All these attempts, however, to cope with the evil of pauperism must have proved wholly ineffectual, until some legal provision should be made for the maintenance of paupers in some other way than by begging; and, accordingly, to this point the legislature, after having long endeavoured to shut its [illegible] unpleasant necessity, was driven at last. [illegible] acknowledged in the preamble to a [illegible] the act passed five years before was [illegible] inasmuch as it was not provided in [illegible] and in what wise the said poor [illegible] vagabonds should be ordered at [illegible] their coming into their coun- [illegible] inhabitants of every hundred [illegible] the relief of the same poor

* Hen. VIII. c. 12.

people, nor yet for the setting and keeping in work and labour of the aforesaid valiant vagabonds."* Still, however, no compulsory assessment of parishes was ordered; it was only directed that the magistrates of towns and the churchwardens of parishes should "in good and charitable wise take such discreet and convenient order, by gathering and procuring of such charitable and voluntary alms of the good Christian people within the same, with boxes, every Sunday, holiday, and other festival day, or otherwise among themselves, in such good and discreet-wise, as the poor, impotent, lame, feeble, sick, or diseased people, being not able to work, may be provided, holpen, and relieved, so that in no wise they nor none of them be suffered to go openly in begging; and that such as be lusty, or having their limbs strong enough to labour, may be daily kept in continual labour, whereby every one of them may get their own substance and living with their own hands." To aid the solicitations of the churchwardens, the clergy are commanded, "in all and every their sermons, collections, biddings of the beads, as in time of all confessions, and at the making of the wills or testaments of any persons, at all times of the year," to exhort and stir the people to be liberal in giving their contributions towards the comfort and relief of the impotent poor, and "for the setting and keeping to continual work and labour of the foresaid ruffilers, sturdy vagabonds, and valiant beggars." A severe addition was now also made to the punishment of vagrancy committed after the individual had been once already whipped; it is directed that he shall not only be whipped again, but "also shall have the upper part of the gristle of his right ear clean cut off, so as it may appear for a perpetual token after that time that he hath been a contemner of the good order of the commonwealth." But this act was soon found to be of no more efficacy than any of those that had preceded it; the noxious plant of beggary and vagabondage continued to lift its head and flourish, if possible with rankier luxuriance than before. "Idleness and vagabondry," the parliament again declares, in 1547, the first year of Edward VI., "is the mother and root of all thefts, robberies, and all evil acts and other mischiefs, and the multitude of people given thereto hath always been here within this realm very great, and more in number, as it may appear, than in other regions; the which idleness and vagabondry all the king's highness' noble progenitors, kings of this realm, and this high court of parliament, hath often and with great travail gone about and assayed with godly acts and statutes to repress; yet until this our time it hath not had that success which hath been wished; but, partly by foolish pity and mercy of them which should have seen the said godly laws executed, partly by the perverse nature and long-accustomed idleness of the persons given to loitering, the said godly statutes hitherto hath had small effect, and idle and vagabond persons hath been suffered to remain and

* 2nd & 3rd Edw. VI. c. 15.

increase, and yet so do."* All former acts against sturdy beggars are now repealed, and a new set of regulations for their treatment is laid down, after being ushered in by the profession of a wish rather to attempt their reform than their punishment; "if," says the act, "they should be punished by death, whipping, imprisonment, or with other corporal pain, it were not without their desert, for the example of others, and to the benefit of the commonwealth; yet if they could be brought to be made profitable and do service, it were much to be wished and desired." The principle thus announced is singularly enough carried out by the enactment of almost the severest and most barbarous provisions on the Statute-book. It is enacted, in substance, that henceforth every person not impotent, and not having any visible regular means of living, found loitering or wandering about, and not seeking work, shall be considered as a vagabond, and may be seized and set to work by any one willing to give him meat and drink for his services; that if he runs away from the labour so given him, he shall be branded on the breast with the letter V (probably for villain), and adjudged to be a slave to his employer for two years; during which time it shall be lawful for his said master, "only giving the said slave bread and water, or small drink, and such refuse of meat as he shall think meet;" to force him to work "by beating, chaining, or otherwise, in such work and labour, how vile soever it be, as he shall put him unto;" that if he run away he shall be branded on the forehead or the ball of the cheek with the letter S, and be adjudged a slave to his master for ever; and, finally, that if he run away a second time, he shall be held to be a felon, and shall suffer the pains of death, as other felons ought to do. All beggars' children, male and female, between the ages of five and fourteen, it is also enacted, may be taken without consent of their fathers and mothers, and either bound apprentices or put to service; if they run away from their master, to be on their re-apprehension punished by him in chains or otherwise, and used as his slaves in all points, till they should attain the age of twenty-four if males, or twenty if females. If slavery had by this time become extinct in England, this was a statute restoring it, in at least as hideous a shape as it could well have worn in the darkest ages. If the new law brought back slaves, however, it did not diminish beggars. Two years after its enactment it was repealed, on the ground of its being notoriously seen and known that vagabonds and beggars continued daily to increase in the realm, partly, as it is admitted, by reason of the extreme severity of some of the laws made against the evil preventing their being put in due execution.† Several more acts followed, which do not require notice, in the course of the next ten or twelve years, till, in 1562, the compulsory principle was at length fairly introduced by authority being given to the justices in sessions to assess persons obstinately refusing to contribute to the relief of the poor in their towns or parishes, and to commit them to prison till they should pay their assessments.* But pauperism and beggary, notwithstanding, still remained unvanquished. Ten years after, "all the parts of England and Wales," says the preamble of a new act, "be presently with rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars, exceedingly pestered."† All former acts were now once more repealed; and power was given to the justices in sessions to raise a fund for the maintenance of the poor by taxing or assessing all the inhabitants of the localities in which the said poor should be settled—substantially the principle upon which English legislation on the subject of pauperism has ever since proceeded. At the same time, this new act restored no small part of the severity of the atrocious law of 1547; it directed that any beggar convicted of being a vagabond should, after being grievously whipt, be burnt through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about, unless some person should agree to take him as a servant—of course without wages—for a year; that if he twice ran away from such master, he should be adjudged a felon; and that if he ran away a third time, he should "suffer pains of death and loss of land and goods, as a felon without allowance or benefit of clergy or sanctuary." Such was the humanity of the law, and such the civilization of the public sentiment in England within thirty years of the close of the present period. Even the impotent poor, it is declared, shall be deemed vagabonds, and suffer the punishments set forth in the act in all points, if they shall leave their settlements or the places appointed for their residence by the justices. One of the clauses of this act is curious for the enumeration it contains of the various descriptions of persons coming under the definition of rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars. Among them are idle persons going about using subtle craft and unlawful games or plays, or feigning themselves to have knowledge in physiognomy, palmistry, or other abused sciences; and all fencers, bearwards, common players in interludes, and minstrels not belonging to any peer of the realm, jugglers, pedlers, linkers, and petty chapmen, wandering abroad without a license from two justices of the peace. Nor are the scholars of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge going about begging without authority from their chancellor, yet forgotten. Nay, in 1597, in a new act "for punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars," we still find "persons calling themselves scholars going about begging" [illegible] at the head of the list of those to whom [illegible] intended to apply.‡ From this date, [illegible] legislation respecting paupers begin[illegible] itself from that respecting rogues [illegible] While rates were now to be raised [illegible] wardens in every parish for the [illegible] form[illegible] the latter were [illegible]

* Stat. 1 Edw. VI. c. 3. † Stat. 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 16.

* [illegible] Eliz. c. 3. ‡ [illegible] Eliz. c. 4.

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